J. Randolph Valentine

Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar

NISHNAABEMWIN REFERENCE GRAMMAR

Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar

J. RANDOLPH VALENTINE

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
Toronto Buffalo London

© J. Randolph Valentine and The Ojibway Heritage Centre, Walpole Island 2001

University of Toronto Press Incorporated
Toronto Buffalo London
Printed in Canada

ISBN 0-8020-4870-6 (cloth)
ISBN 0-8020-8389-7 (paper)

Printed on acid-free paper

National Library of Canada Cataloguing in Publication Data

Valentine, Randy, 1951–
Nishnaabemwin reference grammar

Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8020-4870-6 (bound) ISBN 0-8020-8389-7 (pbk.)

1. Ojibwa language – Dialects – Ontario – Grammar. I. Title.

PM854.Z9N57 2001 497'.3 C2001-930027-1

University of Toronto Press acknowledges the financial assistance to its publishing program of the Canada Council for the Arts and the Ontario Arts Council.

University of Toronto Press acknowledges the financial support for its publishing activities of the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program (BPIDP).

Financial support for this publication has been provided by the Government of Ontario through the Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities and by The Ojibway Heritage Centre, Walpole Island.

To Mary Ann and Lena

Contents

Preface xxxi

Abbreviations xxxv

Chapter 1. Introduction to Nishnaabemwin 1

1.1 Introduction 1
Variation in Nishnaabemwin 3
1.1.1 Nishnaabemwin and Syncope 3
Scope of the Grammar 4
1.2 Language, Dialect, Idiolect and Variety 5
Language 10
Language Family 10
Language Variety 10
Sociolects 10
Prescription and Description 11
1.3 The Algonquian Language Family 12
1.4 An Overview of Anishinaabemowin Dialects 14
1.4.1 Dialects within Nishnaabemwin 17
Inflection of VAIO Verbs 18
Demonstrative Pronouns 18
Absence of Final /n/ on Many Inflections 18
Interrogative Pronouns and Adverbs 19
1.5 Source Materials 19
Textual Materials 20
Sentential Examples 21
1.5.1 Dialect, Community, and Individual Index Codes 21
Individual Sources 22
1.6 Introduction to the Study of Grammar 23
1.7 Additional Reading 26

Chapter 2. Phonology and Orthography 28

2.1 Introduction 28
2.2 Practical and Phonetic Orthographies 29
2.2.1 Letters, Phones, and Phonemes 29
2.3 The Vocal Tract 32
2.4 Vowels 34
Minimal Pairs Focussing on Vowels 34
2.4.1 The Classification of Vowels I: Vowel Quality 36
Vowel Height 38
Vowel Backness 38
Vowel Rounding 38
The Classification of Vowels 38
The Relationship of Glides to Vowels 38
2.4.2 The Classification of Vowels II: Vowel Quantity 39
2.4.3 Nasalized Vowels 40
2.5 Consonants 41
Minimal Pairs Focussing on Consonants 43
2.5.1 The Classification of Consonants 44
2.5.1.1 Place of Articulation 45
2.5.1.2 Manner of Articulation 45
2.5.1.3 State of the Glottis: Voiced and Voiceless 47
2.5.1.4 Fortis and Lenis Consonant Pairs 48
2.5.2 Summary of Consonants 49
2.6 Syllables and Stress 49
2.6.1 Stress and Syncope 51
2.6.2 Main Stress in a Word 55
2.6.3 The Form of Nishnaabemwin Words 57
2.6.4 Prefixes, Suffixes, Stems, Prenouns and Preverbs 59
Preverbs and Prenouns 60
2.6.4.1 Person Prefix Forms and Extended Forms with *doo-*, *di-* or *da-* 62
2.6.4.2 Examples of Personal Prefix Usage 67
2.7 Clitics 72
2.8 Phonological Processes 73
2.8.1 Consonant Processes 73
2.8.1.1 Nasal Assimilation and Nasal Syllabification 73
2.8.1.2 Final (Obstruent) Consonant Devoicing 74
The Spelling of Final Consonants that Do Not Alternate 76
2.8.1.3 Syncope and the Juxtaposition of Identical Consonants 76
2.8.1.4 Syncope and the Juxtaposition of Non-Identical Consonants 78
Obstruent Pairs Differing Only in Voicing 78
Devoicing of Voiced Obstruents 80
Weakening or Loss of Initial Consonants 81

Diphthongization 82
Denasalization 82
2.8.1.5 Loss of Segments and Structural /w/ 82
2.8.1.6 Effects of Vowel Rounding on Adjacent Segments 83
Unrounding of /o/ 85
2.8.1.7 The Use of Apostrophe with «n», «z», and «s» 85
2.8.1.8 Palatalization 86
Palatalization of /d/ and /t/ to /j/ (/dʒ/) and /ch/ (/tʃ/) 86
Alternation Between /n/ and /ʒ/ («zh») 86
Alternation Between /s/ and /ʃ/ («sh»): the Morphophoneme /S/ 87
Palatalization by /y/ (IPA /j/) 88
PA *ě and Palatalization in Nishnaabemwin 88
2.8.1.9 Glide Deletion 88
2.8.1.10 Deletion of /ʔ/ «h» (Glottal Stop) 89
2.8.2 Processes Related to Vowels 89
2.8.2.1 Variation Between /a/, /i/ and /o/ 89
2.9 Borrowed Vocabulary 89
2.10 Inflection 90
2.11 Morphemes, Underlying Forms, and Phonological Derivations 92
2.11.1 Allomorphy, and the Meanings of Morphemes 94
2.11.2 Dictionary Entries and Inflection 97
2.12 Derivational and Inflectional Morphology 98
2.13 Additional Reading 100

Chapter 3. Parts of Speech 101

3.1 Introduction 101
3.2 Guidelines for Determining Parts of Speech 103
Derivational Morphology 103
Inflectional Morphology 104
Syntactic Tests of Word Class 105
3.3 Nouns 105
Concrete and Abstract Nouns 106
3.3.1 Dependent and Independent Nouns 106
Body Part Terms 106
Kinship Terms 107
Other Dependent Nouns 113
Independent Nouns 113
3.3.2 Grammatical Gender: Animate and Inanimate Nouns 114
Dialect Variation in Gender Assignment 116
Gender Shift 118
Gender and Proper Names 120

3.3.3 Pronouns 121
3.3.3.1 Personal Pronouns 122
Inclusive and Exclusive 122
3.3.3.2 Personal Pronouns of Precedence 123
3.3.3.3 Demonstrative Pronouns 123
Remote Demonstrative Pronouns 125
3.3.3.4 Indefinite Pronouns 126
Indefinite Pronouns in Combination with *Kina* and *Gaa*. 126
3.3.4 Dubitative Pronouns 127
3.3.5 Pronouns of Kind 127
3.3.6 Pausal (Generic, Substitutive) Pronouns 128
3.3.7 Interrogative Pronouns 129
3.4 Verbs 129
3.4.1 Transitivity and Animacy 130
Paired Transitives and Paired Intransitives 133
Glossing Verbs in the Dictionary 135
3.4.2 Animate Intransitive Verbs with Objects (VAIO Verbs) 136
3.4.3 Ditransitives 136
3.4.4 Inverse-Only Transitive Animate Verbs (VTAI Verbs) 137
3.4.5 Participles 137
3.5 Adverbs 138
3.5.1 Temporal Adverbs 139
3.5.2 Locational Adverbs 140
3.5.3 Manner Adverbs 141
3.5.4 Conjunctive Adverbs 143
3.5.5 Quantificational Adverbs 144
3.5.6 Adverbs of Degree 144
3.5.7 Negative Adverbs 145
3.5.8 Interrogative Adverbs 146
3.5.9 Evidential Adverbs 147
3.6 Numbers 148
3.7 Particles 149
Interjectional and Exhortative Terms 149
Emphatic Particles 150
The Sequencing Particle/Adverb *Dash* 151
The Predicative Element *Mii* 151
3.8 Prenouns, Preverbs, and Pre-Adverbs 152
3.8.1 Prenouns 152
Prenoun and Root Forms 152
The Prenoun *Gchi-* 153
3.8.2 Preverbs 154
Preverb and Root Forms 154
Initial Change 155

Preverb *E-* 156
Verbal Order 157
3.8.2.1 Tense and Modal Preverbs 159
3.8.2.2 Relative Preverbs 160
3.8.2.3 Directional Preverbs 161
3.8.2.4 Aspectual Preverbs 162
3.8.2.5 Negative Preverbs 163
3.8.2.6 Preverbs of Manner and Degree 163
3.8.2.7 Evaluative Preverbs 165
3.8.2.8 Quantitative (Numeric) Preverbs 166
3.8.2.9 Subordinating Preverbs 166
3.8.2.10 The Relative Order of Preverbs 168
3.8.2.11 The Relative Frequency of Preverbs 169
3.8.3 Pre-Adverbs 170
3.8.3.1 Pre-Adverbs and Initial Change 171

Chapter 4. Noun Inflection 172

4.1 Introduction 172
4.2 Noun Inflection Stem Classes 173
Class I Nouns (Like *waagosh*) 175
Class II Nouns (Like *mnidoo*) 175
Contemptive Nouns 175
Class III Nouns (Like *nini*) 176
Class IV Nouns (Like *kik* and *zhgaag*) 176
Class V Nouns (Like *sab*) 176
Class VI Nouns (Like *nzid*) 176
Class VII Nouns (Like *bemaadzid*) 177
4.3 Gender (Animate and Inanimate) 177
4.4 Number (Singular and Plural) 178
Accounting for Variant Forms 178
4.4.1 Inherently Plural Nouns 182
4.4.2 Mass Nouns 182
4.5 Noun Obviatives (Proximate and Obviative) 183
4.5.1 Obviative Forms of Names 185
4.6 Noun Contemptives and Diminutives 185
Exceptional Diminutives 188
Lexical Contemptives and Diminutives 188
Contemptive and Diminutive Plurals 190
4.7 Noun Pejoratives 190
4.7.1 Relative Ordering of the Diminutive/Contemptive and the Pejorative 192
4.8 Noun Locatives 193
4.9 Noun Possession 196

4.9.1 Indefinite (Unspecified) Possessors 198
4.9.2 The Form of the Person Prefixes 199
4.9.2.1 Person Prefixes and Vowel-Initial Dependent Noun Stems 200
Prefix Reanalysis 200
4.9.3 Possessed Noun Theme Suffix 200
Lexicalized Possessive Suffixes 202
4.9.3.1 Suppletive Possessive Themes 202
4.9.4 Obviative Possessors 203
4.9.5 Plural Possessor Suffixes 204
4.9.6 Locatives with Possessors and Obviative Possessors 205
4.10 Noun Vocatives 205
Vocative Plurals 206
4.11 Noun Preterits 206
Obviation of Preterit Nouns 208
4.12 Noun Preterit Dubitatives 209
4.13 The Ordering of Nominal Suffixes 209
4.14 Participles 210
4.15 Summary Table of Noun Inflections 210
4.16 Additional Reading 210
4.17 Text Fragment: Email Correspondence 212

Chapter 5. Animate Intransitive Verb Inflection 213

5.1 Introduction 213
5.2 Different Ways of Assessing Transitivity 214
5.3 VAI Subclasses 218
Inherently Plural (VAIP) Verbs 218
5.4 Regular Animate Intransitive Verb (VAI) Inflection 219
5.4.1 VAI Independent, Conjunct & Imperative Templates 219
Independent Order Template 219
Variation in Person Prefixes 220
Conjunct Order Template 221
Imperative Order Template 222
5.5 Phonologically-Defined Stem Subtypes of Regular VAI Verbs 223
5.5.1 Long-Vowel Final VAI Verbs 224
5.5.2 Short-Vowel Final VAI Verbs 224
5.5.3 Nasal-Final VAI Stems 226
5.6 Notes on Mode Suffixes 227
Non-Third Person Independent Preterit Dubitatives 228
5.7 Syncope and the Presentation of Paradigms 228
Syncope and Inflection 228
5.8 Dialect Variation in Inflection 230
Loss of Final /n/ in Odawa 230

Independent Dubitative /-dog/ vs. /-dig/ 230
Example Paradigms 230
5.9 Additional Reading 230
5.10 VAI Paradigms 231
5.10.1 VAI, Independent Order, Positive 232
5.10.1.1 VAI Independent Order Positive, Nasal-Final Stem Examples 233
5.10.2 VAI, Independent Order, Negative 234
5.10.2.1 VAI Independ. Order Alternative Dubitative Mode, Positive & Negative 235
5.10.2.2 VAI Independ. Order Alternative Pret. Dub. Mode, Positive & Negative 235
5.10.3 VAI Conjunct Order, Positive 236
5.10.4 VAI, Conjunct Order, Negative 237
5.10.5 VAI Imperative Order, Immediate, Delayed, and Prohibitive 238
5.10.6 VAI, Iteratives, Positive and Negative 239
5.10.7 VAI Participles, Positive 240
5.10.8 VAI Participles, Negative 241
5.11 VAIO Verbs 242
5.11.1 VAIO, Independent Order, Positive 243
5.11.1.1 VAIO, Example Inflection, *miigwe*, 'give Y away' 244
5.11.2 VAIO, Independent Order, Negative 244
5.11.3 VAIO, Goal Focus Participles, Positive, *daawe*, 'sell Y' 245
5.11.4 VAIO, Goal Focus Participles, Negative 246
5.11.5 VAIO, Imperative Order 247
5.12 Pseudo-Intransitive Verbs 248
Inflectional Properties of Pseudo-Intransitives 248
5.12.1 VAI Pseudo-Intransitive, Independent Order, Positive, *gchi-nendam*, 'be glad' 249
5.12.2 VAI Pseudo-Intransitive, Independent Order, Negative, *gchi-nendam*, 'be glad' 250

Chapter 6. Inanimate Intransitive Verb Inflection 251

6.1 Introduction 251
6.2 Phonologically-Defined Inflectional Subclasses of VII Verbs 252
6.3 Impersonal Verbs 254
6.4 VII Paradigms 255
6.4.1 VII Independent Order, Positive 256
6.4.1.1 Additional Examples of VII Verbs (n-stem, d-stem) 257
6.4.2 VII Independent Order, Negative 258
6.4.2.1 VII, Examples of Negative Independent Forms 259
6.4.3 VII Conjunct Order, Positive 260
6.4.3.1 VII, Examples of Positive Conjunct (n-stem and d-stem) 261

6.4.4 VII Conjunct Order, Negative 262
6.4.4.1 VII. Examples of Negative Conjunct Paradigms (n-stem and d-stem) 263
6.4.5 VII Iteratives, Positive and Negative 264
6.4.6 VII Participles, Positive 265
6.4.7 VII Participles, Negative 266

Chapter 7. Transitive Animate Verb Inflection 267

7.1 Introduction 267
7.2 The Topicality Hierarchy 267
7.2.1 The Selection of Person Prefixes in VTA Verbs 269
7.2.2 VTA Theme Suffixes 270
Passives as Intransitives 272
Reflexives, Reciprocals, and Disjoint Reference 273
7.3 VTA Independent Order Inflectional Template 274
7.4 VTA Conjunct Order Inflectional Template 275
7.4.1 Alternate VTA Conjunct Forms with Third Person Actors 278
7.5 VTA Imperative Order Inflectional Template 279
7.5.1 The Relationship of VTA Independent Order to Noun Inflection 279
7.6 VTA Stem Classes 280
Stems in /N/ and /S/ 281
Stems in /aw/ 282
Short V-Stems 283
Stems in /ʔ/ («h») 284
Stems in Cw 284
The Irregular Verb *zhi(n)*, 'say Y to AN' 285
7.6.1 Example VTA Imperative Forms 285
7.7 VTA Paradigms 285
7.7.1 VTA, Independent Order, Indicative Mode, Positive 287
7.7.2 VTA, Independent Order, Preterit Mode, Positive 288
7.7.3 VTA, Independent Order, Dubitative Mode, Positive 289
7.7.4 VTA, Independent Order, Preterit Dubitative Mode, Positive 290
7.7.5 VTA, Independent Order, Neutral Mode, Negative 291
7.7.6 VTA, Independent Order, Preterit Mode, Negative 292
7.7.7 VTA, Independent Order, Dubitative Mode, Negative 293
7.7.8 VTA, Independent Order, Dubitative Preterit Mode, Negative 294
7.7.9 VTA, Conjunct Order, Neutral Mode, Positive 295
7.7.10 VTA, Conjunct Order, Preterit Mode, Positive 296
7.7.11 VTA, Conjunct Order, Dubitative Mode, Positive 297
7.7.12 VTA, Conjunct Order, Preterit Dubitative Mode, Positive 298
7.7.13 VTA, Conjunct Order, Indicative Mode, Negative 299
7.7.14 VTA, Conjunct Order, Preterit Mode, Negative 300
7.7.15 VTA, Conjunct Order, Dubitative Mode, Negative 301

7.7.16 VTA Participles, Indicative Mode, Positive 302
Theme Focus Ditransitive Participles 302
7.7.17 VTA Imperative, Immediate Mode 304
7.7.18 VTA Imperative, Delayed Mode 304
7.7.19 VTA Imperative, Prohibitive 304

Chapter 8. Transitive Inanimate Verb Inflection 305

8.1 VTI Theme Suffixes 305
8.1.1 Patterned Variation in Theme Suffix /-am/ 306
Optional Loss of Theme Suffix Nasal in Independent Negative Forms 308
8.1.2 Glide Insertion after Theme Suffixes /-oo/ and /-i/ 309
8.2 Pseudo-Intransitive (Objectless TI) Verbs 309
8.3 VTI Inflectional Templates 310
Independent 310
Independent Order Suffix /-n/ 310
Conjunct and Imperative Orders 310
8.4 VTI Paradigms 310
8.4.1 VTI Independent Order, Positive 311
8.4.2 VTI Independent Order, Negative 312
8.4.3 VTI Conjunct Order, Positive 313
8.4.4 VTI Conjunct Order, Negative 314
8.4.5 VTI Participles, Positive 315
8.4.6 VTI Participles, Negative 316
8.4.7 VTI Iteratives 317
8.4.8 VTI Imperative Order, Immediate, Delayed, and Prohibitive 317

Chapter 9. The Derivation of Intransitive Verbs 318

9.1 Introduction and Background 318
Words and Stems 319
Preverb Lexicalization 320
Abstract and Concrete Finals 323
Finals with Bipartite Structure 324
Palatalization and Assibilation in VAI Finals 325
Summary of Final Structural Types 326
9.2 Roots and Initials 327
Post-radical Elements 328
Restricted and General Roots 328
Root Reduplication 328
Finals That Can Occur Without Initials 329
Deverbal Finals 329

9.3 Medials 330
Incorporated Noun Medials 330
Classificatory Medials 331
Environmental Medials 332
Other Classificatory Medials 332
Pre-Medials and Post-Medials 332
9.4 Basic Word Structure 332
Internal Word-Structure 333
9.5 Primary and Secondary Derivation 334
9.6 Meaning, Word Structure and Metaphor 335
9.7 Nishnaabemwin Ambiguity in Stative/Inchoative Senses of Verbs 337
9.8 The Structure of Morphemes; Link Vowels and Consonants 338
Link Vowel /o/ 339
Link Consonants 339
Link Consonant /d/ with Personal Prefixes 340
Loss of Short Vowels 340
Lengthening of Short Vowels 340
Shortening of Long Vowels 340
Vowel Shifts 340
Loss of Consonants 341
9.9 Problems in Identifying and Segmenting Morphemes 341
9.10 Paired VAI and VII Finals 342
9.10.1 Attributive (Descriptive) Expressions 342
Examples with Classificatory Medials 345
9.10.2 Verbs of Physical Location and Motion 347
9.10.3 Verbs of Motion 348
9.10.4 Goal Focus Verbs with Instrumental Causative Finals 349
9.10.5 Object of Perception Verbs 356
9.10.6 Overt Lexical Passive Verbs 359
9.10.7 Other Paired Intransitive Finals 359
9.10.8 Paired Forms with Identical VAI and VII Finals 360
9.10.9 Final Pairs Showing Other than Standard Correspondences 362
9.10.10 Paired Finals in Secondary Derivation: Verbs of Being 363
9.11 Inanimate Intransitive Verbs 364
9.11.1 Impersonal Verbs 365
9.11.1.1 Impersonal Verbs of General Conditions of Landscape 366
9.11.1.2 Impersonal Verbs Pertaining to Bodies of Water 368
9.11.1.3 Impersonal Verbs Pertaining to Vegetation and Wood Products 368
9.11.1.4 Impersonal Verbs Pertaining to Social Activities 369
9.11.1.5 Impersonal Verbs Pertaining to Weather Conditions 370
9.11.1.6 Impersonal Verbs of Days and Units of Time 371
9.11.2 Verbs Describing Properties of Specific Classes of Objects 372
9.11.3 Verbs of Abundance 373

9.11.4 The Augment /-magad/ or /-migad/ 373
9.12 Animate Intransitive Verbs 374
9.12.1 Verbs of Motion 374
9.12.2 Substance of Path Motion Verbs 380
9.12.3 General Motion and Activity Verbs in /-(sh)kaa/, /-taa/, and /-ii/ 381
9.12.4 Motion Expressions Involving Directionals 384
9.12.5 Verbs Describing Body Part Attributes 385
9.12.6 Bodily Actions and Movements 389
9.12.7 Word Stems in Derivation with /-shin/, 'fall, lie' 390
9.12.8 Word Stem Initials with /-jin/ 390
9.12.9 Physical Actions of Parts of the Body with /-ni/ 391
9.12.10 Middle Verbs with /-ho/ 392
9.12.11 Verbs of Physical Orientation 392
9.12.12 Verbs of Sensory Experience 394
9.12.13 Verbs of Speaking 395
9.12.14 Verbs of Thinking and Feeling 396
9.12.15 Verbs Commonly Taking Number Roots 396
9.12.16 Other Animate Intransitive Finals 397
9.12.17 Actor-Focus Detransitivizing Finals 403
9.12.17.1 Actor Focus Detransitive /-ge/ 403
9.12.17.2 Actor Focus Detransitive /-iwe/, Human Goal 406
9.12.17.3 Actor Focus Detransitive /-aaso/ 407
9.12.18 Reflexive /-idizo/ 408
9.12.19 Reciprocal /-idi/ 409
9.12.20 Incorporated Goal Verbs 409
9.12.20.1 Special (Lexicalized) Medials 411
9.12.20.2 Other Quasi-Incorporating Verbs 412
9.12.21 VAI Finals Used in Secondary Derivation 413
9.12.21.1 Verbs of Feigning, Pretending 413
9.12.21.2 Verbs of Negative Character and Disposition 415
9.12.21.3 Verbs of Possession 416
Transitive Verbs of Possession 417
Participial Verbs of Kin Relationship 418
9.12.21.4 Verbs of Constructive Application 418
9.13 Roots and Initials 420
9.13.1 Directional Roots 420
9.13.2 Relative Roots 421
9.13.3 Other Roots and Initials 423
Specifying Relative Location 423
Specifying Actions 423
Specifying Manners 423
Specifying Qualities 423

Specifying States 424
Specifying Quantities 424
Specifying Aspects 424
Specifying Physical Orientations 424
9.14 Summary Notes on Roots and Preverbs 424
9.15 Additional Reading 424

Chapter 10. The Derivation of Transitive Verbs 426

10.1 Introduction 426
10.2 The Structure of Transitive Verbs 427
Variation in Root Forms 427
Lexical Reduplication in Roots 428
Medials 429
Finals 430
The Relationship of Transitive and Intransitive Finals 431
Identifying Word Components 432
10.3 Basic Causatives 433
10.4 Instrumental Causative Finals 438
10.4.1 Instrumental Causatives Involving Specific Parts of the Body 439
10.4.2 Body-Location Instrumental Causative Finals 445
10.4.2.1 External Instrumental Causative Finals 447
10.4.3 Action-Based Instrumental Causatives 453
10.4.4 Examples of Causative Instrumental Finals 455
10.4.5 Examples of Instrumental Causatives with Verbs of Breaking and Severing 456
10.5 Verbs of Transport 458
10.6 Verbs of Perception and Thought 459
10.7 Accompaniment and Benefactive (Applicative) Finals 461
10.7.1 Accompaniment (Comitative) Verbs 462
10.7.2 Benefactives/Applicatives 463
10.8 Verbs with Body Part Medials 467
10.9 Verbs with Classificatory Medials 470
Intensifying Medial /-aak-/ 472
Medial /-jii-/ as Classifier. 473
10.10 Verbs with Other Medials 474
10.11 Other Transitive Finals 474

Chapter 11. The Derivation of Nouns and Adverbs 477

11.1 Nouns 477
Noun Roots and General Roots 477
Stem Forms 477
The Phonological Structure of Noun Stems 477
Unanalyzable Primary Nouns 478

Primary Complex Noun Stems 478
Secondary Complex Noun Stems 478
Participial Nouns and Departicipial Nouns 478
Compound Nouns 479
Prenouns in Compound Stems 479
Summary of Noun Structural Stem Types 480
11.2 Unanalyzable Primary Nouns 480
Stem-Final /w/ with Animate Nouns and Noun Finals 481
Initial Deriving-/w/ 482
Gender Markers /-a/ and /-i/ 482
Dependent Nouns as Derivational Units 482
Functional Shift 483
Truncated Forms 483
11.3 An Assortment of Noun Finals 483
11.3.1 General Animate and Inanimate Noun Finals 484
11.3.2 Noun Finals Pertaining to Plants and Plant Products 484
11.3.3 Noun Finals Pertaining to Fauna 489
11.3.4 Other Noun Finals 490
11.4 Diminutives and Contemptives 494
11.4.1 Productive Diminutive /-ens/ and Contemptive /-enh/ 494
11.4.2 Other Diminutives and Contemptives 496
11.5 Nouns Finals with Classifiers and Classifier-like Elements 499
11.5.1 Classificatory Elements on Verbs of Counting 502
11.6 Nominalizers 502
11.7 Reduplication in Nouns 508
11.8 Participles and Deverbal Nouns 510
11.8.1 True Participles 510
Phrasal Participials 513
Reduplicated Participles 513
De-participialized Nouns 514
11.8.2 Participial Nominals 514
11.9 Compound Nouns 515
The Binary Nature of Compounds 516
The Classification of Compounds By Phonological Linkage 517
Noun + Noun Compounds 519
Verb + Noun Compounds 520
11.9.1 Some Example Compound Sets 521
Nini 'Man' 521
Kwe 'Woman' 522
11.10 A Brief Introduction to Adverb Finals 522
The General Structure of Adverbs 522
11.10.1 Some Adverb Finals 523
Adverb Finals Specifying Units of Time 523

Adverb Finals of Location 523
Locational Adverb Finals of Particular Locational Reference 524
11.11 Locational Roots 525
11.12 Deriving Preverbs and Prenouns 526
11.13 Additional Reading 526

Chapter 12. Nominals and Pronominals 527

12.1 Introduction 527
Physical and Linguistic Contexts 528
12.2 Some Terminology 528
Nominal 528
Relative Clauses 529
12.3 Ways of Identifying Discourse Entities 529
Verbal Marking Alone 529
Vocatives 530
Identification Involving Verbal Inflection in Tandem with Separate Nominals 531
Nominal Expressions 532
12.3.1 Making Reference to Generalized Activity 533
Generalized Subject Inflections 533
Second Person Inflections 534
Indefinite Pronoun *Waya* 534
Plurals of Traditional Activity 535
Generic and Non-specific Reference 536
12.3.2 Indefinites 538
Indefinites with *Bezhig* 538
Indefinites With Simple Nouns 540
Indefinites With Demonstratives and Nouns 541
Relative Clauses with Indefinites 541
12.3.3 Mass Nouns 542
12.3.4 Definite Expressions 545
Nouns with Demonstratives 545
Agreement Between Demonstratives and Associated Nouns 546
Locative Nominals and Demonstratives 547
Names 547
Nominal Collectives 548
Associative Participants 549
Ordering of Demonstrative and Noun 550
Floating (Fronting) of Demonstratives 551
Demonstratives with Conjoined Noun Phrases 552
Demonstratives with Possessed Nouns 554
Definite Reference by Demonstratives Alone 554
Demonstratives with Relative Clauses 555
Proximal Versus Distal Demonstratives 555

The Optionality of Demonstratives 556
Discourse Uses of Proximal and Distal Demonstratives 557
Demonstratives as Pro-Clauses and Pro-Sentences with *Mii* 563
Demonstratives as Complements of Relative Roots 563
Verbless Constructions with Demonstratives 565
12.3.5 Nominal Possessive Constructions 565
12.3.6 Conjoined Noun Phrases 568
12.3.7 Demonstrative Presentationals (Asserting Immediate Location) 570
12.3.8 Quantificational Modifiers of Nouns 571
Classifiers and Numeral Quantifiers 572
General Quantifiers 572
Demonstratives with Quantifiers 574
Quantifiers and Relative Roots 578
12.3.9 Relative Clauses 579
Non-Contiguous Relative Clauses 581
Grammatical Roles Which Can Relativize 584
Relative Root Complements in Relative Clauses 586
Adjunct Relative Clauses 587
Word Order within a Relative Clause 588
Variation in Relative Clause Forms 589
12.3.10 Compound Nominals 591
12.3.11 Qualification of a Nominal with Prenouns 592
12.3.12 *Dnawa*, 'Kind of' Constructions 593
12.3.13 Substitutionary Pronouns 594
12.3.14 Indefinite, Universal, and Negative Pronouns 594
Indefinite Pronouns 595
Gegoo with Demonstrative *Iw* 597
Nooj with *Gegoo* 597
Negative Pronouns 598
Negative Existentials 599
Universal Pronouns 600
Absence of Pronominals 601
Partitive Usage of *Kina* 603
Kina with Relative Roots and Similar Expressions 604
Kina with Medials 605
Kina in Compound Noun Phrases 605
Ordering of Elements 606
Position of *Gaa Wii* and *Kina* 607
Qualification of *Kina* with *Gegaa* 607
Relative Clauses with *Kina Gegoo* 608
12.3.15 Personal Pronouns 609
Verbless Possession Formulas 609
Direct Address 609

Substantive Questions 610
Personal Pronouns with Other Nouns or Pronouns (Apposition) 611
Personal Pronouns and Focus/Emphasis 612
Emphatic Particles with Pronouns 613
Focus Constructions with *Mii* 614
Ge Constructions 614
Ge Wii as a Fixed Expression 617
One's Own 617
For X's Part 618
Contrastive Use of *Ge* Construction 618
Contrastive Use of Pronouns in Contexts of Negation 619
Pronouns of Precedence 621
Pronouns of Exclusivity 621
Pronouns of Contrastive Emphasis 622
12.4 Proximate and Obviative: Foregrounding and Backgrounding 623
Obligatory Obviation 625
Optional Obviation 629
Obviation and First and Second Persons 630
Determining Which Characters Are Proximate and Which Are Obviative 631
The Possessor Constraint (Rhodes 1992) 632
Obviation and VAIO Verbs 634
Proximate and Obviative Marking 635
Discourse Uses of Obviation 637
Obviation in Subordinate Clauses 639
Proximate Shifts 641
12.5 Examining a Short Narrative 643
12.6 Additional Reading 645

Chapter 13. Verbs and Their Semantic Roles 647

13.1 Semantic Roles 647
Semantic Roles, Inflection, Nouns, Pronouns, and Noun Phrases 648
13.1.1 Macroroles (Actor and Goal), Agent and Patient 648
13.1.2 The Semantic Roles and Macrorole of Intransitive Verbs 650
13.1.3 Semantic Role Charts 651
13.1.4 Incorporation of Patients 653
13.1.5 The Semantic Role of Force 654
13.1.6 The Semantic Role of Experiencer 655
13.1.7 The Semantic Roles of Recipient and Theme 655
13.1.8 VAIO Objects and Their Relationship to Ditransitive Secondary Objects 657
13.1.9 The Semantic Role of Beneficiary (Benefactive) 657
13.1.10 The Semantic Role of Instrument 658
13.1.10.1 Instrumental Finals 660

13.1.11 Other Semantic Roles 661
13.1.12 Summary of Semantic Role Relationships 662
Default Semantic Role-to-Macrorole Associations 662
13.2 Semantic Relations of Relative Roots and Relative Preverbs 663
13.3 Sentential Complements 665
13.3.1 Intransitive Verbs that Take Sentential Complements 667
Pseudo-Intransitives 667
13.3.2 Direct and Indirect (Reported) Quotation 668
13.3.3 Demonstrative Complementizers 670
13.3.4 Tense and Modality in Complement Clauses 671
13.3.5 Notional Groupings of Verbs Taking Sentence Complements 671
13.3.5.1 Verbs of Mental Activity 671
13.3.5.2 Verbs of Perception 673
13.3.5.3 Verbs of Intention and Desire 674
13.3.5.4 Verbs Representing Formal Speech Acts 675
13.3.5.5 Verbs of Instruction 677
13.3.5.6 Verbs of Orientation and Evaluation 677
13.3.5.7 Verbs of Making and Doing 678
13.3.5.8 Verbs of Capability 678
13.3.5.9 Other Sentence-Complement Verbs 679
13.3.6 Adverbial Predicators 680
13.3.7 Subject-of-Complement Copying Verbs 681
13.3.8 Secondary Role VTA Verbs 685
13.4 Changing Verbal Perspectives on a Scene 686
13.4.1 Decreasing the Number of Semantic Roles Associated with a Verb 686
13.4.1.1 Suppressing Actors with Inflectional Passives 687
Person Asymmetries in Passivization 689
Generalized Actor Forms. 689
Lexical Passives 690
13.4.1.2 Suppressing Goals with Detransitives (Antipassives) 692
13.4.1.3 Detransitivization with the Final /-iwe/ 694
13.4.1.4 Nominalization 694
13.4.1.5 Reflexives and Reciprocals 695
13.4.1.6 Backgrounding by Means of Incorporation of Nouns into Verbs 696
13.4.2 Increasing the Number of Semantic Roles Associated with a Verb 698
13.4.2.1 Causative-formation 698
13.4.2.2 Applicatives as Primary Objects 699
Applicative-advancement Applied to Intransitive Bases 701
13.4.2.3 Verbs of Accompaniment (Comitatives) 702
13.5 Summary 702

Chapter 14. Being and Becoming 704

14.1 The Verbs of Identity *Aawi* and *Aawan* 704
14.2 Denominal Verbs of Being with Finals /-wi/ and /-wan/. 709
14.3 Locational/Existential Verbs *Yaa* and *Yaa(mgad)* 710
Yaa and Transitive Verbs of Possession 711
Yaa with Directional Preverbs 712
Zhi-yaa(magad) 712
Other Preverbs with *Yaa* 713
14.4 Existence in a Particular Location with *Dgo* and *Dgon* (*Dgomgad*) 714
14.5 Locational Verbs *Bi* and *Te* 716
14.6 Verbs of Abundance 719
14.7 Verbs of Quantity and Number 720

Chapter 15. Location and Manner 721

15.1 Locational Perspectives 721
Simple (Static) Location 722
Source Location (Ablative) 723
Destination Location (Allative) 724
15.2 The Lexical Expression of Location 726
15.2.1 With Verbs Specifying Motion 727
15.2.2 With a Directional Root or Preverb 728
Discourse Relativized Use of Directionals 730
15.2.3 Demonstrative Locative Adverbs 733
Pre-Adverb *Was-*, 'beyond' 736
15.3 General Directional Adverb *Nakeyaa, Nikeyaa* 736
15.4 Indefinite Location with *Ngoji* 737
15.5 Universal Location 737
15.6 Dubitative Locational Adverb *Dbi* 738
15.7 General Locational Adverbs 738
15.7.1 Locational Terms with /-yahii/ and /-yahiing/ 739
Roots Attached to Final /-yahii/ 739
Forms in /-yahiing/ 740
15.8 Locational Adverbs with Noun-like Finals 741
15.9 Some Specific Locational Vocabulary Sets 742
Serial Sequence 742
Cardinal Directions 742
Left and Right 743
Upstairs and Downstairs 743
Upstream and Downstream 743
15.10 Locative Nouns 743
Distributed Locatives 746
Locatives with Nominal Placenames 746

Locative Nouns with Locative Adverbs 747
15.11 Using Clauses to Express Location 748
Verbal Expressions as Modifiers of Locative Adverbs 748
Locative Expressions with Relative Roots & Preverbs 749
The Locational (Subordinating) Preverb *A-* 749
Locational Focus 750
Locative Relative Clause Fragments 750
15.12 Expressing Manner 751
Root Specification of Manner 752
Manner Preverbs and Adverbs 752
15.12.1 Expressions of Similarity (Likeness) 753

Chapter 16. Time and Circumstance 758

16.1 Expressing Time 758
16.2 Tense and Mood 759
16.2.1 Present Tense 759
16.2.2 Past Tense 760
Recent Past with *Nji-* and *Bi-* 761
Sequences of *Gii-* 762
Past Tense and Impersonal Verbs 764
Relative Past with *Gii-* 766
Relative Past with *Gii-* + Preterit Mode or Preterit Dubitative Mode 767
Aspectual Preverb *Shkwaa-* 768
Relative Past with *Aazhi* 768
Clauses with *Pii* 769
Relative Future in the Past 770
16.2.3 Future Tense 772
Future Preverb *Wii-* 772
Future Relative to the Future 780
Overlap of *Wii-* and *Da-/Ga-* 780
16.2.4 Modal Preverb *Daa-* 782
16.2.5 Expressing Obligation 787
16.2.6 Expressing Desires and Wishes (Optatives) 789
16.2.7 Expressing Habituality 790
16.2.8 Directional Preverbs as Time Markers 791
16.3 Aspectual Verbs and Preverbs 793
Other Aspectual Preverbs 796
16.4 Verb Mode 798
16.5 The Iterative 800
16.6 Expressions of Specific Time 801
Expressing the Hour and Durations of Hours 801
Expressing the Days of the Week 805
Expressing the Months of the Year 806

Expressing the Year 808
Expressing the Day of the Month 809
Relative Date Expressions 811
Expressing Days Relative 815
Durations and Extents of Specific Units of Time 816
Parts of the Day 818
Seasons 819
Expressing 'Every' 820
Expressing the Number of Times 821
16.7 Expressing Time with Temporal Adverbs 822
General Temporal Adverbs 822
Temporal and Locative Adverbs 823
Subordinating Temporal Adverbs 826
16.8 Temporal Relationships Between Clauses 828
16.9 Evidentiality 830
16.9.1 Evidential (Dubitative) Adverbs 830
16.9.2 Dubitative Mode 832
Endgwenh Constructions 833
16.9.3 Preterit Dubitative Mode 834
Preterit Dubitative in Contexts of Hypotheticality 836
16.10 Negation 837
Negation of Propositions 838
Affirmation with *Enh* 839
Negation of Main Verbs (Independent Order) 839
Contrastive Negation 840
Omission of *Gaa Wii(n)* 841
Negatives with /onji-/ 842
Negative Capability 843
Manj (Iidig) 844
Dbi Iidig 844
Verbless Negatives of Existence or Possession 844
Clefted Negatives 845
Negation with Indefinite Pronouns 846
Negation of Specific Constituents 847
Gaa Wii Gegoo as Negative Existential 849
Negation in Subordinate Clauses (Conjunct Order) 849
Constructions with *Bwaa-* 850
Negative Questions 853
Negation in Imperatives (Prohibitives) 853
Preverb *Aano-* 855
The Root /aanw/ 855
The Adverb *Aano* 856
Lexical Negatives 85616.11 Logical Relations 856
16.11.1 Purpose 856

16.11.2 Reason 858
Indicating Reasons With Initial Change 860
16.11.3 Results 860
Indicating Result With *Zhi-* 860
Result Constructions with *Dash* 861
16.11.4 Conditionals 861
Counterfactuality 863
General Quantifiers 866

Chapter 17. Quantity and Degree 865

17.1 Relative Roots 866
/daSw/ 867
/apiit/ 869
/akw/ 870
17.2 Degree Adverbs and Preverbs 871
17.3 Quantification with *Mnik* 871
17.4 Numbers and Number Expressions 873
Cardinal Numbers 873
Half 876
Repetition ("Times") Numbers 877
Ordinal Numbers 879
'First' with Preverb *Shki-* 880
Distributive Numbers 880
Verbs of Number 881
Classifiers 883
Verbs Taking Number Roots 885
17.5 Various Expressions of Quantity and Degree 886
Expressing Age 886
Expressions of Distance 891
Expressions with Money 894
Expressions of Temperature 896
Expressions of Temporal Duration 898
Various Expressions of Degree 899
Expressions of Linear Extent 900
Expressions of Dry Measure 903
17.6 Comparison 904
Equation 906
Superlatives 907
17.7 The Semantic Functions of Reduplication 908
The Phonological Patterns of Reduplication 913
Expressing Perseverance with Reduplication 914
17.8 Additional Reading 915

Chapter 18. Syntax and Communicative Functions 916

18.1 Introduction 916
18.2 Nishnaabemwin Parts of Speech 921
18.3 Grammatical Features of Nouns, Pronouns, Verbs and Adverbs 922
18.3.1 Nouns 922
Features Distinguishing Animate and Inanimate Nouns 923
18.3.2 Pronouns 924
Personal Pronouns 924
Demonstrative (Nominal) Pronouns 924
18.3.3 Verbs 925
Examples 928
18.3.4 Adverbs 930
18.4 Phrases, Clauses, and Sentences 930
Phrases 930
Modifier-Head Relations with Adverbs 932
Clauses 933
The Order of Secondary Objects (Themes) 936
Relative Elements and Word Order 938
18.4.1 Gender, Number, and Obviation 940
18.4.2 Proximity 940
18.4.3 Pragmatics 941
18.4.4 Complex Sentences and the Independent and Conjunct Orders 943
18.4.5 Headedness and Head-Marking in Nishnaabemwin Clauses and Phrases 945
18.4.6 Subordinators (Complementizers) 946
Preverb *A-* 946
Adverbial Subordinators 947
18.4.7 Subordinated Verbs 948
18.4.8 Predicative Adverbs 949
18.4.9 Main Verbs Inflected with Conjunct Order 951
18.5 The Role of Word Order in Nishnaabemwin 951
Topic and Focus 952
Post-Verbal Emphasis 954
Summary 956
18.6 Grammatical Relations in Nishnaabemwin 957
Inflectional Evidence for Subjects 960
18.6.1 Semantic and Syntactic Relations Revisited 960
18.7 Expressions with *Mii* 963
18.7.1 *Mii* as a Discourse Sequencer 963
Mii + Iw (Wi) 969
18.7.2 *Mii* in Focusing Constructions 970
18.7.3 *Mii* with Independent Order 973
18.8 Identificational Constructions 973

18.9 Communicative Functions 974
18.9.1 Asking Questions (Interrogatives) 975
18.9.1.1 Yes/No (Polar) Questions 975
Negative Yes/No Questions 977
Tag Questions 978
Alternative Questions 978
Yes/No Questions with *Mii* 978
18.9.1.2 Substantive Content Questions 979
Questioning Who 979
Questioning Ownership 980
Questioning Kind 980
Questioning What 981
Questioning Which 981
Questioning Actions 982
Questioning How (Manner Questions) 983
Questioning Where, Where to, and Where From 983
Questioning When 985
Questioning How Many and How Much 986
Questioning Why 988
Indirect Questions 990
Conventional Expressions 990
Topic Shift "How About" Questions 990
Echo Questions 991
18.9.2 Issuing Commands (Imperatives) 991
Delayed Imperatives 993
Hortatives 993
Directionals with Commands 993
Wii- with Commands 994
Future Tense as Imperative 995
Commands with *Mii* 995
Complex Constructions with Imperatives 995
18.10 Coordination 996
Coordination of Noun Phrases 996
Coordination of Clauses 998
18.11 Disjunction 1001
18.12 Expressing Feelings and Attitudes 1002
18.13 Baby Talk and Verbs of Compassion 1004
18.14 Additional Reading 1005

Glossary 1006

References 1064

Index 1069

Preface

Writing a grammar is a profoundly humbling experience. Languages are almost unbelievably complex and represent the richest traditions that we as human beings possess. What remotely compares with them, whether we are considering the massively intricate and fluid physical gestures involved in the articulation of sounds, or the systems behind the thousands of possibilities of distinct expression in the verb system of a language such as Nishnaabemwin? A language is a natural object with a beauty and a capacity to inspire awe on the order of Niagara Falls or Lake Superior, if we take the time to appreciate it. Writing a reference grammar provides the enjoyment of thousands of hours of careful scrutiny, though at the same time one realizes acutely the truth of Michael Krauss's statement that a hundred linguists working for a hundred years could never get to the bottom of a single language. Nishnaabemwin is a language exceedingly rich in structure, inviting many levels of analysis—it is an inexhaustible source of pleasure and challenge for its students.

This grammar is designed to be useful to a variety of readers, including researchers, Nishnaabemwin teachers, and any diligent student of the language. At the back of the grammar can be found an extensive index, and a glossary of almost all of the grammatical terminology used throughout. Crucially, the index also lists all finals introduced in Chapters 9 through 11, which are not individually identified in the table of contents, under the heading 'finals.' Something in the vicinity of 5,000 items of vocabulary are organized into coherent structural and notional systems. The table of contents provides a detailed map of the grammar as well. There are a couple of thousand example sentences, and each is provided with a complete analysis of the grammatical properties of every word. This wealth of material by no means serves to exhaust the topics addressed. In fact, the very extensiveness of the grammar underscores how much we have to learn before we even begin to fathom the real intricacies and richness of the language. This is the barest beginning, one that any fluent speaker could easily double or triple in size with the least bit of reflection.

The overall structure of the book is as follows: the first chapter introduces the language, discusses dialect variation, the Algonquian language family, Anishinaabemowin dialects, and sub-dialects within Nishnaabemwin. There is also a brief discussion of the kinds of information that speakers of a language employ in speaking, and therefore, must be accounted for in a grammatical description. The second chapter addresses the sound patterns and writing system of the language. The third chapter introduces the parts of speech, and the grammatical categories associated with each. Chapters 4 through 8 treat the inflec-

tion of the primary lexical word classes, nouns, animate intransitive verbs, inanimate intransitive verbs, transitive animate verbs, and transitive inanimate verbs. Chapters 9 through 11 treat the derivational morphology of the language, focussing first on intransitive verbs, then transitive, then nouns and adverbs. Chapters 12 through 18 treat various aspects of lexicon and syntax, including chapters addressing the structure and function of nominals, predicates, expressions of location and manner, time and certainty, and quantity and degree. The final chapter provides a general discussion of syntactic issues, as well as specific topics such as the use of the ubiquitous discourse element *mii*, and an account of the ways that questions and commands are formed.

SENTENCE EXAMPLES. Example sentences for the most part have the following format:

(1) Zhashkoonyan gye zhaangweshwan wnisaawaan daawewaad.

'They kill muskrats and mink and sell them.' (AM15.7)

> **Zhashkoonyan** *na 3obv* 'muskrat(s)'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **zhaangweshwan** *na 3obv* 'mink'; **wnisaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl kill ANobv'; **daawewaad** *vaio conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl sell (Y).'

Each example sentence is introduced with a specific reference number, and below the sentence, there appears a free English translation. At the end of the free translation, there is usually a reference code, here (AM15.7) providing the source of the example. These codes are discussed at length in Section 1.5.1 (p. 21), in Chapter 1. Below the free translation is a box containing a word-by-word analysis of each word in bold face, followed by an italicized annotation of its grammatical properties, followed by a word-level gloss. For the most part I have omitted from this glossing the two pragmatic particles *go* and *sa*, simply to save space, and because their usage is not reducible to succinct glossing. Overall, the glosses introduce many useful innovations in the characterization of Algonquian meanings. For example, rather than resorting to the use of gender-specific English pronouns such as 'he,' 'she,' and 'it,' verbal arguments are indexed with codes such as ANsg, ANobv, and IN. Verbs that are inflected for the conjunct inflectional order have a gloss prefaced with (CONJ), and those that show changed conjunct, with (CCNJ). This is to avoid over-translation, since the conjunct usually simply signals subordination, and clauses showing it manifest a variety of semantic relations with respect to the superordinate clause, including relations coded in English by means of conjunctions such as 'as,' 'when,' 'because,' 'in order to,' and 'if.'

Each boldfaced word is followed by a part of speech label, agreeing with the notational system used in Rhodes 1985. For verbs, this is followed by a specification of the inflectional order it carries, whether independent (ind), conjunct (conj) or imperative (imp). If a conjunct verb shows initial change it is indicated with *ic*. Participles are indicated with the code *part*, and inflectional negatives with *neg*. Reduplication of the stem is indicated with the code *redup*, and the iterative with *iter*. The three marked inflectional modes of the independent and conjunct order are indicated with the codes *pret* for preterit, *dub* for dubitative, and

pdub for preterit dubitative. All other verbs are indicative mode, which is unmarked in Nishnaabemwin. Following this is a representation of the verb's argument structure, indicated as directional action in the case of transitive verbs, such as *3pProx»3obv*, which specifies an animate proximate third person plural actor acting on an animate obviative goal. Animate third persons are indicated with a code *3*, and inanimates with a code *0*, in keeping with conventional Ojibweist practice. In cases where number is inflectionally neutralized, no number specification is provided, e.g., conjunct inanimate intransitive verbs have subjects labeled *0*, since the simple conjunct does not distinguish singular and plural. First person plural inclusive is signalled with *21*, and exclusive, with *1p*. Readily interpretable codes include *1s, 2s, 3sProx, 0s, 0obv, 2p, 3p,* and *0p*. In the English glosses, as mentioned above, third persons are identified by straightforward codes specifying grammatical properties, such as ANsg, ANobv, ANpl, INsg, INpl, and INobv. The inflectionally unmarked secondary object of ditransitives and optional object animate intransitive verbs (vaio) are often indicated with the code (Y). The English glosses of obviatives are cast ambiguously as to number, as in 'muskrat(s),' above. In cases where English is ambiguous, as in 'mink,' above, no additional specification is provided, though one can readily inspect the argument specification to determine the precise inflectional configuration. All abbreviations used in glosses are identified in the table of abbreviations.

Linguistic researchers may be disappointed to see that morpheme-level segmentations of examples are rarely provided. At a conference held in Thunder Bay, Ontario, in 1996, a steering committee of Nishnaabemwin speakers explicitly requested that such details not be included, as it was felt that they interfered with the flow of the presentation, and contributed to what is sometimes called the "intellectual mining" of aboriginal languages and cultures. To accommodate these concerns, I initially provided the word-level annotations in an appendix, but under review by the press, intercalation of the annotations into the text was made a requirement for publication, so I had no choice but to comply. Upon reflection, it seems to me that there are many good reasons for working the annotations into the text. For one, many of my readers will be semi-speakers of Nishnaabemwin, who will benefit from the help the annotations provide; secondly, Nishnaabemwin varies dialectally, and the word-level glosses will allow fluent readers to more readily accommodate dialect differences; lastly, of course, the annotations make the language more accessible to those lacking prior exposure. One reviewer pointed out that this grammar is actually a compound work, consisting of an introduction to linguistics as well as a grammar. This I have done, again, to accommodate my intended primary audience, those interested in teaching the language, who typically lack extensive linguistic training.

This work would not have been possible without the assistance of many individuals. I am particularly appreciative of the insights into Algonquian provided by Mary Ann Corbiere, Amy Dahlstrom, Peter Denny, Ives Goddard, Ann Grafstein, Bill Jancewicz, Jonathan Kaye, Rose Nadjiwon, Thecla Neganegijig, John Nichols, Pat Ningewance, John O'Meara, Glyne Piggott, Richard Rhodes, Reta Sands, Roger Spielmann, Isadore Toulouse, Helen Wassegijig, the late Lena White, and Shirley Williams. Few things have been more rewarding to me than the breezy summer days I have spent in the company of so many speakers of

Nishnaabemwin at the Native Language Instructors' Program at Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario. I am thankful to the Walpole Island Heritage Centre, for its patience in waiting so long for this manuscript, and to the community of Walpole Island for the language help that many people have provided. I am grateful to John Stanley for his assistance in procuring funds to undertake this project. Thanks to Conrad Treff and John Taylor for reading portions of the manuscript and offering many improvements. My greatest intellectual debts, though, are to Mary Ann Corbiere and Richard Rhodes, two extraordinary scholars whose work and cooperation greatly facilitated the completion of this project. The staff at the University of Toronto Press was also very helpful and patient, and I would like to thank in particular Anne Laughlin and Ron Schoeffel.

All royalties for this work go to the Walpole Island First Nation, with the express request that they be applied to language preservation and maintenance projects.

Abbreviations

For community codes used with examples , see p. 22; for dialect codes, see p. 22; for individual source codes used with examples, see p. 23.

»	transitive relationship, actor specified to left of arrow, and goal to right; e.g. 1s»2s indicates first person singular actor and second person singular goal
A(B)	A is possessor of B; e.g., *ngwis*, 'my son' is represented as 1s(3sPROX), first person singular possessor, animate third person singular proximate possessum)
0	third person, inanimate (without regard to number, singular or plural)
0'	third person, inanimate obviative
0'p	third person plural, inanimate obviative
0p	third person plural, inanimate
0s	third person singular, inanimate
1p	first person plural, exclusive, 'we (but not you)'
1s	first person singular
21	first person plural, inclusive, 'we, you and I (and perhaps others)'
2p	second person plural, 'you (all)'
2s	second person singular, 'you' (alone)
3"	third person animate, possessed by obviative possessor; third person animate obviative, goal of transitive verb with obviative actor
3'	third person, animate, obviative (number neutralized)
3p	third person plural, animate
3pProx	third person plural, animate, proximate
3s	third person singular, animate, proximate
3sProx	third person singular, animate, proximate
AC	actor (more active role in transitive relations)
an.	animate gender
AN	third person, animate
ANobv	third person, animate obviative
ANpl	third person, animate plural
ANsg	third person, animate singular
anim.	animate gender
av	adverb
CCNJ	verb in changed conjunct verbal order
CONJ	verb in unchanged (plain) conjunct verbal order
ctv	complement-taking verb
dub	dubitative verb mode
GL	goal (more passive role in transitive relations)
ic	initial change

imp	imperative verbal order
IN	noun, inanimate (without regard to number, singular or plural)
inan.	inanimate gender
INobv	inanimate obv
INpl	inanimate plural
INsg	inanimate singular
ind	independent verbal order
iter	iterative verbal mode
loc	noun locative
meas	term used in measurement
na	noun, animate
nad	noun, animate dependent
neg	negative verb polarity (absence implies positive polarity)
neut	neutral/indicative (i.e., unmarked) verbal mode
ni	noun, inanimate
nid	noun, inanimate dependent
Nish	Nishnaabemwin
nm	number (used with numbers, e.g., *bezhig*, 'one')
PA	Proto-Algonquian
part	participle
pc	particle
pdub	preterit dubitative verbal mode
PoS	part of speech
pren	prenoun
prep	pre-adverb, pre-particle (e.g., *gchi-zhaazhi*, 'long ago')
pret	preterit verbal mode
prev	preverb
pr	pronoun
ps-vai	pseudo-intransitive (vai) verb
pv	preverb
recip	reciprocal verb form, 'A and B see each other'
redup	verb form showing reduplication
refl	reflexive verb form, 'A sees self'
rt	root
s.o.	someone (specifically animate)
s.t.	something (usually specifically inanimate)
ta	verb, transitive animate
ti	verb, transitive inanimate
vai	verb, animate intransitive
vaio	verb, animate intransitive plus optional object
vaip	verb, animate intransitive, plural form
vii	verb, inanimate intransitive

voc	vocative
vta	verb, transitive animate
vta/vai	transitive animate verb which has been derivationally made intransitive; sometimes used for reciprocal and reflexive forms
vta/vaip	transitive animate verb which has been derivationally made intransitive, with obligatorily plural subject; used for reciprocal forms, which by nature require a plural subject
vti	verb, transitive inanimate
vti2	transitive inanimate verb with -oo theme
X	unspecified actor, generalized actor (used to represent the 'agent' of
Y	animate or inanimate object (used to specify the inflectionally unmarked argument in transitive verbs having more than two notional arguments; also used to specify the goal of vaio verbs, since these may vary in animacy.

1

Introduction to Nishnaabemwin

1.1 Introduction

This grammar presents a linguistic study of an Algonquian language spoken in southern Ontario along the shores of Lake Huron and points to the east roughly as far as the Ottawa River. The language is here identified as NISHNAABEMWIN, because that is the term that its speakers, the NISHNAABEG (singular, NISHNAABE), typically use to identify their language. The varieties of language represented by this grammar are called by many names in English, including ODAWA, OTTAWA, CHIPPEWA, OJIBWAY, or even simply "Indian," especially by older Nishnaabe people. As with all languages spoken over broad geographical areas, speakers of Nishnaabemwin show variation in all aspects of their language use, including VOCABULARY, PRONUNCIATION and GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS. This variation creates a fabric of loosely-defined local DIALECTS, that taken together, fit into an even broader pattern of languages which are commonly collectively identified as OJIBWE (also spelled Ojibway and Ojibwa), or ANISHINAABEMOWIN, though neither term is entirely satisfactory. Anishinaabemowin is spoken over a vast region of central Canada and in U.S. border states from Michigan to Montana. Of the three hundred or more languages that were spoken in North America at the time of contact with Europeans, the Anishinaabemowin GROUP is one of the few that is still spoken by large numbers of speakers, and one of the few that has a chance of lasting more than a couple of generations into the future. Many northern Anishinaabemowin dialects are still being learned as first languages by children, but Nishnaabemwin is often not learned as a first language anymore, though, of course, children do continue to learn the language in homes where their parents and grandparents speak it to them regularly. The language is also now being taught to children as a SECOND LANGUAGE in primary and secondary schools in many reserve communities, as well as in some urban school districts. This grammar is designed in part to serve as a resource and reference for teachers engaged in the promotion and preservation of their language. A map showing most communities for which the grammar will be pertinent is provided on the following page.

NISHNAABE COMMUNITIES

1. Walpole Island 2. Sarnia 3. Kettle and Stoney Point 4. Saugeen 5. Chief's Point 6. Cape Croker 7. Saugeen-Cape Croker hunting reserve. 8. Scugog 9. Rice Lake 10. Sugar Island 11. Alnwick 12. Mud Lake 13. Georgena Islands 14. Rama 15. Christian Islands 16. Moose Deer Point 17. Parry Island 18. Shawanaga 19. Manetawan 20. Henvey Inlet 21. French River 22. Dokis 23. Nipissing 24. Wahnapital 25. Whitefish Lake 26. Mattagami 27. Whitefish River 28. Spanish River 29. Serpent River 30. Mississagi River 31. Thessalon 32. Garden River 33. Bay Mills 34. Cockburn Island 35. Sheshegwaning 36. West Bay 3. Sucker Creek 38. Sheguiandah 39. Wikwemikong 40. Caradoc 41. New Credit. (Map from Schmalz 1991)

VARIATION IN NISHNAABEMWIN. As an example of the variation in vocabulary that exists among speakers of Nishnaabemwin, the words that translate into English as 'this' are *maaba* (anim.) and *maanda* (inan.) for some speakers, and *aw* (anim.) and *ow* (inan.) for others. Sometimes the distribution of variable vocabulary such as this can be described in terms of COMMUNITY LANGUAGE USAGE patterns, such that *maaba* and *maanda* can be said to be used in the communities of Walpole Island and Wikwemikong (Manitoulin Island), while *aw* and *ow* are used at Curve Lake and Rama. But there are also communities where both sets of words are used, and many individual speakers use both sets of terms, or even vary in the use of individual terms. Variation of this sort is part and parcel of any spoken language, and no grammar can hope to capture the grammatical patterns of every speaker—rather some compromise must be reached which allows for an acceptable job of representing those of a majority of speakers, which can serve as a guide to the language's most important grammatical features. I will discuss the nature of dialect variation in more detail below, but at this point want to emphasize that this grammar presents only a few of the many ways of speaking varieties of a language called Nishnaabemwin, and makes no claim to be the only way, especially, to be the *correct* way of speaking. Ultimately the materials of this grammar are based on the speech of a only a handful of speakers. If Nishnaabemwin-speaking readers find that their own speech departs from what is presented here, they may still find the grammar useful as a structural guide by which to document their own personal and community language patterns. The GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES presented will be found almost everywhere among Nishnaabemwin speakers, even though the exact expression of these categories may vary. For example, all speakers and all communities will have sets of DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS meaning 'this' and 'that,' and 'these' and 'those,' indexed for the same grammatical features of GENDER, NUMBER, and OBVIATION, but the actual forms filling each grammatical slot in the system may vary.

1.1.1 Nishnaabemwin and Syncope

In the last seventy-five years, certain varieties of Anishinaabemowin found along the northern and eastern shores of Lake Huron, extending east into southwestern Ontario, have undergone a major sound change that both unites these dialects and distinguishes them from other dialects to which each was historically more closely related. The nature of this change can be seen by comparing a few words from Anishinaabemowin spoken in northern Ontario and Minnesota with the same words as they are pronounced along the shores of Georgian Bay (GB) and Lake Huron (southwestern Ontario).

	Northern Ontario	GB/Lake Huron
mosquito	zagime	zgime
shoe	makizin	mkizin
pipe (for smoking)	opwaagan	pwaagan
man	inini	nini

In each case the Northern word has VOWELS not found in the corresponding GB/Lake Huron word. These vowels are not pronounced in the latter dialect because of a prominent rule of vowel SYNCOPE, which deletes vowels that are not STRESSED. De-emphasizing UNSTRESSED vowels is a very common process in the languages of the world, and the rule in Lake Huron speech is quite regular, so that, often, given a Northern Anishinaabemowin pronunciation, an approximation of the word's pronunciation in southwestern[1] Ontario speech can be determined by applying a patterned rule of vowel stressing, with subsequent deletion of unstressed vowels. This rule is quite regular: notice that in all four of the example words above, it is the first vowel of the Northern pronunciation that is not pronounced in the Southwestern (see the chart below, which shows this clearly). The words are otherwise the same. Notice, too, how neither the second vowel nor the last vowel of the Northern word is absent from the Southwestern pronunciation. The point here is that the vowel-deletion rule is regular and predictable, not haphazard. It represents a productive pronunciation change that has taken place in the speech of Southwestern Ontario Nishnaabeg. We will look at this rule in considerable detail in the next chapter, because it has had far-reaching effects on the grammar of the language. Interestingly, because of this rule, the name of the language shows the same kind of pronunciation effects that other words in southwestern Ontario do:

Northern Ontario	Southwestern Ontario
Anishinaabemowin	Nishnaabemwin

mosquito: Northern *zagime*, Southern *zgime*							
Northern	z	a	g	i	m	e	
Southern	z		g	i	m	e	
shoe Northern *makizin*, Southern *mkizin*							
Northern	m	a	k	i	z	i	n
Southern	m		k	i	z	i	n
pipe Northern *opwaagan*, Southern *pwaagan*							
Northern	o	pw	aa	g	a	n	
Southern		pw	aa	g	a	n	
man Northern *inini*, Southern *nini*							
Northern	i	n	i	n	i		
Southern		n	i	n	i		

WORDS ILLUSTRATING REGULARITY OF NISHNAABEMWIN VOWEL SYNCOPE RULE

1 The popular use of "southwestern" Ontario, among Ontarians, refers to that portion of Ontario lying between Lakes Huron and Erie, and that is how I use it here.

SCOPE OF THE GRAMMAR. In sum, this grammar is designed to be a resource for speakers of vowel syncopating dialects of Anishinaabemowin, representing varieties here collectively identified as Nishnaabemwin. The main speech varieties represented are those of Walpole Island, Parry Island, Cape Croker, and Manitoulin Island, though other areas are represented when data are available. Speakers of Nishnaabemwin come from many linguistic and cultural backgrounds, including Chippewa, Ottawa/Odawa, and Potawatomi. Chippewa and Odawa are recognized as dialects of Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe), while Potawatomi is usually considered to be a separate language, though Potawatomi and southern varieties of Anishinaabemowin are quite similar and there are long traditions of contact and cooperation between the Potawatomi and various groups of Anishinaabe people.

As an introduction to the study of Nishnaabemwin, and language in general, I will first discuss the notions of LANGUAGE and DIALECT, as they are particularly important in understanding the variation that obtains among speakers of Nishnaabemwin. I will then introduce the ALGONQUIAN language family, of which Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) is a member, and then the various recognized dialects of Anishinaabemowin.

1.2 Language, Dialect, Idiolect, and Variety

Each of us learns one or more languages as a child, which we use in communicating with those around us, at first our immediate family and others within our community. As we grow, we come in contact with people from other communities, and in some cases their speech may be similar enough to ours that we can understand each other and communicate with ease; in other cases, even though we may share many words and grammatical patterns, we cannot easily converse because of differences in speech forms. In the first case, in which there is mutual understanding, we readily agree that we are speaking the "same" language, even though there may be differences between the two forms of speech. In the other case, while we can detect similarities, there are nonetheless too many differences to allow fluid communication, and we may say that the other person speaks a "different" language from us, even though there may be some undeniable similarities between the two speech forms, and even though the different forms of language may be referred to with the same English name, such as "Ojibwe." If the situation were always clear-cut like this, we wouldn't have too much of a problem in determining whether two people spoke the same or different languages— if they clearly understood each other we could say they spoke the same language, and if they didn't, we could say that they spoke different languages. However, when we examine the kind of variation found from community to community in the aboriginal languages of North America, we discover that there are rarely clear-cut distinctions between one language and another, but rather, slowly accumulating differences in speech forms as the distances between communities grow. And because of this it becomes very difficult to say then when two people speak the "same" language, or when they speak "different" languages. Often there is a CHAINING effect that is created by communities showing overlap in language forms with nearby communities. As a somewhat simplified example, consider the words (VOCABULARY) from the following three hypothetical Anishinaabe communities:

	Community A	Community B	Community C
'dives'	googii	googii	googii
'woman'	ikwe	akwe	kwe
'ball'	doohwaan	doohwaan	bkwaakod
'house'	waakaahigan	waakaaygan	wiigwaam
'bead'	miigis	mandoominens	mnidoomnens
'old man'	gichi-ahaa	akiyenzi	kiwenziinh

Here we see that all three of these communities have the same words for 'dives' and 'woman,' though each community pronounces the word for 'woman' slightly differently. There is also small variation in the pronunciation of many of the other words. Communities A and B have four words in common, outlined here:

	Community A	Community B	Community C
'dives'	googii	googii	googii
'woman'	ikwe	akwe	kwe
'ball'	doohwaan	doohwaan	bkwaakod
'house'	waakaahigan	waakaaygan	wiigwaam
'bead'	miigis	mandoominens	mnidoomnens
'old man'	gichi-ahaa	akiyenzi	kiwenziinh

Note, however, that Communities B and C also have four words in common:

	Community A	Community B	Community C
'dives'	googii	googii	googii
'woman'	ikwe	akwe	kwe
'bead'	miigis	mandoominens	mnidoomnens
'old man'	gichi-ahaa	akiyenzi	kiwenziinh
'ball'	doohwaan	doohwaan	bkwaakod
'house'	waakaahigan	waakaaygan	wiigwaam

If we put these two patterns of vocabulary match together, we find that there is an interesting overlap between Community B and each of Communities A and C:

	Community A	Community B	Community C
'bead'	miigis	mandoominens	mnidoomnens
'old man'	gichi-ahaa	akiyenzi	kiwenziinh
'dives'	googii	googii	googii
'woman'	ikwe	akwe	kwe
'ball'	doohwaan	doohwaan	bkwaakod
'house'	waakaahigan	waakaaygan	wiigwaam

Communities A and C have only two words in common with each other, but both are closer to Community B, with which they each share four related forms. Community B is somewhat "central" here, in that it is the community with the highest number of forms shared with other communities. But consider for a moment what it means to say that speakers of Communities A, B, and C all speak the same language. Two of the communities are quite different from each other, sharing just two forms in six items of vocabulary. Yet in an important way the three communities are linked by a common thread of overlapping vocabulary. Linguists typically deal with this problem by referring to the whole complex system that includes Communities A, B, and C as a single language, and each of the forms of speech represented by the given communities as being DIALECTS, or local VARIANTS, of LANGUAGE X. But the term "dialect" shows the same problems that "language" does, in that even within communities there is often considerable variation, particularly in aboriginal communities, because people of different regional, linguistic, tribal, and cultural traditions often came together by either choice or circumstance. We could appeal to another term, SUB-DIALECT, which would specify an identifiable sub-group of a given dialect, but if we were meticulous in our documentation of differences, we might end up assigning every speaker in a given community to a separate sub-dialect. The effect of all of this is that even when reference is made to a particular dialect of a given language, it must be understood that such a dialect is not necessarily uniform, the same for every speaker, but almost always shows considerable internal variation, sometimes to the point of making its identification as a recognizable dialect as much a social or political consideration as a linguistic one.

It is not only vocabulary that shows variation between speakers and communities. Another prominent area of grammar where variation is found is in the pronunciation of words, parts of words, and phrases. Speakers are often consciously aware of these differences of "accent," as can be seen from the following anecdote that was told by Andrew Medler, who was born in Michigan but moved to Walpole Island when he was young.

(1) E-shki-dgoshnaan maa Walpole Island iw enweyaan ngii-nji-mbashaabhig=oog. (2) Gaa wii ngii-nwesii enwewaad. (3) Iw gii-aabjitoowaad nwewin. (4) Wiinwaa "yaan" nwewin, ge-niinwi dash gaa-bi-njibaayaan naasaab go iw kidwin "yaan" ezhnikaadeg, ge-niinwi ndizhnikaadaanaa "yaanh." (5) Ge-wiinwaa ezhnikaadmowaad "endaayaan," ge-niinwi dash "endaayaanh."	(1) When I first came to Walpole Island, they made fun of me on account of the way I spoke. (2) I did not pronounce the way they did. (3) That language which they used. (4) Where they used the pronunciation, "yaan," there we, where I came from, for that same speech form which is spoken "yaan," we used the pronunciation "yaanh." (5) When they said "endaayaan," there we said "endaayaanh." (AM1.1-6)

(1) **E-shki-dgoshnaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) when I first arrived'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **enweyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) way which I speak'; **ngii-nji-mbashaabhigoog** *vta ind 3p»1s* 'ANpl made fun of me on account of Y.' (2) **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **ngii-nwesii** *vai ind 1s neg* 'I didn't speak so'; **enwewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) way ANpl speak.' (3) **Iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-aabjitoowaad** *vti2 conj 3pProx»0* '(CNJ) ANpl used IN'; **nwewin** *ni 0s* 'way of speaking.' (4) **Wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'they/their'; **nwewin** *ni 0s* 'way of speaking'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **gaa-bi-njibaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I hailed from'; **naasaab** *av* 'equivalently'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **kidwin** *ni 0s* 'utterance'; **ezhnikaadeg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is called'; **ge-niinwi** *pr pers 1p* 'as for us (EXCL.)'; **ndizhnikaadaanaa** *vti ind 1p»0s* 'we (EXCL.) call INsg.' (5) **Ge-wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'as for them'; **ezhnikaadmowaad** *vti ic conj 3p»0* '(CCNJ) ANpl call IN'; **ge-niinwi** *pr pers 1p* 'as for us (EXCL)'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **endaayaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

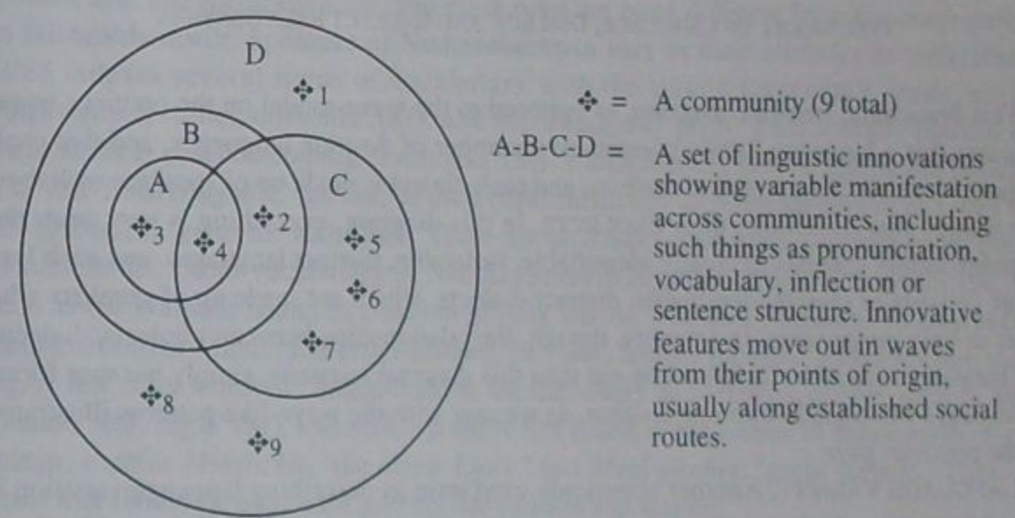
When Andrew Medler first came to live on Walpole Island, a small difference in pronunciation between his speech and that of the people living there was noticed, and was a source of friendly joking with him. The difference was minor, involving the pronunciation of a VERBAL SUFFIX, whether *-yaan*, with a final /n/ sound, or *-yaanh*, with a NASALIZED VOWEL at the end. Later in this chapter I will review some of the main differences that exist among speakers of Nishnaabemwin, but for now, it is enough to realize that virtually any aspect of language can show variation, including pronunciation, vocabulary, word structure, and sentence patterns, and that speakers are often acutely aware of minor differences.

There are many technical terms to identify various forms of speech, such as IDIOLECT, DIALECT, LANGUAGE, SOCIOLECT, LANGUAGE FAMILY, and VARIETY. Each of these terms is useful in talking about Nishnaabemwin. An IDIOLECT refers to the speech of a particular individual, distinct from that of all other individuals. Every speaker of every language has his or her own particular way of talking, including distinctive pronunciations, vocabulary and preferred sentence patterns. The term DIALECT is used to refer to forms of language that are shared by a significant number of speakers, usually delimited geographically. For example, we can refer to the Odawa dialect, or the Chippewa dialect, or the Algonquin dialect of Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe), recognizing that while certain features shared by speakers

unite them, other features of language may vary within the dialect. In popular usage, the term DIALECT sometimes has a connotation of being sub-standard or unusual, but in this work it is never used with such evaluative judgements.

Another aspect of dialects is that they typically have a FOCAL REGION, which shows a majority of the features that define the dialect and distinguish it from others dialects, and outlying regions, which show fewer of these defining, diagnostic features. Yet speakers of both central and peripheral dialect regions may use the same term to identify their dialect and language, and may even share attitudes about which pronunciations, vocabulary, and grammatical patterns are preferred, even if they do not share identical behaviours with respect to the use of such features.

The figure below illustrates another common way of representing language variation. Here there are nine hypothetical communities (identified with the symbol ✣ and a subscripted number) and four speech innovations (language features), labeled A, B, C, D, radiating out from different initial locations to encompass adjacent areas, with each innovation's range indicated by a circle. So, for example, innovation A applies only to communities 3 and 4, while innovation D applies to all communities. Community 4 shows all four innovations, community 3 has three innovations, and so on. Viewed from above, the patterns of innovation are rather like overlapping ripples produced by tossing pebbles into a tranquil pond. In just this way innovations accumulate to produce dialects. Of course, the dialect picture is compounded by the fact that speakers move between communities, distributing innovations in ways that are not contiguous in the manner of ripples in water.

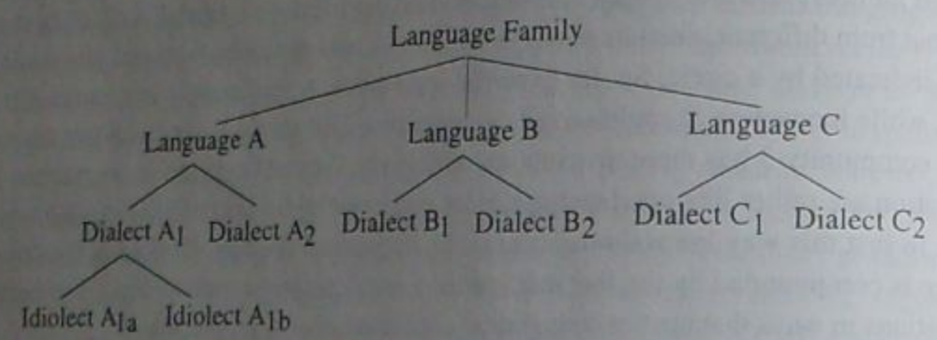


WAVE MODEL OF LANGUAGE CHANGE AND RELATIONSHIP

LANGUAGE. The term LANGUAGE is more inclusive than dialect, and generally refers to any forms of speech that are mutually intelligible, though this criterion is obviously very inexact. Mutually intelligibility simply means that speakers are able to understand each other. So, for example, it is often observed that speakers of Chippewa and Odawa can understand each other, and thus speak the same language, even though they speak different dialects.

LANGUAGE FAMILY. Another important concept is that of the LANGUAGE FAMILY, which is made up of languages having a common linguistic ancestry. So, for example, Ojibwe belongs to the ALGONQUIAN language family, which includes Potawatomi, Menomini, Delaware, and Cree, among many others.

We can schematically represent the various relationships we have been discussing with the following diagram:



TREE MODEL OF LANGUAGE, DIALECT, AND IDIOLECT RELATIONSHIPS

This branching, tree-like diagram, as opposed to the wave-model on the previous page, indicates that a language family consists of a number of discrete languages, and that each language consists of a number of dialects, and each dialect is made up of speakers with their own unique way of talking, their IDIOLECTS. In this diagram, everything is very neat: the language family consists of clearly identifiable, isolatable, distinct languages, and each language consists of clearly identifiable, distinct dialects, which are made up of speakers who differ in only minor ways. In actuality, though, the relationships between idiolects, dialects, and languages are often far less clear-cut than this diagram suggests, simply because forms of language often grade into one another, as we saw with the wave-like patterns illustrated on the previous page.

LANGUAGE VARIETY. Another commonly used term in describing language variation is that of VARIETY, which specifies any distinguishable form of a language. This could refer to the speech patterns of a region, a community, or some sub-grouping within a community. It is a neutral term with respect to the notions of dialect, sub-dialect, and language.

SOCIOLECTS. SOCIOLECTS are forms of speech shared by speakers who have some common social trait, such as being in the same age group, or being of the same gender, male or female. In Nishnaabemwin, because of differences in the opportunity to learn the language due to factors such as residential schools, differences in the speech of different age groups

can be quite pronounced. Typically in Nishnaabemwin, language proficiency is AGE-STRATIFIED, such that older speakers tend to be more fluent than younger. In other cases, occupational specialty may produce language differences, so that, for example, teachers may develop special terms for objects used in school, or farmers may have terms relating to agriculture. Specialists in any area usually have enriched vocabularies in the areas of their specialty, whether it be traditional herbal medicine or modern baseball.

As an example of a gender difference in speech, Rhodes 1985 lists the term *koojiish*, 'louse' with the designation *woman's word*, meaning that it is a term mostly used by women, and not by men. Other gender-based vocabulary differences can be seen in the richly articulated traditional kinship system of Nishnaabemwin, where, for example, a woman refers to her brother-in-law as *niinim*, while a man uses the term *niitaa;* a man refers to his sister-in-law as *niinim*, but a woman uses *ndaangwenh*. Gender differences work at many different levels of language, including vocabulary, patterns of conversational interaction, preferred topics, and the appropriateness of particular vocabulary and grammatical constructions in different social settings. These patterns vary from language to language, and even community to community, and are an important part of general language competence. For example, English has different, contrasting sets of vocabulary for dealing with bodily functions and related parts of the body, on an order not found in Nishnaabemwin, because attitudes towards such processes were historically different, and cultural differences are reflected in language. Furthermore, rigid social rules of appropriate usage exist in English for when each of these terms may be used, indexed by many social factors, such as gender, age, and social situation, and these rules are quite different from the usage patterns of Nishnaabemwin. Speakers of Nishnaabemwin vary in their attitudes as well. Rhodes 1985 indexes several items of vocabulary with the USAGE CATEGORY *crude*, such as *miiziiwgamig* 'toilet, outhouse' (M), and *miiziiwaagan*, 'privy.' Less socially marked than these terms is *zaaghamoogmig*, 'outhouse' (M), which literally means, 'going out building.' The verb form *zaagham*, 'go out,' is used euphemistically in Nishnaabemwin in a way similar to English 'go to the bathroom.' There are no doubt social rules associated with the use of such terms. Other vocabulary in Nishnaabemwin is rather obviously euphemistic, too, such as the Walpole Island expression *gojiing wiisni*, 'she eats outdoors,' in reference to menstruation, or Manitoulin *aanji-giisiwe*, lit. 'she changes months,' with the same meaning. A few other words are categorized in the dictionary as socially sensitive, such as *bnesi*, 'thunderbird; eagle' (M), and *mshi-*, a PRENOUN found in the names of many mythological beings, such as *Mshibzhii*, 'the Great Lynx,' and *Mshi-gnebig*, 'great serpent.' These are terms that should be used with appropriate caution and respect.

In other cases, differences may involve attitudes towards quite specific features of grammar, such as the appropriateness of a particular prefix or pronunciation. Many speakers, for example, vary in their attitudes towards vowel syncope and the use of person(al) prefixes such as *ndoo-*, *ndi-*, and *nda-* with different words.

PRESCRIPTION AND DESCRIPTION. Related to social variation in language and the writing of grammars are the notions of description and prescription. A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR is one that describes what people actually say, while a PRESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR is one that

seeks to dictate particular ways of speaking. For example, a descriptive grammar might point out that some speakers of Nishnaabemwin use the FIRST PERSON PREFIX *ndoo-* with verbs such as *niimi*, 'dance,' and *boodwe*, 'make a fire,' whereas a prescriptive grammar might insist that because these words traditionally had long vowels in their first syllables, the appropriate form of the prefix is «n». I mention this issue because it actually came up in readers' comments on the grammar, when one reader suggested that certain forms with *ndoo-* were incorrect. Another said that its usage with certain verb stems was a sign of a lack of fluency. This is a particularly thorny issue in Nishnaabemwin, where some patterns of usage probably do represent less fluency than others do. But it is not my purpose here to prescribe ways of speaking the language.

1.3 The Algonquian Language Family

Anishinaabemowin belongs to the Algonquian language family, which at the time of European contact was spoken widely over the eastern North American continent. The delineation of the Algonquian language family and the RECONSTRUCTION of the PARENT LANGUAGE from which the modern languages have descended is mostly due to the work of Leonard Bloomfield (1925, 1946). On the basis of comparison of four central Algonquian languages, Fox, Cree, Ojibwe and Menominee, Bloomfield was able to reconstruct the PHONOLOGICAL INVENTORY (set of distinctive sounds) of Proto-Algonquian to a surprising degree of detail, and also many aspects of its rich word structure (morphology), even though there existed no ancient documents for Algonquian such as aided scholars in reconstructing the hypothesized parent language of many European languages, Proto-Indo-European. The reconstruction of Proto-Algonquian was done by a careful comparison of SOUND CORRESPONDENCES in COGNATE vocabulary in the daughter languages, such as is illustrated by the sample of words on the following page from seven Algonquian languages. Cognates are related words in daughter languages that have developed from the same source word in the mother language.

Since the relationship between a word's form (pronunciation) and its meaning is essentially an arbitrary one, when words having similar meanings sound similar in different languages, one possible explanation is genetic relationship, that is, that the languages have come from a common parent language, and have as a result inherited common vocabulary and grammar. Compare the Algonquian words for 'bear,' in the table on the following page, with those of some Germanic languages: English, *bear*; Swedish, *björn*; Danish, *Bjørn*; Dutch, *beer*; German, *Bär*. These words share obvious similarities. An examination of the words in some Romance languages yields different results: French, *l'ours*; Spanish, *el oso*; Portuguese, *o urso*; Italian, *l'orso*. In each case the relationship between the word and the thing is arbitrary, that is, there is nothing about bears that suggests that *bear* or *urso* or *mkwa* is somehow a more natural or appropriate set of sounds to use to identify this animal than any of the other languages' sounds. So when groups of languages show extensive, structured similarity between their vocabularies, one possibility is that they have all inherited their vocabularies from a common "mother" language.

	large game bird	beaver	bear
Plains Cree	piyeew, 'partridge'	amisk	maskwa
Delaware	pleew, 'turkey'	amóxkw	maxkw
Fox	peneewa, 'turkey'	amehkwa	mahkwa
Menominee	peneew, 'quail, partridge'		
Ojibwe	pinee, 'partridge'	amikk	makkwa
Shawnee	peleewa, 'turkey'	hameʔkwa	mkwa
Arapaho	čénee, 'turkey, quail, grouse'		wóx
Proto-Algonquian	*peleewa	*ameθkwa	*maθkwa

SOME COGNATES FROM ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES

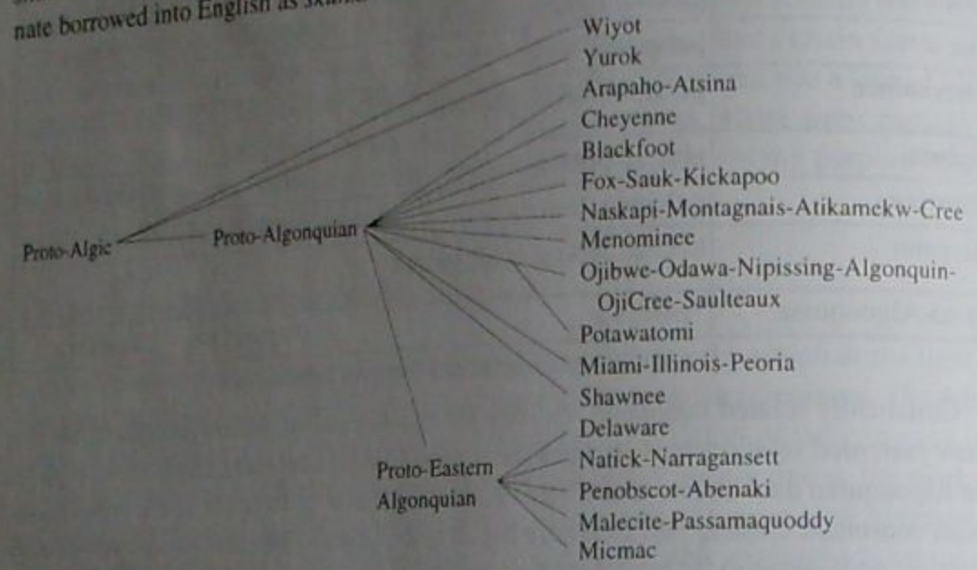
Genetically related languages not only share common vocabulary (cognates), but also show patterned relationships between the sounds of this vocabulary. Note, for example, in the Algonquian data above, that where Plains Cree has *sk* as its reflex of the Proto-Algonquian consonant cluster, **θk*, Delaware has *xk* and Ojibwe *kk* (spelled «k» in contemporary practical orthography), in both the words for 'beaver' and 'bear.'[1] The sound changes that languages undergo over time are often consistent and regular. Based on comparisons of this sort between languages such as Cree, Ojibwe and Fox, the sound system and vocabulary of their common parent language, Proto-Algonquian, was pieced together. Note the reconstructed Proto-Algonquian forms in the table above, given at the bottom of the table, and marked with an asterisk (*), for example, **peleewa* is the Proto-Algonquian word for a large game bird. The asterisk preceding the word is to identify it as a hypothetical form, that is, one postulated to have existed on the basis of comparative research, rather than a word that has actually been attested in spoken or written form.

The table on the following page shows the traditional analysis of Algonquian GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS. It includes the California languages Wiyot and Yurok which were first postulated by Edward Sapir (1913) to be related to the Algonquian languages. Since these languages were not felt to be descended from Proto-Algonquian, a language antecedent to all of them was hypothesized, called PROTO-ALGIC.

This chart lays out languages vertically in a rough west to east distribution. The only major widely-accepted sub-grouping of the Algonquian family proper is that of EASTERN ALGONQUIAN, which consists of the languages once spoken on the Atlantic coast, from New Brunswick to the Carolinas, at the time of European contact. These languages share many structured innovations in their PHONOLOGY (sound system) and MORPHOLOGY (word struc-

1. The letter «θ», called "theta," stands for a sound similar to the «th» of English *thistle*. The letter «x» here stands for a sound in which the back tongue is put up against the soft palate as in making a 'k', but instead of completely closing off the airflow as in 'k', creating a narrow opening and allowing the air to flow through it with considerable friction. The letter «č», called c-wedge, is used to represent a sound akin to the «ch» of English *church*, and is equivalent to IPA /dʒ/ or /tʃ/. The letter «ʔ» represents a GLOTTAL STOP, as in English *uh-uh* meaning 'no.'

ture) (see Goddard 1980 for more information), such as an "intrusive NASAL," i.e., Proto-Algonquian **aa* sometimes became **an* in Proto-Eastern Algonquian, e.g., compare Ojibwe *shikaak* (*zhigaag* in the writing system generally used in this work) with the Eastern cognate borrowed into English as *skunk*.[1]



ALGIC LANGUAGES (AFTER BLOOMFIELD 1946, TEETER 1967, TODD 1970 AND GODDARD 1979)

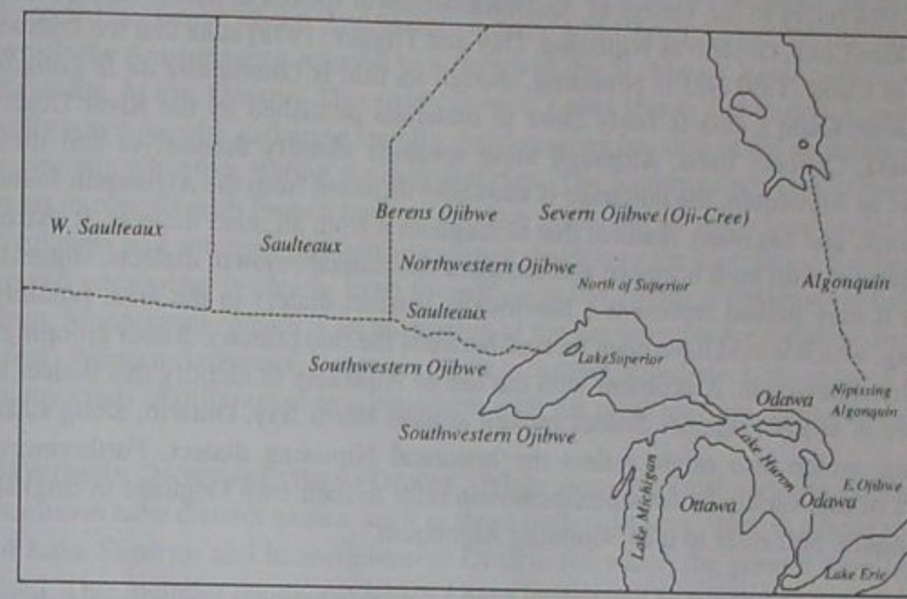
It is customary to divide the non-Eastern languages into two subgroups, a PLAINS group, consisting of Arapaho, Blackfoot, and Cheyenne, and a CENTRAL group, consisting of all the other languages. These designations do not, however, represent GENETIC (familial) subgroupings, but are rather for convenience in referring to the languages in a given geographical area. For example, some analysts feel that Cheyenne, a "Plains" language, is more closely related genetically to the other Central Algonquian languages than is Cree. The amount of contact, BILINGUALISM, and INDEPENDENT PARALLEL DEVELOPMENTS of Proto-Algonquian reflexes in the Central languages has obscured the genetic relationships that existed between them.

1.4 An Overview of Anishinaabemowin Dialects

The general pattern of Anishinaabemowin dialects is relatively clear, and can be summarized with the map below. Some dialects are rather clearly defined, and have quite distinctive features by which affiliations can be identified. This includes especially the dialects of Algonquin, Nipissing Algonquin, Odawa and Severn Ojibwe (Oji-Cree). On the north shore of Lake Superior, we find northern elements occurring in the eastern communities (e.g., Pic

1. I have not included all the known extinct Algonquian languages. Of the non-Algonquian languages, Proulx 1981:11 states that "Wiyot is dead, and Yurok ... is a dying language used only by a few old people on rare occasions."

Mobert and Pic Huron), and a greater occurrence of northern features inland. In western Ontario, the Border Lakes of the Minnesota-Ontario region shows clear affiliation with Saulteaux to the west.



MAP OF ANISHINAABEMOWIN DIALECTS

A few general observations on Anishinaabemowin dialects follow.

- ALGONQUIN as a group is popularly distinguished from Ojibwe as if it were a separate language. It is only linguists that recognize it as a variety of Ojibwe, though they do so on the basis of very sound linguistic evidence. The Algonquins have been located in the Ottawa Valley along the present day Quebec-Ontario border, in a large area centered around Lake Abitibi (also on the Quebec-Ontario border), and along the St. Lawrence, since the earliest periods of European contact. There are two quite distinct varieties of Anishinaabemowin popularly identified as Algonquin, a northern and a southern. The southern I refer to as NIPISSING ALGONQUIN, below.

- CHIPPEWA. The name Chippewa is ultimately derived from another European rendering of the word Ojibwe, though its pronunciation is now based on its English spelling. This term is sometimes used to designate Nishnaabeg in southwestern Ontario whose ancestors moved into Canada from the U.S. in historical times, many of whom have maintained their Chippewa cultural identity. EASTERN OJIBWA is sometimes used, particularly by linguists (e.g., Rhodes 1985), to designate the modern reflexes of Chippewa in Ontario, which have undergone innovations that distinguish them from American varieties. The dialect of Anishinaabemowin spoken in the United States is often designated SOUTHWESTERN OJIBWA (e.g., Rhodes and Todd 1981), though speakers tend to use Ojibwe or Anishinaabemowin.

- NIPISSING ALGONQUIN. The Nipissings have long been associated with Lake Nipissing, which is north of Lake Huron and connected to the drainage of the Ottawa River. The identification of a modern descendant of the Nipissing dialect is uncertain. Valentine 1994 refers to the variety of Anishinaabemowin spoken at Maniwaki, Quebec and Golden Lake, Ontario as Nipissing. Day and Trigger (1978) state that the Ojibwe dialect in Cuoq (1891-92) is Nipissing, though its title is *Grammaire de le Langue Algonquine*. Cuoq's data is fairly close to materials published by the River Desert (Maniwaki, Quebec) band. Although these speakers identify themselves and their language as Algonquin, the language is markedly different from the Algonquin found to the north, and has many features that distinguish it from all other dialects. It shares many features with both northern and southern Anishinaabemowin dialects, suggesting that it may indeed represent a historically distinct dialect in the area, possibly Nipissing, which would have been located between the two primary dialect groupings of Anishinaabemowin. A problem with the use of Nipissing to identify this dialect is that there is another distinct dialect spoken around North Bay, Ontario, along Lake Nipissing, which also might reflect the historical Nipissing dialect. Furthermore, speakers of this variety of Anishinaabemowin refer to their own language in English as Algonquin. So I refer to it as Nipissing Algonquin.

- ODAWA, sometimes referred to as OTTAWA in parts of the United States, is spoken on the shores of Lake Huron and in Michigan. Many speakers of Odawa in Ontario identify their dialect as Ojibwe, or in some cases, Chippewa. Most modern varieties show some admixture of Chippewa, or Potawatomi, the closest linguistic relative of Anishinaabemowin. Many Potawatomi fled to Canada in the nineteenth century, often settling in Odawa areas. According to popular lore, this word is related to the word, adaawe, 'sell, trade,' in recognition of the prominence of the Ottawa in the development of the fur trade, but the actual source of the name is obscure. The word is very old, predating contact with Europeans.

- OJI-CREE (ANIHSHININIIMOWIN, SEVERN OJIBWE). There is a variety of Anishinaabemowin spoken in northwestern Ontario that is commonly identified in English by its own speakers as Cree, a sister language of Anishinaabemowin found in the Hudson Bay lowlands adjacent to this dialect area. OJI-CREE is also used popularly to designate this dialect, because of its allegedly being a mixture of Ojibwe and Cree. Within the language, a unique term ANIHSHININIIMOWIN is often used in place of Anishinaabemowin, though the latter is not uncommon either. This variety is sometimes referred to as SEVERN (RIVER) OJIBWE by linguists, in reference to one of the river systems defining its geographical locus. The Severn River flows north into Hudson Bay along with its sister the Winisk, and the two sub-dialects of Severn Ojibwe reflect the locations of communities on these river systems.

- SAULTEAUX, or PLAINS OJIBWA, is used popularly to identify closely-related varieties of Anishinaabemowin spoken in the Border Lakes area of northwestern Ontario, and in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The term Saulteaux arose from a French translation of the Anishinaabemowin word *bawitigong*, 'at the rapids,' by which the Anishinaabeg referred to a stretch of the St. Mary's River near present day Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. This river connects Lakes Huron and Superior, and historically was a popular gathering spot for Anishinaabeg because of the abundance of fish, especially whitefish, during the seasonal runs. The Saulteaux are said to have moved west in concert with French traders, a theory borne out by many similarities between Saulteaux and southern Anishinaabemowin dialects to the east. Some Saulteaux borrowed vocabulary is clearly from French, such the common designation for a white man, Mooniyaans, which is an adaptation of the French term for someone from Montreal. Western Saulteaux is not so much a distinct sub-dialect, as an area showing many kinds of differences in comparison with the more uniform dialect to the east.

- NORTHERN (NORTHWESTERN) OJIBWE. While many regional varieties of Anishinaabemowin have distinct names, such as those outlined above, there is a large area north of Lake Superior and in northwestern Ontario for which the general term Ojibwe is used. This includes the dialect which I have designated as Northern Ojibwe.

As I have already noted, most dialects of Anishinaabemowin show gradual transition from one region to another, though there are some areas of relative focus. The dialects of Algonquin, Nipissing Algonquin, Odawa, and Oji-Cree show the greatest divergence from the other dialects. All dialects show considerable internal variation. Nishnaabemwin is a recent development of several distinct varieties of Ojibwe that were spoken on the shores of Lake Huron and Georgian Bay, and inland points to the east. Historically, speakers of Nishnaabemwin are descended from groups identified in English as Chippewas, Ottawas, Odawa, Potawatomi, and perhaps other indigenous peoples. Linguistic heritage can easily be confused with personal and family history, and linguistic features can be asserted to be Potawatomi, Chippewa, or Odawa on the basis of the cultural heritage of a given speaker. All of this contributes to a very complex contemporary situation, both in terms of linguistic variation in Nishnaabemwin and in attitudes towards that variation.

1.4.1 Dialects within Nishnaabemwin

In the most general terms, there exist two distinct sub-dialects within Nishnaabemwin, Odawa (or Ottawa), spoken in Michigan and along the shores of Lake Huron, and Eastern Ojibwe, spoken in the area to the east, and including especially the communities of Rama and Curve Lake. The Odawa dialect shows considerable divergence from other varieties of Anishinaabemowin, while Eastern Ojibwe is only minorly different from other southern dialects spoken in the United States and border regions, though the feature of vowel syncope has made it more distinct in the last century. In this section I will lay out a few of the

more prominent differences between the two dialects of Odawa and Eastern Ojibwe.

INFLECTION OF VAIO VERBS. Speakers of Odawa inflect VAIO verbs for grammatical features of their GOALS in the INDEPENDENT ORDER, while many speakers of Eastern Ojibwe do not. The following table shows some of the contrasts between the two dialects.

	Odawa	Eastern
'I give INsg away'	nmiigwen	nmiigwe
'you give INsg away'	gmiigwen	gmiigwe
'ANsg gives INsg away'	wmiigwen	miigwe
'I give ANsg away'	nmiigwenan	nmiigwe
'I give ANpl away'	nmiigwenag	nmiigwe
'you (sg) give ANsg away'	gmiigwenan	gmiigwe
'you (sg) give ANpl away'	gmiigwenag	gmiigwe
'ANsg gives ANobv away'	wmiigwenan	miigwe

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS. The demonstrative system of Odawa is distinct from that of all other dialects. The following table shows demonstrative pronoun forms recorded at Cape Croker, Curve Lake, and Wikwemikong. The Wikwemikong forms are clearly Odawa, while those from Curve Lake are Eastern Ojibwe. The Cape Croker forms are mixed.

	Curve Lake	Cape Croker	Wikwemikong
'this' (inan.)	ow	maanda	maanda
'that' (inan.)	iw	iw	iw, wi
'these' (inan.)	now	now	nonda
'those' (inan.)	niw	niw	niw
'this' (anim.)	aw	maaba	maaba
'that' (anim.)	aw	aw	aw, wa
'these' (anim.)	gow	gow	gonda
'those' (anim.)	giw	giw	giw

ABSENCE OF FINAL /N/ ON MANY INFLECTIONS. Final /n/, and occasionally other segments, are missing from a large number of grammatical morphemes in Odawa when they are word-final, e.g., *niinwi*, 'we (inclusive),' (cf., general Ojibwe *niinawind*). The following table lists some of these suffixes. When the preceding vowel is long, it sometimes shows NASALIZATION (signalled with final «nh» in the writing system used here).

Feature	Odawa	Other Dialects
First person plural suffix independent order	-mi gga-damnomi, 'we (incl.) will play'	-min
First plural suffix ind. order possessive	-naa niwaabndaanaa, 'we (excl.) see it'	-naan
First singular suffix conjunct order	-yaanh[1] (see Medler example on p. 8)	-yaan
Second singular suffix conjunct order[2]	-yanh	-yan
Preterit suffix	-ba, -baa …gii-zhaayaambaa, '…that I left'	-ban, -baan
Dubitative Suffix	-gwenh wiisnigwenh '…that he might be eating'	-gwen
Prohibitive suffix	-ke Gego biigsidooke naagan. 'Don't break that dish!'	-ken

1. Note that this is slightly different from complete deletion of the /n/, since the vowel preceding the /n/ is nasalized.
2. For some Odawa speakers, this form is *-yin*, i.e., the final *n* is pronounced.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS. Interrogative pronouns and adverbs in Odawa typically have the emphatic particle *dash* fused to them. The following table compares some Odawa forms with those of Eastern Ojibwe.

	Odawa	Eastern Ojibwe
which	aanii-sh, aanii	aaniin
where	aanpii-sh, aapii, aapii-sh	aandi
who	wene-sh, wenen	wenen
how	aanii-sh, aanii	aaniin

These are the more salient differences between dialects, though other features of grammar vary as well. Many differences of vocabulary are touched on throughout this work. Other details can be found in Valentine 1994, Rhodes 1976b, 1985, and Piggott 1978.

1.5 Source Materials

A variety of materials has aided me in the preparation of this grammar. These include dictionaries, text collections, and example sentences which were elicited specifically for the purposes of this research. In the following sections I discuss my different sources, addressing their form, content, and their strengths and weaknesses for the purposes of grammatical documentation.

DICTIONARIES. A primary source for our work is the invaluable dictionary of Ottawa, Chippewa, and Eastern Ojibwa compiled by Richard Rhodes (Rhodes 1985). This dictionary is extensive in its vocabulary, insightful in its glosses, contains many example sentences, and carefully documents the dialect affiliations of all vocabulary. I have also adopted Rhodes' conventions for labelling the dialect and community affiliations of vocabulary, and discuss these in detail below.

Another source of vocabulary is the dictionary edited by Glyne Piggott and Ann Grafstein (published 1983), which contains Nishnaabemwin vocabulary based primarily on research carried out on Manitoulin Island. The orthography used in this dictionary is quite idiosyncratic, involving such things as the use of «$» to represent the sound spelled «zh» in Rhodes 1985, and a trailing colon (:) to identify long vowels, resulting in spellings such as «ni:$w» for the word spelled *niizh*, 'two,' in Rhodes 1985. The chief value of Piggott and Grafstein 1983 is that it contains a list of all vocabulary alphabetized from the end of the word to the beginning, which groups together words that share endings, a feature which proved very helpful in carrying out the lexical research that lies behind the presentation and analysis of Nishnaabemwin word-structure found in Chapters 9 through 11. Since Rhodes 1985 used this work as a source, I checked most forms against Rhodes, recognizing the latter to represent the more thorough and meticulous documentation.

TEXTUAL MATERIALS. This grammar contains extensive sentence examples from various published and unpublished text collections. The source of each sentence is identified with a two-letter speaker code (explained elsewhere), and where extensive text collections exist, a text number and sentence number, following the English free (loose) translation, as in the following example:

(6) Gbe-dbik gii-bmibzo aw mshkode-daabaan gye go gbe-giizhig, miinwaa go gbe-dbik.
'The train went all night and all day and all the next night.' (AM8.10)

> **Gbe-dbik** *av* 'all night'; **gii-bmibzo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg ran along'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mshkode-daabaan** *na 3sProx* 'train' (lit. 'prairie vehicle'); **gye** *av* 'and'; **gbe-giizhig** *av* 'all day'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and (again)'; **gbe-dbik** *av* 'all night.'

Here the abbreviation AM indicates that the source is Andrew Medler, who worked with Leonard Bloomfield in the 1930's. The code 8.10 identifies this example as representing the tenth sentence in the eighth text (of 38 total) published in Bloomfield 1958, a grammar of Medler's Nishnaabemwin. There are also just under 900 numbered isolated-sentence examples in Bloomfield 1958, which I have collectively labeled AM39 in the sentence references for this grammar. This text collection has recently been republished under the title of *Weshki-Bmaadzijig Ji-Noondmowaad* (Valentine, ed. [1998]), and should be considered a textual supplement to this grammar. The introduction to that work provides an extensive outline of the basic categories of Nishnaabemwin grammar, and contains a complete concordance of all verb forms, organized according to verbal INFLECTIONAL categories.

Each example sentence includes a word-by-word analysis, providing both grammatical information and English word-level glosses. Conventions used in the word-by-word analysis are explained in the preface (see p. 32ff.).

Another significant source of textual materials is a collection of eighteen stories told by Alice King, of Parry Sound, in the 1970's, and written down by the linguist Jean Rogers. Some of these are published in Nichols 1988. The Odawa Language Project, a linguistic research program carried out approximately thirty years ago on Manitoulin Island, recorded several Odawa speakers, including Sam Osawamick, a gifted storyteller, and I have used these texts as well. These are published in Kaye, Piggott and Tokaichi 1971 and Piggott and Kaye 1973, the two Odawa language reports.

One potential problem that arises when using sources that date back to the thirties and seventies is that they may represent somewhat dated forms of speech. For example, it is very obvious that many speakers now use extensively the extended PERSONAL PREFIXES *ndoo-*, FIRST PERSON, and *gdoo-*, SECOND PERSON, as in *ndoo-ngam*, 'I am singing,' whereas historically the form was *nnagam*. These forms are not common in the three primary text sources cited above, which means that they may sometimes not be entirely representative of contemporary speech. This issue is complicated by the fact that there really is no well-defined standard with respect to the use the extended prefixes, though there are certainly broadly identifiable patterns of usage, which I discuss in detail in the next chapter. I am quite confident that the examples are not far from contemporary fluid usage.

I also found a rich source of textual materials in the language booklets prepared by students of the Native Language Instructors' Program, held each summer in Thunder Bay, Ontario (e.g. Valentine and White, eds., 1987). These represent more contemporary patterns of speech, and evidence much variation in certain linguistic features, particularly the use of person prefixes.

SENTENTIAL EXAMPLES. I also compiled large amounts of material addressing particular points of Nishnaabemwin grammar, mostly in the form of translations of English sentences. Most of these are due to the courtesy and patience of colleagues Mary Ann Corbiere, of Wikwemikong, and Reta Sands, of Walpole Island.

1.5.1 Dialect, Community, and Individual Index Codes

Rhodes (1985) provides detailed accounts of the distributions of words with respect to the communities from which vocabulary was obtained, using special abbreviatory codes developed for this purpose. Since I use essentially the same codes in the grammar, I will outline them briefly in this section. Rhodes uses the following abbreviations to identify various communities.

Code	Community	Dialect
BC	Bay City, Mich.	—
CC	Cape Croker, Ont.	Odawa
CL	Curve Lake, Ont.	Eastern Ojibwa
CV	Cross Village, Mich.	Ottawa
M	Manitoulin Island, Ont.	Odawa
R	Rama, Ont.	Eastern Ojibwa
S	Sarnia, Ont.	Odawa
W	Walpole Island, Ont.	Odawa

The dictionary is richest in materials from Curve Lake (CL), Manitoulin Island (M), and Walpole Island (W). As such, it provides good coverage of the two main sub-dialects of Nishnaabemwin, in that both Odawa and Eastern Ojibwe are represented. Rhodes also provides more general dialect classifications, on the basis of how these three communities group with respect to the distribution of vocabulary. These codes are as follows:

Code	Dialect Grouping	Communities
(unmarked)	Common Southern Ojibwe	Curve Lake (CL) Manitoulin (M) Walpole Island (W)
Oj	Common Southern Ojibwe	Curve Lake (CL) Manitoulin (M) Walpole Island (W)
Ot	Ottawa (Odawa)	Manitoulin (M) Walpole Island (W)

Note that two different designations are used to identify forms that are found at all three primary communities, one which is unmarked, that is, which has no dialect code listed, and another with the explicit code, Oj. The designation Ot represents Ottawa (Odawa), and includes both Manitoulin (M) and Walpole Island (W), which Rhodes suggests represent opposite ends of the geographical range of Odawa, and therefore, vocabulary attested at both communities is probably found at most communities in between them. I use Rhodes' dialect codes with only one minor adjustment, in that I use Od for his Ot, since Nishnaabemwin speakers prefer to use Odawa in identifying their language.

INDIVIDUAL SOURCES. The table below lists the codes that are used in this grammar to identify individual sources.

Code	Individual	Location	Nature	Source
AK	Alice King	Parry Is., Ont.	Text	King and Rogers 1988
AM	Andrew Medler	Walpole Is., Ont.	Text, Sen	Bloomfield 1958
AW	Alice Williams	Sugar Is., Mich.	Text	Bloomfield/Nichols 91
BP	Barbara Peltier	Manitoulin Is., Ont.	Text	Valentine, ed. 1991
CN	Charlene Nahdee	Walpole Is., Ont.	Text	Valentine, ed. 1991
ED	Elaine Debassige	West Bay, Ont.	Text	Valentine, ed. 1991
EM	Ellen Migwans	West Bay, Ont.	Text	Valentine, ed. 1991
EMg	Elizabeth McCoy	Garden River, Ont.	Text	Valentine, ed. 1991
ER	Evelyn Roy	West Bay, Ont.	Text	Valentine, ed. 1991
FF	Francis Fox	Manitoulin Is., Ont.	Text	Fox, Soney, Rhodes 88
GM	Gregor McGregor	Birch Is., Ont.	Text	McGregor, Voegelin 88
GS	Gordon Shawanda	Manitoulin Is., Ont.	Text	Valentine, ed., 1997
IS	Irene Snache	Rama, Ont.	Text	project notes
IT	Isadore Toulouse	Manitoulin Is., Ont.	Text	Valentine, ed., 1991
JC	John Couchie	North Bay, Ont.	Text	Valentine 1994
JF	James Fox	Manitoulin Is., Ont.	Text	Valentine & White 91
LM	Lorraine McRae	Rama, Ont.	Text	Valentine, ed. 1991
MC	Mary Ann Corbiere	Manitoulin Is., Ont.	Text, Sen	project notes
MO	Martina Osawamick	Manitoulin Is., Ont.	Text	Valentine, ed. 1991
MT	Margaret Toulouse	Massey, Ont.	Sen	project notes
NS	Nora Soney	Walpole Is., Ont.	Text	Soney & Rhodes 1988
RD	Rock Debassige	Manitoulin Is., Ont.	Text	project notes
RN	Rose Nadjiwon	Cape Croker, Ont.	Text	project notes
RS	Reta Sands	Walpole Is., Ont.	Sen	project notes
SO	Sam Osawamick	Manitoulin Ont.	Text	Kaye, et al. 1971 Piggott & Kaye 1973
TN	Thecla Neganegijig	Wikwemikong, Ont.	Text	project notes
VH	Virginia Henry	Sarnia, Ont.	Text	project notes

1.6 Introduction to the Study of Grammar

Children around the world learn one or more languages as a normal part of growing up, seemingly with little conscious effort. What is it that a child learns in the process of becoming a fluent speaker of a language? One part of learning a language is acquiring a vocabulary, learning literally thousands of words which carve the world up into the conceptual categories that are unique to each language. Language has been described as a coding system which relates sounds to meanings. For example, to talk about the meaning 'man,' an English-speaking child must learn to pronounce an *m* sound followed by an *a* sound fol-

lowed by an *n* sound, and the child must associate this sequence of sounds with the appropriate meaning. A child learning Nishnaabemwin, to express a similar meaning, must learn to pronounce an *n* sound followed by an *i* followed by an *n* followed by an *i*, *nini*. This process of memorization must be repeated for every single word in the language, until the child has acquired a full working vocabulary of many thousands of words. The record of such knowledge is in part what is found in a dictionary, which would ideally contain a list of all of the words in a language, including their pronunciations and their meanings, though, in practice, no dictionary is complete.

It is not just the pronunciations and meanings of words that children must learn. An English-speaking child must also learn, for example, that there is a PLURAL form for *man*, used to make reference to more than one man, and that it is *men*. A Nishnaabe child must learn that to refer to more than one *nini*, the plural is *ninwag*. English-speaking children must learn that to refer to more than one boat, they must add an *s* to the end of the word, making *boats*. Nishnaabemwin-speaking children must learn that to express the idea of a boat, they must say *jiimaan*, and to express the plural, the sounds *an* are added to the end of the word, giving *jiimaanan*. In another language, Slave, a Na-Dené language spoken in western Canada, the plural is made by adding *-ke* to the end of a word: *dene* means 'person,' and *deneke*, 'people' (Rice 1989:247). Each of these languages, Slave, English, and Nishnaabemwin has its own ways of modifying singular words to make plurals, and children must learn the appropriate system for the language they speak. In the case of the Nishnaabe child, we see that there are two forms of the plural, *an* and *ag*. The existence of two distinct plurals is not an accident, but related to a core feature of Nishnaabemwin grammar, namely, the classification of nouns as either ANIMATE, in which case their plurals end with *g* (often spelled «k»), or INANIMATE, in which case their plurals end with *n*. In English, animacy is not a factor in the formation of plurals, so, for example, the plural of *boy*, something animate, and the plural of *house*, something inanimate, are made in very similar ways, by adding *s*, giving *boys* and *houses*. In Nishnaabemwin, however, the plurals of these two words are different, because *wiigwaam*, 'house' is grammatically inanimate, and *gwiiwzens*, 'boy' is grammatically animate, giving the plurals *wiigwaaman* and *gwiizensag*, respectively. Learning a language thus involves learning language-specific grammatical properties and patterns of words, such as their ANIMACY in Nishnaabemwin, and how plurals are made.

Another kind of knowledge speakers must have is how words are put together to form sentences. Consider, for example, how children might make the simple observation that they see something. In English, one can say:

I see the boat. | I see the man.

In both of these sentences, there is a PRONOUN *I*, a VERB *see*, an ARTICLE *the*, and a NOUN, either *man* or *boat*. The only difference between the two sentences is the final word. However, if we consider the equivalent Nishnaabemwin sentences, we find significant differences:

Nwaabndaan jiimaan. 'I see the boat.' | Nwaabmaa nini. 'I see the man.'

Here we have only two words, a verb of seeing, and then a noun. There is no pronoun such as in English. Yet it is clear in the Nishnaabemwin sentences that the SUBJECT of the act of seeing is 'I'. How is this? Simplifying somewhat, the answer is that the doer of the action, the one seeing, is indicated on the verb, by means of a PREFIX, an element attached to the front of the verb. In this case the prefix is *n-*. Because this element signals the meaning 'I', there is no need for a separate pronoun to indicate the one seeing. Also, the verbs are not quite the same in the two Nishnaabemwin sentences, being *nwaabndaan* in the first sentence and *nwaabmaa* in the second. The reason for this is that the first verb is used when making reference to seeing something referred to by a word that is grammatically inanimate, such as *jiimaan*, 'boat,' while the second verb is used when making reference to seeing something that is referred to by a word that is grammatically animate, such as *nini*, 'man.' Thus, these two Nishnaabemwin sentences have slightly different verbs, depending on whether the word for what is seen is animate or inanimate. A child learning Nishnaabemwin must learn these things in order to speak the language correctly.

Consider next the order of the words in the two sets of sentences. The English sentences do not allow much variation in the word order:

*I the man see. | *The I see man. | *The man I see.

Here I place an asterisk (*) before sentences that are not likely to be heard in English because they violate basic grammatical principles of the language. Each of these sentences seems odd in English, with the preferred ordering of words clearly that of *I see the man*. In Nishnaabemwin, however, the word order is much freer. One can readily say both of these sentences, with either ordering of words:

Nwaabmaa nini. | Nini nwaabmaa.

In summary, we see that learning a language involves many different kinds of knowledge. For one, we must learn the pronunciation of words, and their meanings. We must also learn the grammatical properties of words, such as whether they are of animate or inanimate gender, and how to form their plurals. We have also seen that we must learn how words are arranged to form sentences, and while the word order of Nishnaabemwin is much freer than that of English, we will see that there are often preferred or obligatory orderings of words in Nishnaabemwin as well.

The rules of language pertaining to pronunciation and the behaviour of sounds are called PHONOLOGICAL RULES, and the study of the sound system of a language is called PHONOLOGY. The study of the patterns of word structure and the grammatical properties of words is called MORPHOLOGY. The rules for putting together words to form phrases and sentences are called SYNTACTIC RULES, and the study of this area of a language is called SYNTAX. The study of meaning in a language comes under the heading of SEMANTICS. All of these areas

of study point to different kinds of knowledge that fluent speakers have of their language, and which together constitute what contemporary linguists call the GRAMMAR of a language. The term GRAMMAR is of course also used to refer to a monograph which seeks to outline this knowledge on paper. This study is such a document for the language Nishnaabemwin, and has been produced in order to document the language, and to help teachers of the language understand aspects of its grammar, and to help them in the development of curricula by pointing to areas of the language requiring treatment in a structured program of second language instruction. While I wish to treat as thoroughly as possible the grammar of Nishnaabemwin, and so must go into considerable detail, at the same time I wish this work, as much as possible, to be accessible to non-linguists, and so take precautions to explain linguistic terminology as it arises. Every word appearing in SMALL CAPITALS is defined in the glossary at the back of the book.

It is also very important to realize that knowledge of the formal grammatical patterns of a language accounts for only part of what a fluent speaker knows. Fluent speakers also know how to use language appropriately in particular social situations. This knowledge takes many forms, including such things as how to greet people, how to take one's leave, what constitutes appropriate topics of conversation with people of all ages, what tone to use in different social contexts, what vocabulary, when joking is appropriate, when one should be silent, and so on. For most speakers of the language, these aspects of language use are much more salient than the formal patterns of grammar, such as how to inflect an animate intransitive verb in a subordinate clause. Scholars sometimes make a distinction between GRAMMATICAL COMPETENCE, knowledge of formal structures and patterns of language, and COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE, knowledge of how language is used socially. This grammar concerns itself with grammatical competence, and has almost nothing to say about communicative competence. This is not because I feel that grammatical competence is more important than communicative competence, but only because I believe that a rigorous outline of grammatical forms must precede an account of how such resources are used communicatively, and because time and space limit what I can address in a single monograph. Some issues pertaining to Odawa communicative competence are addressed in Spielmann 1998, and in northern Ojibwe, in L. Valentine 1995.

1.7 Additional Reading

For an extensive overview of Anishinaabemowin dialects, see Valentine 1994. For an overview of the history of various Nishnaabemwin groups, including the Odawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi, many articles in Volume 15 of the Handbook of North American Indians (published in 1978, with Bruce Trigger as general editor of the volume) can be consulted, including Goddard on Central Algonquian languages, Feest and Feest on Odawa (called Ottawa in the handbook), and Clifton on Potawatomi. An invaluable general source for materials are the various proceedings volumes of the annual Algonquian Conference, which have enjoyed the editorial direction of several Algonquianists, including William Cowan, David Pentland, and most recently, Arden Ogg. As to history, a community-based research

project at Walpole Island resulted in the publication in 1987 of *Minishenhying Anishnaabeaki, Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory*. This volume provides a detailed history of Walpole Island, going back to prehistoric times. Also of note is Schmalz 1991, a history of the area. Theresa Smith has written an interesting book examining traditional religious beliefs and practices on Manitoulin (Smith 1995). For an introduction to linguistics, O'Grady and Archibald 2000 is a good choice for those living in Canada, though some of its treatments, particularly those on phonology and syntax, are quite advanced for beginners.

As to specific grammatical materials for the varieties of Anishinaabemowin documented in this work, there is a long and excellent tradition. Baraga's grammar, published in 1850, is still useful, as is his dictionary (Baraga 1878). Andrew Blackbird's brief grammar of his native Ottawa, contained within Blackbird 1887, offers another early approach to Anishinaabemowin grammar. In more recent years Bloomfield 1958, published posthumously after the author's death in 1949, provides a look at Odawa through the eyes of one of the last century's most gifted linguists. The texts in that work have been reprinted in Valentine, ed. 1998, which contains word-by-word grammatical analysis as well as a concordance of every verbal inflectional form. Bloomfield 1962 provides a similar, and even more detailed, account of Menominee grammar. For more recent approaches, see Rhodes 1976a, a theoretical account of Odawa using the approach of relational grammar.

2
Phonology and Orthography

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the PHONOLOGY, or sound system, of Nishnaabemwin, including a look at the distinctive sounds of the language, at how these sounds pattern and interact, and the ways that they are customarily represented in written form. Phonological behaviour is also treated in several other chapters, for which the index can be consulted.

I have chosen to follow the rather conservative spelling norms of Richard Rhodes' dictionary of Eastern Ojibwe-Chippewa-Ottawa (Rhodes 1985), as they are particularly useful for explaining and illustrating the grammatical system of Nishnaabemwin. These spelling norms are conservative in the sense that they tend to reflect the pronunciation of Minnesota Ojibwe more than that of phonologically more innovative dialects to the east, such as Nishnaabemwin. Many Nishnaabe writers and teachers depart in various ways from this system, in order to more directly represent their own regional and local pronunciation, usually on the basis of assumed phonetic correspondences to conventional English spellings. In this chapter I will lay out many of the principles at work in such local variation, and explain how they relate to broader patterns of speech across Nishnaabemwin dialects and the Anishinaabemowin group in general.

Many of the concepts presented here will be new to readers lacking linguistic training, but some familiarity with them is necessary, in order to better understand the behaviour of sounds in Nishnaabemwin. For example, speakers of the language often pronounce *b*, *d* and *g* at the ends of words as if they were *p*, *t*, and *k*, respectively. This behaviour makes perfect sense once one has a proper understanding of the systematic relationships that exist between different groups of consonants. An understanding of the properties and patternings of sounds should also help in the teaching of the language, especially to adults, who often want logical explanations for the linguistic patterns they encounter. While many unfamiliar terms are introduced in this chapter, all SMALL CAPITAL terms are defined in the glossary as well as when they are introduced in the text.

I begin with a discussion of the representation of the sounds of the language, in terms of their distinctive values, their phonetic variants, and their representation in writing. Crucial to this presentation are the concepts of PHONEMES and PHONES. Next we examine the human VOCAL TRACT and how speech sounds are made, then look at the vowels and consonants of Nishnaabemwin. We then take up the STRESS patterns of the language, that is, the rules for emphasizing and de-emphasizing particular SYLLABLES in words. One particularly important aspect of the stress rules is that many short vowels are weakened or deleted from pronunciation, by the rule of SYNCOPE. Syncope in turn gives rise to many adjustments in the consonants it juxtaposes, which I discuss in detail as well.

2.2 Practical and Phonetic Orthographies

In linguistic studies, sounds are typically represented using a phonetic alphabet, designed specifically to provide a unique symbol for each distinctive sound found in language. The phonetic alphabet most widely used is that of the INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ASSOCIATION ALPHABET, usually abbreviated IPA. The IPA uses many symbols not found in the regular English alphabet, nor in the Nishnaabemwin alphabet. For example the 'ng' sound at the end of the English word *sing* and the Nishnaabemwin word *dgoshing*, 'when ANsg arrives' is represented in the IPA with the symbol, [ŋ]. In this work I use special IPA symbols only when they are absolutely required in order to make a point clear. Otherwise, I use the practical orthography used among the languages of the Anishinaabemowin group, the so-called double vowel orthography, so named because of its use of double letters to represent the long vowels /i:/, /a:/, and /o:/. This orthography is also sometimes called the Fiero system, after Charles Fiero, a linguist who devised it in the 1950's in order to represent the speech of Minnesota varieties of Ojibwe. It is now widely used throughout the United States and Ontario.

2.2.1 Letters, Phones, and Phonemes

In common with all spoken languages, Nishnaabemwin has a limited number of DISTINCTIVE SOUNDS which are put together in different combinations to form larger units, morphemes and words. The fundamental, distinctive sounds of a language are called PHONEMES. Many of the symbols (characters, letters) used to represent phonemes in writing are drawn from the Roman alphabet, which can be confusing, since it may not always be clear whether one is talking about a specific phoneme, or a letter of the alphabet. To get around such problems phonemes are usually indicated in writing by placing them within slashes, for example, /b/ and /e/ are two of the phonemes of Nishnaabemwin. To represent phonemes in writing, letters are used, placed within slashes, but it must be understood that phonemes are units of sound, not units of writing. To refer specifically to letters in this work, I use angle brackets, for example, «b» and «e». Sounds must be distinguished from letters because often a single letter represents several distinct sounds in popular writing systems, or conversely, a single sound may be represented by several letters. This is obvious to anyone

who has learned to write English, but it is also true to a lesser extent of Nishnaabemwin.

Decisions of how to represent a language in writing are based on many factors, involving such things as technical accuracy, simplicity, and pedagogy. By comparing and contrasting vocabulary, the most significant and patterned relationships between sounds in a language can be determined, and this knowledge can be used to devise a system of spelling that optimally expresses such relationships. Linguistically based writing systems usually stick to the principle that each distinctive sound, each phoneme, should have its own distinctive spelling. For example, linguistic analysis shows that there are two distinctive sounds in Nishnaabemwin, /g/ and /k/, as in the words *dgonan*, 'mix it in!' and *dkonan*, 'hold it!' The /g/ sound also occurs in the word for 'fox,' *waagosh*, where it is between the vowels /aa/ and /o/. However, in the form of the word for a small or immature fox, *waagshens*, the /g/ is not between vowels, and may sound like a [k], that is, the word may sound as if it might be spelled *waakshens*. Based on an analysis of the sound patterns of the language, however, it becomes clear that even though a *k* is heard in this context, it is different from the /k/ sound occurring in a word such as *mik*, 'beaver,' because the /k/ in *mik* is always pronounced as a [k], even when it is between vowels, as in *mikoons*, 'young beaver.' So a linguistic approach suggests that the word for a small fox can be spelled *waagshens*, to capture the fact that the sound in question is basically a /g/ that has had its pronunciation altered because of its adjacency to the consonant /sh/ (IPA /ʃ/), as opposed to the /k/ of *mikoons*, which has different properties. A further distinction is made linguistically between the basic, structural sound elements of a language, its PHONEMES, and their varying actual pronunciations, called PHONES. The same phoneme in a language may be pronounced with several different phones. To distinguish them from phonemes, which are often written with the same symbols, phones are placed within SQUARE BRACKETS, e.g., phones [k] and [g], as opposed to phonemes /k/ and /g/. Thus, we can observe of Nishnaabemwin that the phoneme /g/ is sometimes pronounced as [g] and sometimes as [k], depending on what sounds are around it and its position in the word. Between vowels it is pronounced as [g], but next to certain consonants and at the end of a word, it is pronounced as [k]. The choice of which phone is used to pronounce the phoneme /g/ is based on predictable distributional criteria. The phoneme /k/, however, is always pronounced as [k], never as [g]. Linguistic analysis of a vast number of languages suggests that a good principle for developing a writing system is that each phoneme should have a single spelling, and be consistently spelled the same way regardless of whatever phone is used to pronounce it in a particular context. So, for example, the phoneme /g/ should be spelled as /g/ even in *waagshens*, where it has the sound [k]. Spelling systems strive to represent each phoneme with a distinct symbol, and to use that symbol regardless of what phones realize the phoneme in a given context.

In sum, the following conventions are used to represent phonemes, phones, and letters.

Concept	Description	Identification	Ex.
Phonemes	distinctive units of sound	slashes	/g/, /k/
Phones	distinguishable pronunciations of a given phoneme	square brackets	[g], [k]
Letters	written representations	angle brackets	«g», «k»

A phonemic approach to spelling can present problems for second language learners, however, because, lacking the knowledge that native speakers unconsciously have of their language, the learner literate and fluent in English is likely to pronounce the /g/ in *waagshens* as a [g] sound, and not as a [k]. The problem is made more severe by the fact that most students of contemporary Nishnaabemwin are already literate in English, and assume English letter-to-pronunciation values when reading Nishnaabemwin. Another problem with a phonemic approach is that bilingual native-speaking Nishnaabe teachers seeking to produce curriculum materials cannot simply listen to their own pronunciation of a word, and spell it as they hear it, based on their English-based orthographic sensibilities, because some [k] sounds that they hear should be spelled with a «g», as in *waagshens*, 'young fox,' and some with a «k», as in *mikoons*, 'young beaver.' Many linguistic concepts have to be understood in order to spell with the phonemic approach, and many local language teachers lack training in such principles, as do local elders, who, as authorities on other matters of language use, may disdain spelling conventions that do not match their intuitions based on English literacy. Most writers resort to some degree of phonetic transcription in their representation of Nishnaabemwin, based on sound-to-letter correspondences with English.

If the issues involved in spelling were only those of local practice, solutions might be a bit more straightforward. The problem is that pronunciations can vary considerably from community to community. For example, one speaker may pronounce *waagshens* with a [k] sound, but a speaker in another community may pronounce it with a [g]. Unless the word is then spelled differently in each community, its spelling will not reflect local pronunciation. This really only becomes important when materials are developed for use by a large number of communities, embracing many different local pronunciations, for example, widely-used language lessons, dictionaries, and grammars. A dictionary that sought to spell each word to show all of the local pronunciations would become more complex, larger, and consequently, more expensive and more difficult to use. In works to be used over wide areas showing lots of local variation in pronunciation, some kind of standardized spelling system is usually developed. Very often, in languages around the world, some socially prestigious dialect is chosen to represent the standard, since that dialect is likely to reflect the speech of politically, economically, and educationally prominent members of society. The standard then gets promoted by use in educational institutions that train local teachers, and certification of teachers may involve tests showing proficiency in the standard. While such an approach may seem unfair to local interests, it has much to commend it. For one, once the standard is learned, it is easy to produce and use new materials that are consistent with earlier materials. Materials can be used in all communities that have teachers trained in the standard, and children advancing from grade to grade will find the same spelling system in use as they move from teacher to teacher and from textbook to textbook. The standard also becomes an emblem of identity for a group of people, uniting them and facilitating the sharing of information between local communities and centralized institutions. Writers from very different communities can share their work with each other, and such work can become the basis of a national literature. Standardization is very often central to the development of nationhood.

The cost of standardization is that some control must be sacrificed at the local level, and educational centres must be established. Local sovereignty must yield to national sovereignty.

2.3 The Vocal Tract

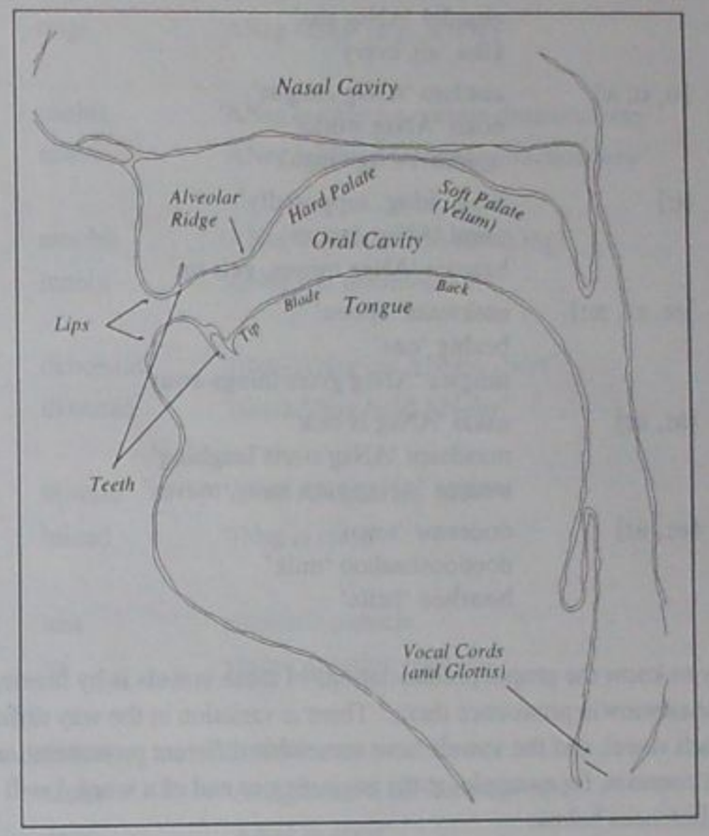
To understand the dynamics of speech, it helps to know something of the structure and function of the human VOCAL TRACT. In the broadest sense, the vocal tract consists of the following components:

- the lungs
- the trachea (or windpipe)
- the larynx (or voice box), containing the vocal cords
- the oral (mouth) cavity and its surfaces, the tongue, and lips
- the nasal (nose) cavity

To produce speech, air is expelled from the lungs by controlled exhalation, through the TRACHEA (windpipe), and into the LARYNX. In the larynx there are special structures called VOCAL FOLDS or VOCAL CORDS, that can be drawn together or moved apart to produce different vocal effects. If the vocal cords are drawn closely together, they will vibrate when air from the lungs passes between them, and produce an audible rhythmic buzzing called VOICING. Sounds produced with the vocal cords vibrating are said to be VOICED. Voicing is what gives speech its resonance and sound volume. If the vocal cords are sufficiently far apart, however, they will not vibrate. A sound made with the vocal cords apart is said to be VOICELESS. The distinction between voiced and voiceless sounds can easily be heard by holding the /z/ of the word 'zip' and then comparing it to the /s/ of the word 'sip'. The resonance that is heard in the [z] of 'zip' is produced by vocal cord vibration (voicing). The [s] of 'sip', on the other hand, lacks vocal cord vibration, and so is voiceless. Notice too that the source of the resonance in the [z] of 'zip' is clearly in the throat, whereas the source of the hissing sound of the [s] of 'sip' is restricted to the mouth, where the tip of the tongue is in close proximity to the area behind the upper teeth. Since [s] lacks voicing, all of its sound volume comes from this one source; [z], on the other hand, has sound volume associated with both vocal cord vibration and the area behind the upper teeth where it is made. In fact, the only difference between [z] and [s] is that the former is voiced and the latter is voiceless.

The opening between the vocal cords is called the GLOTTIS. Sounds made in the vicinity of the vocal cords are thus called GLOTTAL sounds. In normal resting position, the vocal cords are apart so that unimpeded breathing can take place.

Once past the larynx, the airflow is shaped in various ways in the throat and ORAL CAVITY (mouth) to produce the different distinctive sounds of the language. In some cases, the air is completely blocked off for a very brief time somewhere in the oral cavity. For example, in making a /b/ sound, as in *doodooshaaboo*, 'milk,' the lips are brought together, creating a complete closure of the vocal tract at the lips. In the case of the sound /aa/, however, there is no obstruction of the vocal tract, but the jaw is opened and the body of the tongue is lowered and drawn back. In the case of /aa/, rather than the vocal tract being obstructed, as it is with /b/ or /z/, it is shaped in a particular way. This fundamental difference in the way these sounds are made distinguishes the two primary classes of sounds in all spoken human languages: CONSONANTS, which typically involve constriction or blockage of the air as it passes out of the mouth; and VOWELS, which involve the positioning of the tongue at different locations in the mouth. Vowels are almost always voiced too, that is, involve vibration of the vocal cords, whereas many consonants come in pairs in which one member is voiced and the other is voiceless, as we saw with /z/ and /s/.



THE VOCAL TRACT

In order to produce NASAL sounds, such as /n/ and /m/, the SOFT PALATE (also called the VELUM) is lowered, and air enters and passes through the NASAL CAVITY. If the soft palate is raised, it closes off the opening to the nasal cavity, preventing the entry of air, and the sound is said to be ORAL as opposed to nasal. When the soft palate is lowered while a consonant is produced, a NASAL CONSONANT results; when the soft palate is lowered while a vowel is produced, a NASALIZED VOWEL results. Nishnaabemwin has both kinds of nasal sounds.

2.4 Vowels

There are seven phonemic (distinctive) vowels in Nishnaabemwin, which are spelled as in the example words provided. IPA symbols expressing the most common phonetic values of each vowel are provided in the second column.

/i/	[ɪ]	nini 'man' mkizin 'shoe' niimi 'ANsg dances'
/a/	[ʌ]	kakjiish 'woodchuck, ground hog' nmadbi 'ANsg sits' kina 'all, every'
/o/	[o, ʊ, ʌ]	zosdam 'ANsg coughs' nokii 'ANsg works' ngamo 'ANsg sings'
/ii/	[iː]	iidig, iidog 'supposedly' niimi 'ANsg dances' bzigwii 'ANsg moves, gets up'
/e/	[eː, ɛː, æː]	emkwaan 'spoon' bezhig 'one' miigwe 'ANsg gives things away'
/aa/	[aː, ɑː]	aakzi 'ANsg is sick' maadaapi 'ANsg starts laughing' maajaa 'ANsg goes away, moves'
/oo/	[oː, uː]	oodenaw 'town' doodooshaaboo 'milk' boozhoo 'hello'

The only way to know the proper pronunciations of these vowels is by hearing fluent speakers of Nishnaabemwin pronounce them.[1] There is variation in the way different speakers pronounce each vowel, and the vowels have somewhat different pronunciations in different phonological contexts, for example, at the beginning or end of a word. I will discuss some of these differences below.

MINIMAL PAIRS FOCUSING ON VOWELS. Very helpful to language learners are sets of words that differ only by a single distinctive sound occupying the same phonological position within each word. For example, the words *noozh*, 'nurse AN! (of babies),' and *naazh*, 'go get AN,' differ from each other only in the vowels they contain, which occupy the same position within the word. Such pairs of words are called MINIMAL PAIRS. The following list provides some minimal pairs focusing on Nishnaabemwin vowels. Not all terms will work

1. Rhodes 1985 provides a detailed account of the phonetics of all of these sounds.

for all speakers, since some represent dialectally specific forms.

Some Minimal Pairs Focusing on Vowels		
/aa/	naazh	'go get AN,'
/oo/	noozh	'nurse AN! (of babies)'
/ii/	niizh	'two'
/ii/	migii	'ANsg has sores, scabs'
/i/	migi	'ANsg barks' (e.g., a dog)'
/ii/	naabii	'ANsg is strung a certain direction/way'
/i/	naabi	'ANsg looks in a certain direction/way'
/ii/	mnobii	'ANsg is a little high (drinking)'
/i/	mnobi	'ANsg sits comfortably'
/oo/	dkoonaad	'(that) ANsg cut ANobv short'
/o/	dkonaad	'(that) ANsg hold ANobv'
/aa/	biinaad	'(that) ANsg bring ANobv'
/a/	biinad	'INsg is clean'
/aa/	naa	emphatic particle
/a/	na	yes/no question particle
/aa/	nishaa	'in fun'
/e/	nishe	'ANsg hears a certain way' (Od)
/i/	nishi	'ANsg is good'
/a/	bkazhaw	'gut AN (e.g., a fish)'
/i/	bkizhaw	'cut AN (of strings)'
/a/	nanang	'(that) ANsg form IN' (Od)
/i/	ninang	'(that) ANsg pass IN along'

Some Minimal Pairs Focusing on Vowels (cont.)		
/a/	waabgan	'clay' (W)
/o/	waabgon	'blossom' (Od)
/i/	bmise	'ANsg flies (along)'
/o/	bmose	'ANsg walks (along)'
/i/	nbi	'water'
/o/	nbo	'ANsg dies, is dead'

2.4.1 The Classification of Vowels I: Vowel Quality

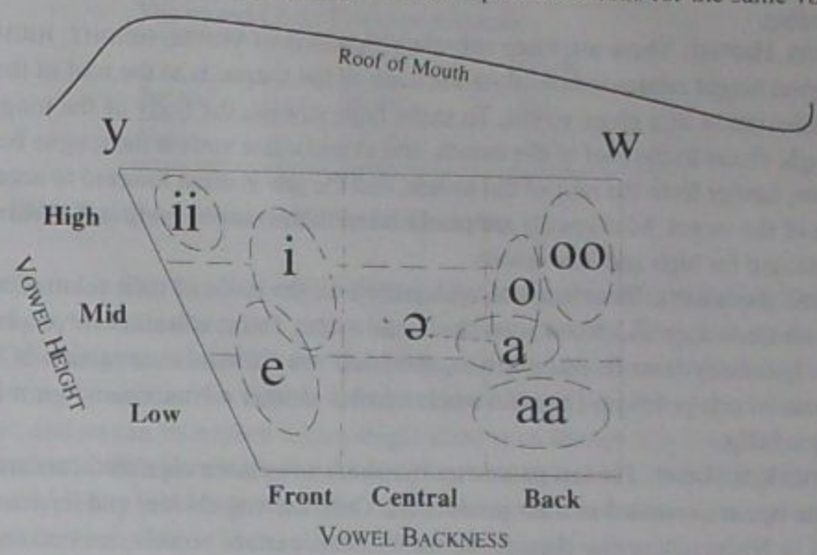
Vowels group into classes on the basis of their shared properties. Vowels sharing properties behave in phonetically similar ways. Vowels are classified according to their QUALITY and their QUANTITY. Vowel quality has to do with where in the mouth the vowel is articulated, and whether the lips are ROUNDED as part of the pronunciation of the vowel; vowel quantity concerns how long the pronunciation of a vowel is sustained and how forceful the pronunciation is. Nishnaabemwin makes a crucial phonological distinction between long vowels and short vowels.

Vowel quality involves three distinct properties:

- VOWEL HEIGHT: how close the body of the tongue is to the roof of the mouth when the vowel is made.
- VOWEL BACKNESS: how far back in the mouth the body of the tongue is when the vowel is made.
- LIP ROUNDING: whether or not the lips are rounded when the vowel is made.

Vowels are produced by placing the body of the tongue in various positions in the mouth. The height of the tongue may be raised or lowered, and the tongue may be moved forward or backward from its rest position. These two parameters of variation in the pronunciation of the vowels define a region in the mouth, into which the different vowels can be mapped, as in the chart on the following page. The chart defines a region in which each vowel is pronounced. The space is divided into nine sub-areas, defined by dotted lines. Above the vowel space there is an arcing line that shows very roughly the position of the roof of the mouth, and positioned between the vowel space rectangle and the roof of the mouth are the two consonant sounds, /y/ (IPA /j/) in the front area, and /w/ in the back area. Each vowel in the figure has an oval associated with it, roughly describing the range of variation in its height and backness when pronounced in different contexts by different speakers. No vowel is

always pronounced in a single, precise location within the vowel space; rather, each has a region in which it is articulated, resulting in variable pronunciations for the same vowel.



ROUGH POSITIONS OF NISHNAABEMWIN VOWELS

Note too that some of the vowel regions overlap, particularly those of /i/ and /e/, and /o/ and /a/. These overlaps occur because the higher vowels, /i/ and /o/, both lower at the end of a word or phrase, and so move into the region of the lower vowels /e/ and /a/, respectively. The vowel /e/ also lowers in the same context, sounding rather like a long version of the vowel associated with the letter «a» in English *sat*. The vowel /oo/ also has higher and lower variants, with the higher variant sounding something like the sound associated with the vowel of English *boot*, and the lower sounding something like the sound associated with the vowel of English *boat*. But variation in the height of /oo/ is not like that of /i/, /a/, and /e/, in that it is often not a matter of the vowel's position in a word. Rather, individual speakers vary, and there is variation within the speech of individuals.

In its rest position, the body of the tongue is essentially in the mid-central region of the vowel space, showing neither raising nor lowering, fronting or backing. There is a special symbol in this position in the chart above, the symbol «ə» (an upside-down e), called SCHWA, which represents a minimal vowel, one produced with a minimum of articulatory effort. This vowel can be heard as the first syllable of the English words *about* and *allow*. It commonly occurs in languages that de-emphasize (or REDUCE) vowels in certain positions within words, as English and Nishnaabemwin both do, and schwa is a common pronunciation of many vowels in both languages. In Nishnaabemwin, it occurs as a reduced form of each of the short vowels, /i/, /a/ and /o/, in the speech of some speakers, a fact which is indicated on the chart by the dotted lines running from each short vowel to schwa. I will have more to say about schwa when I discuss stress in Section (6.1), below.

The vowel rectangle shown in the vowel chart above has two dimensions, one of HEIGHT and one of relative BACKNESS. Another important parameter is the presence or absence of lip-rounding.

VOWEL HEIGHT. There are three sub-classifications of VOWEL HEIGHT: HIGH, MID and LOW. Vowel height relates to how close the body of the tongue is to the roof of the mouth in the pronunciation of a given vowel. To make high vowels, the body of the tongue is relatively high, closer to the roof of the mouth, and to make low vowels the tongue body is relatively low, farther from the roof of the mouth, and the jaw is often lowered to accentuate the lowness of the vowel. Mid vowels are produced with the tongue body in-between the positions assumed for high and low vowels.

VOWEL BACKNESS. Vowels are also classified on the basis of their relative BACKNESS, again with three degrees, FRONT, CENTRAL, and BACK. Front vowels involve advancement of the tongue body from its rest position, and back vowels involve retraction of the tongue body from its rest position. Central vowels involve neither advancement nor retraction of the tongue body.

VOWEL ROUNDING. The last parameter by which vowels are classified concerns whether or not the lips are rounded in their production. Only the vowels /oo/ and /o/ are inherently rounded in Nishnaabemwin, though, as we will see, certain vowels can become rounded under the influence of neighbouring sounds which are rounded. The vowel /aa/ is often pronounced with lip rounding by many speakers.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF VOWELS. Based on these three properties of height, backness and rounding, we can classify the vowels of Nishnaabemwin as follows:

ii i	high front unrounded
e	mid front unrounded
oo o	high/mid back rounded
aa a	low/mid back unrounded

Based on this classification we can see that certain vowels share properties: for example, the vowels /ii/, /i/, /oo/, and /o/ share the property of being high; the vowels /e/, /aa/, and /a/ share the property of being non-high (in other words, mid or low). The vowels /oo/ and /o/ share the property of being rounded, and the vowels /ii/, /i/, /e/, /aa/ and /a/ share the property of being unrounded.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF GLIDES TO VOWELS. The consonants /y/ (IPA /j/) and /w/ are associated with particular regions of the vowel space, and therefore, have closer associations with particular vowels. The glide /y/ is closely associated with the vowel region high-front (the palatal area), and thus with the vowels /ii/ and /i/; the glide /w/ is closely associated with the vowel region high-back (the velar area) and thus with the vowels /oo/ and /o/. The glide /w/ also shares with /oo/ and /o/ the property of being rounded, since lip rounding is involved in its production. These shared features of the glides /y/ and /w/ with particular vowels have important consequences in the patterning of sounds in Nishnaabemwin. The

following chart summarizes the relationships between vowels and glides.

Vowel and Glide Correspondences		
	Vowel	Glide
Palatal	/i/, /ii/	/y/
Velar	/o/, /oo/	/w/

2.4.2 The Classification of Vowels II: Vowel Quantity

Nishnaabemwin also has two very different subclasses of vowels based on their QUANTITY, or length, traditionally called short vowels and long vowels. The short vowels are /a/, /i/, and /o/; the long vowels are /ii/, /e/, /aa/, and /oo/. Short vowels are written with a single letter, and long vowels with a double letter, except in the case of /e/, which has no short counterpart, and so can be written with a single letter even though it is long. Short and long vowels contrast in their pronunciation, in that long vowels usually sound longer than short vowels, and typically involve greater muscular tension and more extreme movement of the tongue from the rest position in the middle of the vowel region.

Long and short vowels often behave very differently in the ways they pattern in the language. For example, short vowels are sometimes deleted from speech, as in the following contrasts:

nbaap__	'I laugh'	njaachaam__	'I sneeze'
gbaap__	'you laugh'	gjaachaam__	'you sneeze'
baapi	'ANsg laughs'	jaachaamo	'ANsg sneezes'

Here it can be seen that in THIRD PERSON 'ANsg' forms, there is a final vowel that is not present in the FIRST PERSON, 'I' forms, and the SECOND PERSON 'you' forms. The vowels in question are short /i/ in the case of *baapi* and short /o/ in the case of *jaachaamo*. The word meaning 'I laugh,' *nbaap*, lacks the short /i/ that appears on *baapi* 'ANsg laughs'; the word meaning 'I sneeze' *njaachaam*, lacks the short /o/ that appears on *jaachaamo* 'ANsg sneezes'. When we examine verbs that end in long vowels, however, we find a different pattern:

ngoogii	'I dive'	nmaajiibtoo	'I run away'
ggoogii	'you dive'	gmaajiibtoo	'you run away'
googii	'ANsg dives'	maajiibtoo	'ANsg runs away'

Here the final vowel, /ii/ or /oo/, is present in the forms for all three persons. The final vowels in this set differ from the previous only in their length. Short vowels are sometimes deleted from pronunciation, but long vowels almost never are. Long vowels are stronger

than short vowels, and so are more resistant to processes which might delete them. Since /e/ is a long vowel, we don't expect it to be deleted in these contexts, either, and indeed it isn't, as can be seen from the following examples:

nboodwe	'I make fire'	nwiindmaage	'I tell, give a report'
gboodwe	'you make fire'	gwiindmaage	'you tell, give a report'
boodwe	'ANsg makes fire'	wiindmaage	'ANsg tells, gives a report'

It is on the basis of behaviour such as this that we can say with confidence that /e/ is a long vowel— it patterns with the other long vowels in that it isn't deleted as short vowels are.

Another important difference between short and long vowels is their behaviour with respect to rules of stress. Stress is treated in detail in Section (6.1), beginning on p. 51.

2.4.3 Nasalized Vowels

Some vowels in Nishnaabemwin are NASALIZED, or NASAL, which means that air passes out through the nose as well as the mouth in their articulation, by lowering the soft palate in their pronunciation. Nasalized vowels occur at the end of some words, where they are indicated in written form by the letters «nh» following them, as in the examples in the table below. Note that the letters «nh» used to spell these words are not pronounced as separate sounds, but simply indicate that the vowel preceding them has a nasal pronunciation.

iinh	kiwenziinh 'old man' wesiinh '(small) animal'
enh	mdimooyenh 'old woman' nzhishenh 'my uncle'
aanh	bnajaanh 'nestling'
oonh	boodoonh 'polliwog, tadpole' zhashkoonh 'muskrat'

Rhodes 1985:xxxiv contains detailed notes regarding nasalization of vowels, including the observation that phoneme /n/ appearing before the phonemes /z/, /zh/, /s/, /sh/, and /y/ is not pronounced as a separate phone, but is realized (pronounced) as nasalization on the preceding vowel, as in the following examples:

z	akiwenziinh	'old man'
s	makoons	'bear cub'
zh	oshkanzh	'claw'
y	giigoonyag	'fish' (plural)

Additionally, he observes that /n/ nasalizes a preceding vowel when the nasal follows a glide (/y/ or /w/), and is either before a consonant or at the end of a word. The following schematic shows how this works (all examples from Rhodes 1985). In each example the designated vowel is nasalized in pronunciation.

	Vowel	Glide	Nasal	— Consonant — End of word		
h	ā	w	n		hawn	'fire!'
k	āā	w	n		kaa-wn	'not'
wiisn	ī	y	n	goban	wiisniyngoban	'had we eaten'

2.5 Consonants

CONSONANTS constitute the other major class of sounds in human language, besides vowels. Consonants differ from vowels in having a considerable degree of constriction somewhere in the vocal tract in their production. The flow of air out of the mouth is commonly either stopped completely at some point in the vocal tract, as in the case of /p/, or it is forced through a very narrow passage, as in the case of /s/. The following phonemic consonants occur in Nishnaabemwin, represented in the first column in standard Nishnaabemwin orthography, and in the second with IPA correspondences.

Nish.	IPA		
/b/	/b/	bezhig	'one'
		aaboodaasin	'INsg flips over in the wind'
		nnamdab	'I sit'
/d/	/d/	doodooshaaboo	'milk'
		biidoon	'bring IN!'
		aabjitood	'when ANsg used IN'
/g/	/g/	giigoonh	'fish'
		aagam, aagim	'snowshoe'
		gnebig	'snake'
/j/	/dʒ/	jaachaamo	'ANsg sneezes'
		maajaa	'ANsg takes off, leaves'
		ndawaaj	'after all'
/z/	/z/	ziibi	'river'
		nzid	'my foot'
		ndaakoz	'I am sick'
/zh/	/ʒ/	zhige	'ANsg builds a house'
		giizhiitaa	'ANsg finishes (doing s.t.)'
		miizh	'give (Y) to AN!'

Nish.	IPA		
/p/	/p/	piichaa	'INsg is a certain distance'
		baapi	'ANsg laughs'
		nbaap	'I laugh'
/t/	/t/	taayaa!	'Oh! Holy Smokes!'
		piitaa	'INsg is a certain height'
		geget	'of course'
/k/	/k/	kik	'kettle, ashcan, pot'
		wiikaa	'late'
		nnik	'my arm'
/ch/	/tʃ/	chaawse	'ANsg limps'
		mdaaching	'ten times'
		miigwech	'thank you'
/s/	/s/	sin	'stone'
		waasa	'far'
		wiiyaas	'meat'
		mkoons	'bear cub'
/sh/	/ʃ/	sham!	'feed AN'
		zhaashaa	'INsg is slippery'
		nimosh	'dog'
/m/	/m/	miikan	'road'
		niimi	'ANsg dances'
		nniim	'I dance'
/n/	/n/	niimi	'ANsg dances'
		aandeg	'crow'
		kidwin	'word'
		niiwing	'four times'
/w/	/w/	wiigwaam	'house'
		niiwin	'four
		niiyaw	'my body'
/y/	/j/	yekzi	'ANsg is tired'
		giiyse	'ANsg hunts'
		nday	'my dog, my pet'
/h/	/ʔ/, /h/	mzinhigan	'book'
		ndeh	'my heart'
		Aa haaw	'OK'
		ehenh	'yes'

The consonantal phonemes listed above show variable pronunciation in different phonetic environments, such as at the end of a word or between vowels. I will discuss some of

these variations below.

MINIMAL PAIRS FOCUSING ON CONSONANTS. The following list provides some minimal pairs focusing on contrasts between consonants. In this list, and generally throughout this work, I will use standard Nishnaabemwin orthographic forms within slashes, such as /sh/ to represent a voiceless alveopalatal fricative phoneme, rather than IPA forms, e.g., /ʃ/.

Some Minimal Pairs Focusing on Consonants		
/b/	bin	'be at home!, sit at home!'
/p/	pin	'potato'
/b/	dgobzo	'ANsg drives/flies up among others'
/p/	dgopzo	'ANsg is tied up with others'
/d/	wdoon	'ANsg's mouth'
/t/	toon!	'put IN in a certain place!'
/d/	ndaa-nokii	'I should work'
/t/	ntaa-nokii	'ANsg's good at working'
/g/	giizhig	'day'
/k/	giizhik	'northern white cedar'
/g/	gidgamig	'on top of the building'
/k/	gidkamig	'on the earth, on the ground'
/g/	dgonan	'mix IN in!'
/k/	dkonan	'hold IN!, seize IN!'
/z/	biigzwaad	'(that) ANsg heats and breaks ANobv'
/zh/	biigzhwaad	'(that) ANsg cuts and tears ANobv'
/z/	zaad	'poplar' (M)
/s/	saad	'(that) put AN there'
/sh/	shigan	'bass' (kind of fish)
/zh/	zhigon	'ANsg's fin, tail (of a fish)'

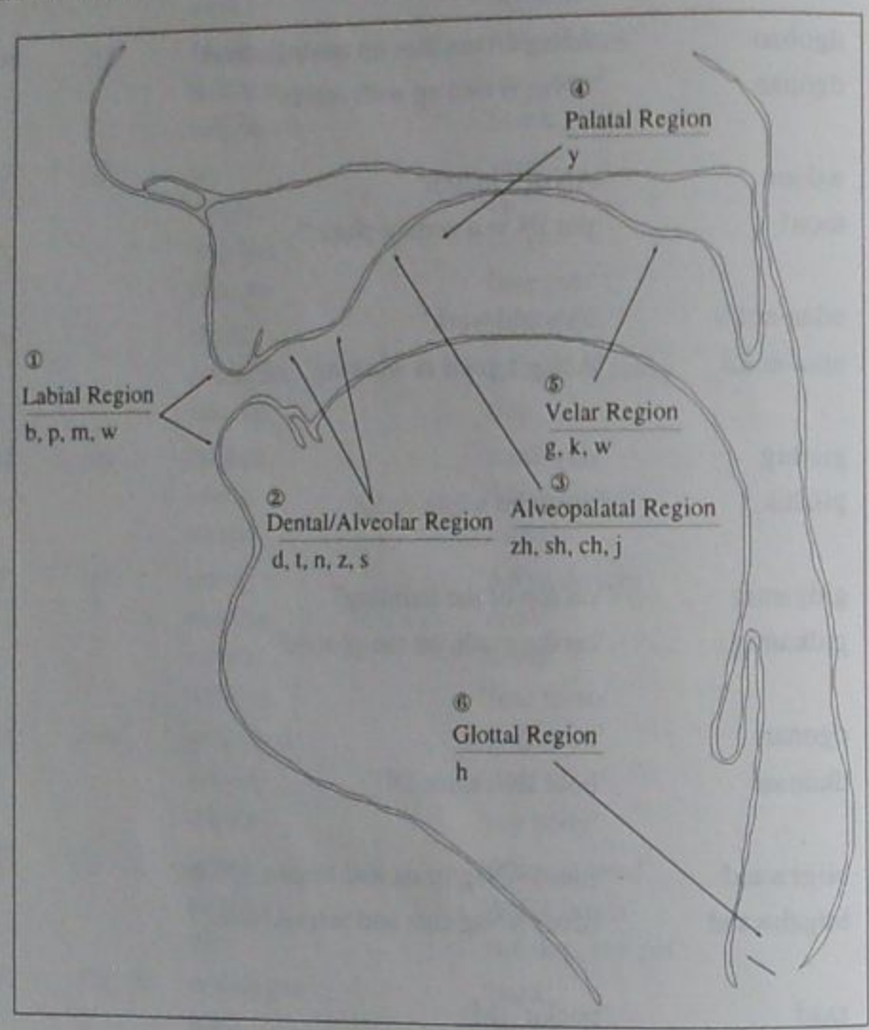
2.5.1 The Classification of Consonants

Consonants are classified on the basis of three aspects of their pronunciation:

1. PLACE OF ARTICULATION. Where in the vocal tract the consonant is made.

2. MANNER OF ARTICULATION. How the consonant is made.

3. THE STATE OF THE GLOTTIS. Whether or not the vocal cords vibrate in the production of the consonant.



PLACES OF ARTICULATION OF NISHNAABEMWIN CONSONANTS

2.5.1.1 Place of Articulation

Human languages share a small number of places in the vocal tract where consonant sounds are produced. The figure on the preceding page illustrates the main anatomical structures of the vocal tract, including the lips, teeth, ALVEOLAR RIDGE, HARD and SOFT PALATES, tongue, and VOCAL CORDS. It also shows the places in the vocal tract where Nishnaabemwin consonants are made, along with the consonants made at each location. The numbers in the figure are used in the following discussion to identify individual places of articulation.

① LABIAL. Labial sounds involve the lips. Labial consonants in Nishnaabemwin include /b/, /p/, /m/, and /w/. All the labial sounds of Nishnaabemwin are BILABIAL, that is, both the upper and lower lip are used in their articulation. [*baapi* 'ANsg laughs'; *pin* 'potato'; *maang* 'loon'; *waawan* 'egg']

② DENTAL/ALVEOLAR. DENTAL consonants are produced by putting the tongue tip behind the upper teeth. ALVEOLAR consonants are produced by putting the tongue tip on the bony ridge behind the upper teeth, called the ALVEOLAR RIDGE. Dental/Alveolar consonants in Nishnaabemwin are /d/, /t/, /z/, /s/, and /n/. There is variation among speakers as to whether these sounds are dental or alveolar. [*biidoon* 'bring IN!', *geget* 'of course', *nzid* 'my foot', *sin* 'stone', *aandeg* 'crow']

③ ALVEOPALATAL. Alveopalatal consonants are made by placing the blade or tip portion of the tongue against the vertical portion of the hard palate behind the alveolar ridge. Alveopalatal consonants in Nishnaabemwin include /zh/, /sh/, /j/ and /ch/ (IPA /ʒ/, /ʃ/, /dʒ/, and /tʃ/). [*gii̇zhiitaa* 'ANsg finishes'; *zhaashaa* 'IN is slippery'; *maajaa* 'ANsg takes off, leaves'; *miigwech* 'thank you']

④ PALATAL. Palatal consonants are made by placing the front of the tongue near the HARD PALATE. The only palatal consonant in Nishnaabemwin is the GLIDE /y/ (IPA /j/). [*yekzi* 'ANsg is tired'; *nday* 'my dog']

⑤ VELAR. Velar consonants are made by placing the back of the tongue against the SOFT PALATE, or near it, in the case of glides. Velar consonants in Nishnaabemwin include /g/, /k/, and the GLIDE /w/. [*gaag* 'porcupine'; *kik* 'kettle, pail'; *waawan* 'egg']

⑥ GLOTTAL. Glottal consonants are made at the glottis, that is, in the throat at the vocal cords, since the glottis is the opening between the vocal cords. The primary glottal consonant in Nishnaabemwin is /ʔ/ «h», GLOTTAL STOP [*ndeh* 'my heart'; *mzinhigan* 'book']. However, in a few expressive and orientational adverbs such as *haaw*, 'okay,' *hawn*, 'fire!,' and *ehenh*, 'yes,' the glottal consonant is pronounced as [h]. Both sounds are spelled with «h», though writers often omit representation of /ʔ/, because it is often not pronounced.

2.5.1.2 Manner of Articulation

There is only a small number of distinct ways in which consonant sounds are made in Nishnaabemwin, outlined as follows.

STOPS. Stops are made by completely obstructing the flow of air in the vocal tract at

some point. For example, a BILABIAL STOP is made by completely obstructing the air at the lips, that is, by closing the lips together. The bilabial stops in Nishnaabemwin are /b/ and /p/. [*baapi* 'ANsg laughs'; *pabwin* 'cushion, chair'].

DENTAL/ALVEOLAR STOPS are made by completely stopping the flow of air in the dental/alveolar area. Dental/Alveolar stops in Nishnaabemwin include /d/ and /t/. [*wdoon* 'ANsg's mouth'; *toon* 'put IN (there)! place IN (there)!'].

VELAR STOPS are made by completely obstructing the flow of air by placing the back of the tongue against the SOFT PALATE. Velar stops in Nishnaabemwin are /g/ and /k/. [*gaag* 'porcupine'; *wkaad* 'ANsg's leg'; *gookoosh* 'pig']

A GLOTTAL STOP is made by drawing the vocal cords tightly together, closing off the GLOTTIS (the opening between the vocal cords), and momentarily stopping the air from passing through. In Nishnaabemwin, glottal stop is a distinctive sound on a par with other consonants, and is symbolized by «h» in normally cited forms (IPA /ʔ/), which means that the value of the letter is different from that of English. [*ndeh* 'my heart'; *mhiingan* 'wolf']

In sum, the stops of Nishnaabemwin are /b/, /p/, /d/, /t/, /g/, /k/ and /ʔ/. The sounds /b/, /p/, /d/, /t/, /g/ and /k/ taken together are called ORAL STOPS, since they all involve obstruction in the oral cavity, in contrast to the GLOTTAL STOP, /ʔ/, in which obstruction occurs in the throat, in the glottal area.

FRICATIVES. Fricatives are made by channeling air through a narrow space somewhere in the vocal tract, creating turbulence, or friction, but never stopping the outward flow of air altogether. Fricatives are consonant sounds that appear to "leak," as opposed to stops, which have no leakage. Nishnaabemwin has four fricatives. The DENTAL/ALVEOLAR FRICATIVES are /z/ and /s/, made by putting the tongue tip up against the dental or alveolar area, creating a constriction, but still allowing air to pass through. The ALVEOPALATAL FRICATIVES are /zh/ and /sh/, made by placing the front of the tongue in the alveopalatal area, but allowing turbulent air to move through a narrow opening. [*zaad* 'poplar'; *saad* '(that) ANsg put ANobv there'; *wzhigon* 'its fin (of a fish)'; *shigan* 'bass (kind of fish)'].

AFFRICATES. Affricates are complex sounds, consisting of a stop component followed by a fricative component, but the two components are articulated so quickly together that they form a unit and pattern in the language as a unit. The only affricates in Nishnaabemwin, /j/ and /ch/, are made in the ALVEOPALATAL area. /j/ is made up of the components /d+zh/, and /ch/, /t+sh/. [*maajaa* 'ANsg takes off; *jaachaamo* 'ANsg sneezes'].

NASALS. Nasal consonants are made with complete closure somewhere in the oral cavity, but with the soft palate down, so that air is free to pass into the nasal cavity and out through the nose. The nasal phonemes of Nishnaabemwin are /n/ and /m/, the former dental/alveolar and the latter bilabial. The phoneme /n/ has two distinct pronunciations, one of which is dental/alveolar, and the other of which is velar. A velar nasal is the sound of the final element of the English word 'sing', and is typically represented in phonetic transcription as /ŋ/, which is called ENG. This sound is made by placing the back of the tongue against the soft palate (see the illustration of the vocal tract on page 33), creating a velar stop in the oral cavity, but at the same time lowering the soft palate so that air can escape through the nasal passage. The phoneme /n/ has a velar pronunciation before the sounds /g/ or /k/, which are themselves velar, as in *maang*, 'loon', and *nkaad* 'my leg.' Nasal consonants are also often called simply NASALS. [*niimi* 'ANsg dances'; *nmiinaa* 'I give it to ANsg'; *dgoshing*, '(that) ANsg arrives'].

GLIDES. GLIDES show similarities with both vowels and consonants. Glides are made by placing the tongue in some region of the vocal tract, and producing very little constriction, but more constriction than a vowel has. Because they are so similar to vowels, glides are also sometimes called SEMI-VOWELS. There are two glides in Nishnaabemwin, /y/ and /w/, the former made in the palatal area, and is thus called a PALATAL GLIDE, and the latter made in the velar area, but also involving the lips, so is both labial and velar, and as a result is usually called a LABIOVELAR GLIDE or a VELAR GLIDE. [*wiiyaas* 'meat'; *yaa* 'ANsg is there'; *aawi* 'ANsg is an X, e.g., *Nishnaabe aawi* 'ANsg is an Indian'].

2.5.1.3 State of the Glottis: Voiced and Voiceless

Recall that the GLOTTIS is the opening between the vocal cords. When the vocal cords are drawn together and air is forced between them, they vibrate and produce VOICING. When the vocal cords are apart, they do not vibrate, and so there is no voicing. Many consonants group into pairs based on whether or not the vocal cords vibrate when each is made. For example, /b/ and /p/ are both labial, that is, they have the same place of articulation; /b/ and /p/ are both stops, and thus have the same manner of articulation as well. But /b/ and /p/ differ from one another in part because /b/ is made with the vocal cords drawn together and vibrating, and /p/ is made with the vocal cords drawn apart. So /b/ is VOICED and /p/ is VOICELESS. In fact, except for GLOTTAL STOP, all of the STOPS, FRICATIVES, and AFFRICATES occur in such pairs in Nishnaabemwin, with one voiced member and one voiceless member, as follows:

Place	Manner	Voiced	Voiceless	IPA Voiced	IPA Voiceless
Labial	Stop	/b/	/p/	/b/	/p/
Dental/Alveolar	Stop	/d/	/t/	/d/	/t/
Dental/Alveolar	Fricative	/z/	/s/	/z/	/s/
Alveopalatal	Fricative	/zh/	/sh/	/ʒ/	/ʃ/
Alveopalatal	Affricate	/j/	/ch/	/dʒ/	/tʃ/
Velar	Stop	/g/	/k/	/g/	/k/

Because the production of stops, fricatives, and affricates all have a significant degree of obstruction somewhere in the vocal tract, they are called OBSTRUENTS (related to the word 'obstruct'). Each of the obstruents of Nishnaabemwin is paired with a partner of opposite VOICING. This has very important implications for certain aspects of pronunciation. Recall that in the normal resting state, to facilitate breathing, there is no voicing, since the vocal cords are too far apart to vibrate. Recall too that the main difference between a /b/ and a /p/

is that in the case of the /b/, the vocal cords are drawn together and are vibrating, whereas in the case of the /p/, the vocal cords are apart, so that they do not vibrate. If, in a pronouncing a /b/, the vocal cords are far enough apart to fail to vibrate, instead of producing a [b] sound, a [p] sound will be produced. The same is true with /d/, /g/, /z/, /ʒ/ «zh» and /dʒ/ «j» with respect to [t], [k], [s], [ʃ] «sh» and [tʃ] «ch». This process, whereby the vibration of the vocal cords is absent in a sound which normally has vocal cord vibration, is called DEVOICING. A devoiced /b/ sounds like a /p/; a devoiced /ʒ/ «zh» sounds like a /ʃ/ «sh», etc. We will see below that devoicing is very common in certain positions in Nishnaabemwin words, giving rise to variable pronunciations of many phonemes. The representation of consonant voicing is the source of many of the differences in spelling between different writers of Nishnaabemwin.

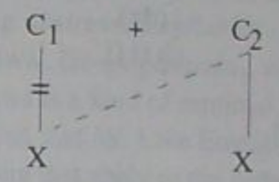
Another feature related to voicing is ASPIRATION. If you place your palm up to your mouth and say very carefully the English words 'bit' and 'pit', you will notice that in the latter word, associated with the /p/, there is a puff of air following it that is not present when the /b/ is articulated. This puff of air is called aspiration. Aspiration is signalled in phonetic transcription with a small raised h, as in [pʰ]it, English *pit*. Nishnaabemwin voiceless stop consonants (/p/, /t/, /k/) very often have aspiration associated with them, usually following the articulation of the consonant, but occasionally preceding it.

2.5.1.4 Fortis and Lenis Consonant Pairs

Another way that voiceless stops, fricatives and affricates differ from voiced ones is that the voiceless are phonetically stronger, and in most situations where a voiced and a voiceless obstruent come together, the voiceless one usually dominates in some way. Actually, I simplified things a little above in saying that the only difference between /b/ and /p/, /d/ and /t/, etc., is one of voicing, because in Nishnaabemwin these sound pairs differ in ways other than just their voicing. The voiceless member of the pair is not only voiceless, but is pronounced for a longer time than the voiced member, and with greater muscular intensity. The voiceless member of the pair is sometimes said to be FORTIS, or HARD, and the voiced, LENIS, or SOFT. It is also useful to know that the fortis consonants historically come from combinations, or clusters, of two consonants. Some analysts of Nishnaabemwin have used the convention of writing fortis consonants with doublings of the letters they use for lenis consonants (called LENES), for example, *makkwa*, 'bear' but *kaak*, 'porcupine', which in the system used here would be spelled *makwa* and *gaag*. The system of double letters has the advantage of showing more clearly the relationships between sounds. A fortis consonant often does behave as if it were a doubled lenis consonant. One way to see this clearly is to compare the speech of Nishnaabemwin with speakers of other Ojibwe dialects, for example, the Ojibwe of Minnesota. In Minnesota Ojibwe, to say 'you will dive', one says *giga-gooogii*, with four lenis consonants, all /g/'s. In Nishnaabemwin, the /i/ between the first two /g/'s is not pronounced, creating a sequence of two /g/'s, *gga-googii*. But many speakers of Nishnaabemwin hear this combination of two lenis consonants as a fortis consonant, and spell this word, *ka-googii*. So, to many speakers' ears, doubled (GEMINATE) lenis consonants [gg] sound like a single fortis consonant [k].

Another argument for saying that fortis consonants represent geminate lenes comes from the behaviour of certain inflectional suffixes. For example, when the conjunct order third person inanimate suffix, /-g/ is added to a verb stem ending in /d/, a /k/ is produced. Thus, the CONJUNCT form of *aabdad*, 'INsg is useful' VII, is *aabdak*, from an UNDERLYING FORM of /aabdad+g/. Note also that the third person animate conjunct order suffix /-d/ attaches directly to the preterit mode suffix /-bany/, to produce /p/, the fortis equivalent of /b/. For example, compare the verb forms *niimid*, '(when/that/if) ANsg dances' and *niimpan*, '(that/when) ANsg had danced,' which has the underlying representation /niimi+d+bany/.

The following diagram illustrates the nature of the relationship the between consonants we have been discussing. Under certain conditions, when two lenis consonants are juxtaposed across a suffix boundary (symbolized with + sign), a fortis consonant corresponding to the second consonant results. If we analyze fortis consonants as doubled lenis consonants, then the effect observed here can be explained as the spreading of the second consonant's phonetic values to the first consonant, creating a doubled consonant, which is naturally fortis (geminate).



One last bit of support for a geminate analysis of fortis consonants concerns the behaviour of fortis consonants when attached to a stem that ends in a nasal, for example suffix /-sii/, 'negative' or /-ke(n)/, 'prohibitive.' In such cases, the initial fortis consonant of the suffix is always lenited, e.g., *gego boodweke(n)*, 'don't make a fire!,' versus *gego zhishnge(n)*, 'don't lie that way.'

2.5.2 Summary of Consonants

The chart on the following page lays out the consonants of Nishnaabemwin in a system that shows the different classes of sounds organized on the basis of place of articulation, manner of articulation, and the state of glottis. Notice that /w/ is listed below under both the velar place and the labial, because it is a complex sound involving the positioning of the tongue body in the back of the mouth (the velar area), as well as lip rounding. IPA forms of consonants are given in parentheses, when they differ from our standard orthography.

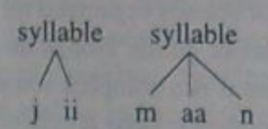
2.6 Syllables and Stress

The sounds in a word organize into groupings called SYLLABLES. The two basic classes of sounds, consonants and vowels, differ in the roles they have in syllables. Vowels occupy the heart, or NUCLEUS, of a syllable, and consonants usually occupy the margins or "edges" of syllables. For example, the word *goon*, 'snow' consists of a single syllable, with the

	Labial	Dental/Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops						
Lenis	b	d			g	
Fortis	p	t			k	
Glottal						h (ʔ)
Fricatives						
Lenis		z	zh (ʒ)			
Fortis		s	sh (ʃ)			
Affricates						
Lenis			j (dʒ)			
Fortis			ch (tʃ)			
Nasals	m	n				
Glides	w			y	w	

TABLE OF NISHNAABEMWIN CONSONANTS (IPA FORMS IN PARENTHESES)

vowel /oo/ in its nucleus, preceded and followed by the consonants /g/ and /n/, respectively. Many words have more than one syllable, and speakers of a language do not usually have much trouble determining how many syllables there are in a word, and how the sounds within the word group into syllables. For example, the word *jiimaan*, 'boat,' consists of two syllables, /jii/ and /maan/:



Many languages have systems of STRESS, whereby some syllables in a word are given more prominence than others. For example, consider the two English words, both spelled «content», as used in the following sentences.

(a) Tebo was contént to sit watching the ducks.
(b) I think that Tebo's play is clever, but it lacks cóntent.

Although the two italicized words are spelled the same, they are pronounced differently. The difference in pronunciation is due to different syllables receiving primary emphasis in the two words. In sentence (a), the second vowel of *content* is pronounced with the greater force, that is, it is both louder and of higher pitch than the other vowel in the word. In sentence (b), though, it is the first vowel which has more emphasis. Vowels that are spoken with such emphasis are said to be STRESSED, and vowels pronounced with little or no emphasis are said to be UNSTRESSED. Different languages have different patterns of stress, which determine how much emphasis each of the syllables in a word receives. Now consider the following two sentences:

This is a nice phótogràph. | I like photógraphy.

In the word *photograph*, the vowel in the middle of the word is unstressed and sounds like 'uh' when spoken at normal speed.[1] Such a vowel is said to be REDUCED, or de-emphasized. However, in the word *photography*, this same vowel does not sound like 'uh', because now it is stressed. So there are really two aspects to stress systems: emphasizing stressed syllables, and de-emphasizing unstressed syllables. Recall that the reduced vowel that sounds like 'uh' is called SCHWA. De-emphasizing vowels in English involves reducing them to schwa. Recall that schwa is a kind of minimal vowel lacking the distinctiveness of unreduced vowels such as /i/, /a/, and /o/. Like English, Nishnaabemwin has intricate patterns of stressing and de-stressing that apply to the syllables of its words. However, in Nishnaabemwin, de-emphasized vowels may not only be reduced, but in many cases, are deleted as part of the process of de-emphasis. Consider the following words:

waagosh	'fox'	waagshag	'foxes'

Notice that there is an /o/ in *waagosh* which appears between the consonants /g/ and /sh/. This vowel is not present in *waagshag* because it has been deleted due to its being unstressed. The differing vowel compositions of these two words is due to different syllables receiving stress. The stressing of vowels in Nishnaabemwin is systematic, subject to the interaction of several simple principles. These are described in detail in the next section.

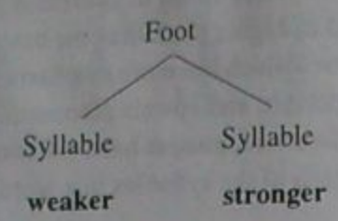
2.6.1 Stress and Syncope

Many Algonquian languages share similar rules of stress patterning. The stress patterns that are presented in this section show similarities with those found in Delaware, Potawatomi, and Menominee, all sister languages of Nishnaabemwin.

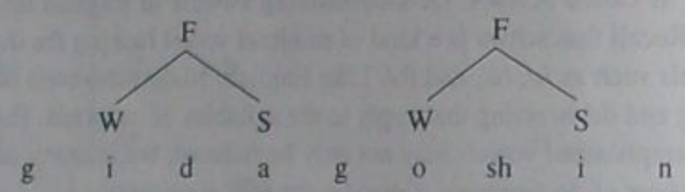
We have already seen that the consonants and vowels of words are organized into syllables. Syllables are also organized into larger groupings called METRICAL FEET. By "metrical" I mean having to do with rhythmic patterns of pronunciation. In Nishnaabemwin a

1. Some people say foe-toe-graph when their attention is on their pronunciation.

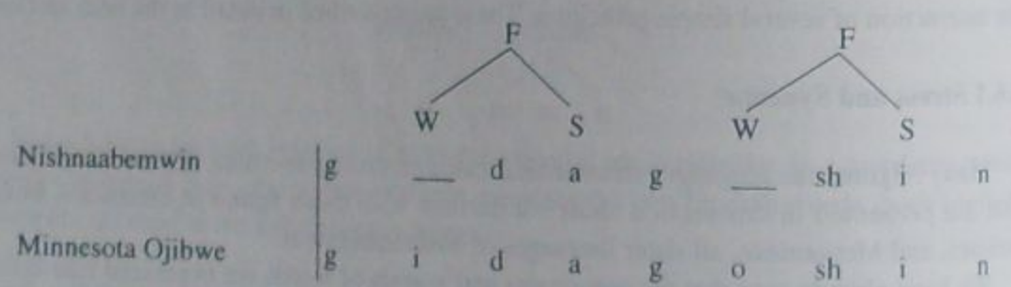
metrical foot is a grouping of two syllables together, in which the first syllable of the foot is weaker, and the second syllable is stronger. This pattern can be represented as follows.



The system here is quite simple: a standard foot consists of two syllables, the first of which is the weaker member and the second the stronger. To see how this system works, we will use a few words as they are pronounced in Minnesota Ojibwe, closely related to Nishnaabemwin, and show how the stress rules relate the pronunciations of Nishnaabemwin and Ojibwe. Consider the word *gidagoshin*, meaning 'you arrive' in Minnesota Ojibwe. If we organize the syllables of this word in patterns of feet with weak and strong components, we arrive at the following specification:



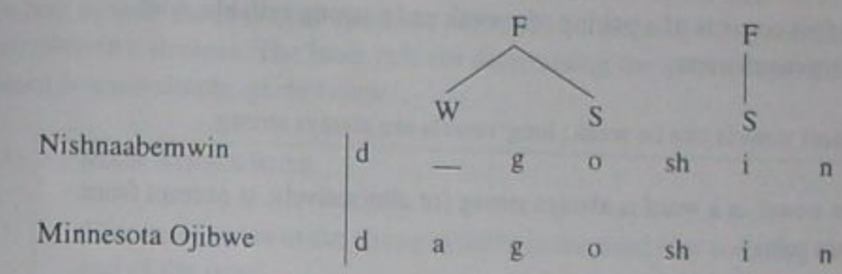
This word consists of four syllables organized into two metrical feet. When we compare this Minnesota Ojibwe word to its Nishnaabemwin counterpart, we make an interesting discovery. The Nishnaabemwin pronunciation (and spelling) is often *gdagshin*, which lacks some of the vowels of the Minnesota Ojibwe. If we examine the two pronunciations, we find that the missing vowels in Nishnaabemwin are exactly those which happen to fall in weak metrical positions.



So the Nishnaabemwin word is actually identical to the Minnesota Ojibwe, the only difference between the two words being that in Nishnaabemwin metrically weak vowels are de-emphasized to the point of deletion, while in Minnesota Ojibwe they are not.

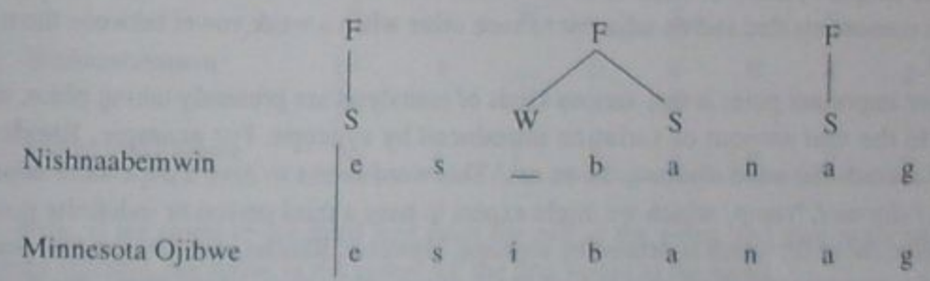
One principle of Nishnaabemwin stress that I haven't explicitly mentioned is that footing starts from the beginning of the word, and proceeds towards the end. In some other languages of the world, the system works in the opposite direction.

Another rule of Nishnaabemwin stress is that the final vowel of a word must always be strong (stressed), even if it falls in a position that would otherwise make it weak. To see how this works, we will examine another Minnesota Ojibwe form, and compare it to Nishnaabemwin, in this case the word *dagoshin*, 'ANsg arrives,' which is pronounced and spelled *dgoshin* in Nishnaabemwin.



Here, even though the last vowel naturally falls in a WEAK position counting from the beginning of the word, it is strong because of the overriding principle that the last vowel of a word is strong. So there is only one weak vowel in this word, the first one, which is deleted in Nishnaabemwin, according to the rule that de-emphasizes weak vowels.

Another aspect of Nishnaabemwin metrical footing is that long vowels can never occupy weak metrical positions. What this means is that long vowels always receive some stress, that is, they are never de-emphasized to the degree that short vowels can be. If a long vowel falls in what would be a weak position, it is treated as if it were the strong component of a foot consisting of only the syllable containing the long vowel. This can be made clear with an example, *esbanag*, 'raccoons,' which in Minnesota Ojibwe is pronounced and spelled *esibanag*.



In this word, the first vowel cannot be weak, because it is long. So we create a DEFECTIVE FOOT, consisting of a single syllable having a long vowel, instead of the normal foot structure of two syllables. We then proceed on through the word, trying to build weak-strong feet. The next vowel in the word is the short vowel /i/, which can occupy the weak position in a foot. The next vowel, short /a/, serves as the strong partner of /i/. The last

vowel, even though short, cannot be weak because of the rule that requires that the last vowel of a word always be strong. And once again we see that the only difference between the Minnesota Ojibwe form and Nishnaabemwin is that the Nishnaabemwin pronunciation (and spelling) shows deletion of the metrically weak vowel /i/.

I have now introduced all of the basic rules pertaining to stress in Nishnaabemwin. They are summarized as follows.

METRICAL STRESS RULE(S)

A. A metrical foot consists of a pairing of a weak and a strong syllable, with the following restrictions:

A1 Only short vowels can be weak; long vowels are always strong.

A2 The last vowel in a word is always strong (or alternatively, is exempt from the stress rules).

B. Build weak-strong metrical feet starting from the beginning of the word.

C. Once footing is completed, de-emphasize metrically weak vowels by reducing them to schwa or deleting them, and give stress to metrically strong vowels.

The systematic deletion of metrically weak vowels is called VOWEL SYNCOPE, or simply SYNCOPE for short. A vowel that has been deleted by syncope is said to have been SYNCOPATED. Note that it is older speakers who tend to have reduced vowels in metrically weak positions, while younger speakers typically delete weak vowels entirely. Vowel syncope is pervasive in Nishnaabemwin, and serves as one of the defining features of the language group, as we saw in the last chapter. We will see too that the effects of syncope extend far beyond the simple deletion of weak vowels. In Section 5 we will examine some of the effects on consonants that end up adjacent to each other when a weak vowel between them is deleted.

Another important point is that various kinds of reanalysis are presently taking place, in reaction to the vast amount of variation introduced by syncope. For example, Rhodes 1985:113 records the word *diyaawi*, 'be an ass.' This word seems to have a dependent noun as initial, /-diy-aa-/, 'rump,' which we might expect to have a third person or indefinite possessor prefix, /o/ or /i/, which is deleted by syncope. However, Rhodes also lists the first person singular present tense form as *ndiyaaw*, 'I am an ass.' Note that in both forms, the /i/ of /diy/ is pronounced. The rule of syncope predicts no such continuity, and thus seems to be ignored in the third person form. If there were an initial short vowel in the basic stem, it should surface in the first singular form because its person prefix shifts the stress onto it, but no such vowel is present. We see a similar phenomenon with the forms Rhodes provides for *kik*, 'kettle, pot,' which include *ndakik*, 'my kettle,' which we predict by syncope, but also

nkikom, 'my kettle,' in which the historical initial vowel /a/, does not show up in alternations. A speaker using the latter form has evidently reanalyzed this word to have a stem lacking this initial vowel.

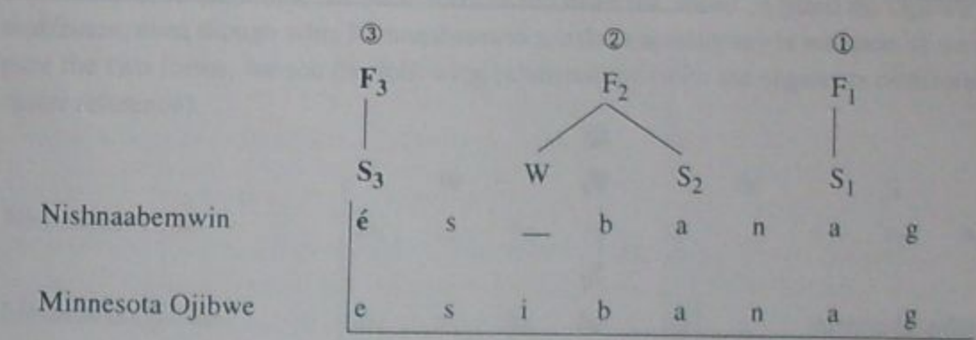
2.6.2 Main Stress in a Word

Since metrically weak vowels are typically deleted in Nishnaabemwin, only metrically strong vowels usually get pronounced, and as we have seen, these always have some stress. However, typically one syllable in a word receives more stress than the other syllables, and is said to bear the MAIN (OR PRIMARY) STRESS of the word, while the other syllables bear SECONDARY stresses. The basic rule for determining the main stress of a Nishnaabemwin word is quite simple, given below.

MAIN STRESS RULE

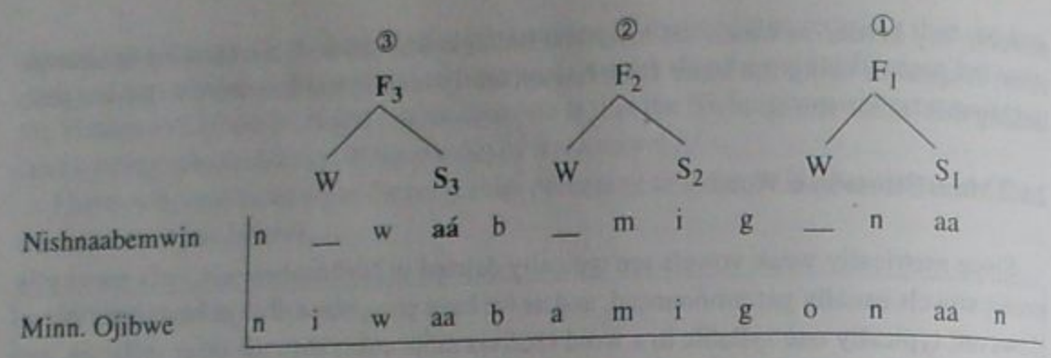
Give main stress to the strong syllable in the third foot counting back from the end of the word.

Since all weak (unstressed) vowels are omitted in the standard writing system, even if they are schwas, the rule basically allows one to count three vowels in from the end of a spelled word in order to determine the main stress in a Nishnaabemwin word. To illustrate this rule, we will examine a couple of words, by comparing their pronunciation in Nishnaabemwin with Minnesota Ojibwe. Recall the word for 'raccoons,' *esbanag*, which had the following representation when we examined its stress pattern:



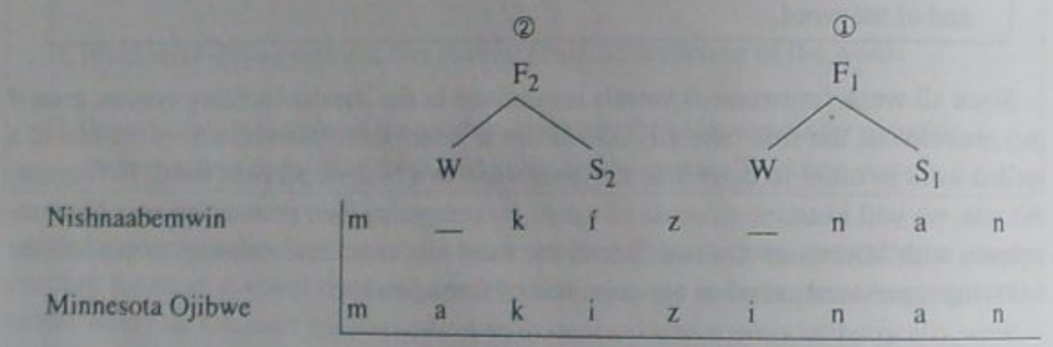
Now, if we count to the third foot from the end of the word, and give main stress to its strong syllable, we arrive at the vowel /e/, the first vowel in the word.

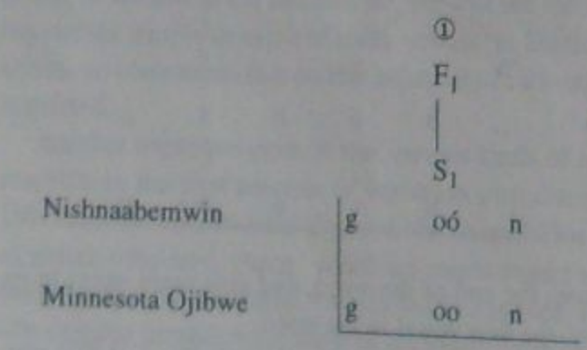
As another example, consider the Nishnaabemwin word *nwaabmigonaa(n)*, 'ANsg sees us (excl.)':



Again, we find that the strong syllable in the third foot from the end of the word, the syllable /waab/, receives the main stress.

If a word has less than three feet, then main stress is given to the one farther from the end of the word, in other words, to the strong syllable in the first foot in the word, as in the following examples, *mkiznan* 'shoes', which contains two feet, and *goon* 'snow', which contains one. Notice that in the case of *mkiznan* 'shoes', vowels in weak syllables are deleted.





To summarize the stress rules of Nishnaabemwin: iambic (weak-strong) feet are built from the beginning of the word to the end; only short vowels can fill weak positions, and the last vowel of a word is always strong. All weak vowels are deleted, or reduced to schwa, and all strong vowels receive stress. Main (primary) stress for a word is given to the strong syllable in the third (antepenultimate) foot from the end of the word in words of three or more feet, and to the strong syllable in the first foot of words of two feet of less.

The main stress rule posited here is taken from an article by Jonathan Kaye (Kaye 1973). Kaye also notes that there is one small group of exceptions to the rule discussed in this section, a set of words all of which consist of two syllables containing short vowels, e.g., *gonda*, 'these (an.),' *nongo*, 'now,' *nonda*, 'these (in.),' *bangii*, 'a little, few,' and *zhanda*, 'here.' For the speakers with whom Kaye worked at Wikwemikong, these words did not syncopate the first short vowel, and furthermore, it received the main stress of the word. All of these words have a similar phonological structure, consisting of two syllables both containing short vowels, with the first syllable closed by a nasal, and the second syllable beginning with a stop consonant. Kaye suggests that an additional rule is needed to stress the first short vowel in such words. These words also appear to violate the rule of syncope. Many speakers, however, apply syncope to *bangii*, producing *bngii*. Furthermore, in Angeline Williams' Ottawa (Bloomfield/Nichols, eds. 1991), which did not show syncope, the form corresponding to *gonda* is *agonda*, and to *nonda*, *anonda*. If these were the underlying forms in contemporary Odawa, they would be regular in their stress behaviour. But there are no doubt many idiosyncrasies in the workings of stress in Nishnaabemwin, as it is a system that is presently in considerable flux.

2.6.3 The Form of Nishnaabemwin Words

In the discussion in the previous section, I resorted to using word forms from another, closely related, language in the Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) group, Minnesota Ojibwe, in order to determine the basic word forms to which the Nishnaabemwin stress rules applied. For example, to determine the basic form of the word for 'shoes', I listed the Ojibwe form *makizinan*, even though what Nishnaabemwin speakers actually say is *mkiznan*. If we compare the two forms, we see the following relationships (with the segments numbered for easier reference):

		W		S		W		S	
Nishnaabemwin	m_1	—	k_3	i_4	z_5	—	n_7	a_8	n_9
Minnesota Ojibwe	m_1	a_2	k_3	i_4	z_5	i_6	n_7	a_8	n_9

A question arises concerning what support there is that Nishnaabemwin speakers know that $/a/_2$ and $/i/_6$ are in this word, in order for the stress rules to work, since they are not pronounced. The answer lies in an examination at other forms of the word. Consider, for example, the singular form for *shoe*, which is *mkizin* in Nishnaabemwin and *makizin* in Minnesota Ojibwe.

		W		S		S	
Nishnaabemwin	m_1	—	k_3	i_4	z_5	i_6	n_7
Minnesota Ojibwe	m_1	a_2	k_3	i_4	z_5	i_6	n_7

Here $/i/_6$ shows up in the Nishnaabemwin word as well as the Ojibwe, because it is no longer in a metrically weak position, since it is now the last vowel in the word. So based on the singular, we can say that Nishnaabemwin speakers know that this word has an $/i/_6$ which gets deleted in the plural. What about $/a/_2$? Here, we must look at another form of this word, the one that means 'my shoe,' which in Nishnaabemwin is *nmakzin* (or *nmakzinim*) and in Minnesota Ojibwe is *nimakizin*.

		W		S		W		S	
Nishnaabemwin	n	—	m_1	a_2	k_3	—	z_5	i_6	n_7
Minnesota Ojibwe	n	i	m_1	a_2	k_3	i_4	z_5	i_6	n_7

So, here we see $/a/_2$ showing up in Nishnaabemwin, because the addition of the prefix meaning 'my,' /ni-/, causes the first vowel of the basic word to appear in the second syllable of the new word, where it will be strong, and thus not be deleted. Now, if we put together the Nishnaabemwin words for 'shoe' and 'my shoe' that we have seen, we arrive at an interesting conclusion:

'shoe'		m_1		k_3	i_4	z_5	i_6	n_7
'my shoe'	n	m_1	a_2	k_3		z_5	i_6	n_7
		m_1	a_2	k_3	i_4	z_5	i_6	n_7

By "adding up" the phonemes that are pronounced in each of these words, we can say that the basic word for 'shoe' in Nishnaabemwin consists of the seven phonemes /makizin/, but that because of the rule of syncope, all seven phonemes never show up together in the same word form. And notice too, that the basic word for *shoe* that we postulate for Nishnaabemwin is the same as the Minnesota Ojibwe word, *makizin*. This means, though, that to determine the basic form of a Nishnaabemwin word, a language learner must hear a variety of forms with different elements attached to the beginning and end of the basic word, so that the short vowels will have opportunity to be in metrically strong positions and thereby avoid deletion.

If we consult Rhodes 1985, we find the following entry for *mkizin* 'shoe'

> **mkizin** *ni* boot, shoe, moccasin; *pl* **mkiznan**; *pos* **nmakzin**; *pos pl* **nmakzinan**

Rhodes provides the POSSESSIVE form *nmakzin* 'my shoe' so that the user of the dictionary can see the form of the word with a PREFIX attached to the beginning of the word, in this case the first person marker, meaning 'my,' spelled «n». Providing a form of the word with a prefix attached is especially important when the unprefixed word has a short vowel in its first syllable, since when there is no prefix present the vowel will occupy a metrically weak position and be deleted (syncopated), but will remain when a prefix containing a single short vowel is present, since it will then be shifted to a metrically strong position. It is important to realize, though, that many speakers now use person prefix forms such as *ndoo-*, 'my,' which prevents the basic noun stem from alternating its vowels, suggesting that for them the word has been reanalyzed to lack the /a/ it had historically.

In this section we have seen arguments for saying that the "basic" forms of Nishnaabemwin words are similar those of its sister language, Minnesota Ojibwe. Whereas all of the short vowels are present in the different forms of Minnesota Ojibwe words, the patterns of alternations in Nishnaabemwin words with and without prefixes show the same vowels to be present in the representations of these words in the minds of at least some Nishnaabemwin speakers. In the next section we will examine some adjustments that contemporary speakers have made in the face of the immense amount of alternation in word forms introduced into the language by the application of the syncope rule.

2.6.4 Prefixes, Suffixes, Stems, Prenouns and Preverbs

In discussing the phonological and morphological properties of words, we must distinguish between different ways in which the concept "word" applies to grammatical description. For example, the words *gjiimaan(im)* 'your boat' and *njiimaan(im)* 'my boat' can both be said to consist of the "basic" word /jiimaan/ along with additional elements, AFFIXES, which may be PREFIXES or SUFFIXES. Many affixes can occur in a single word, for example, *gjiimaan(mi)naa(n)* 'our (excl.) boat' has a prefix spelled «g» and a suffix spelled «naa(n)». An additional suffix can also be added to form *gjiimaan(mi)naanin* 'our boats.' Since *gjiimaan(mi)naa(n)* is not a basic word, we need another term to refer to it when discussing the attachment of additional affixes. The term that is most commonly used in linguistics to refer to the element to which affixes are attached is BASE. So *jiimaan* is the base to which /g(i)-/ is attached, and *gjiimaan(mi)naa(n)* is the base to which the inanimate plural suffix /-in/ (or /-an/) is attached.

There are far more suffixes than prefixes in Nishnaabemwin. In fact, the only true prefixes are the person prefixes for first, second and third person. Suffixes on the other hand add a variety of meanings, including plurality on nouns and verbs, negation, doubtfulness, and many others. All of these categories are discussed in the chapters which follow.

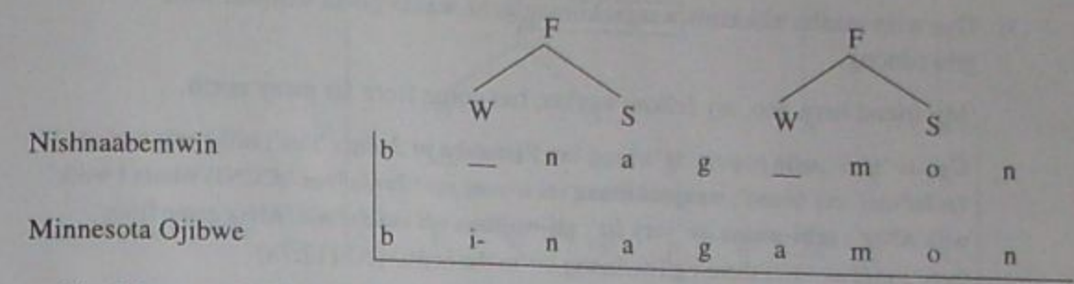
Another important distinction is that between WORD FORMS and STEMS (also called WORD-STEMS or LEXEMES). A stem is a word minus any of its inflectional elements, along with the "undoing" of any phonological processes, such as deletions and INITIAL CHANGE (discussed in Chapter 3, p. 155). Inflectional elements include such things as person prefixes and the various grammatical endings found on nouns and verbs. The stem provides the basic meaning of the word, and the word form consists of the basic meaning component along with whatever prefixes and suffixes are present, and any PREVERBS. So, for example, in the case of the word *gii-bmosewag*, 'they (anim.) were walking along,' the inflectional material is the ending /-wag/ and the preverb *gii-*, 'past tense'; in the case of the word *nbimse*, 'I am walking along,' the inflectional material is the prefix spelled «n». This suggests that the stem in the first word is *bmose* and in the second *bimse*. Yet clearly we have the same basic meaning in both cases, indeed the same word stem. The difference in the two forms is due to the variable deletion of short vowels created by syncope. The basic word stem is thus determined not only by removing all inflectional affixes, but by systematically restoring all deleted short vowels, and putting the restored form within slashes, as in /bimose/.

The last kind of word we will consider here is that of the MORPHOSYNTACTIC WORD, which distinguishes identical word forms having different grammatical properties, as in the case of, for example, *mtigoon*, which is the PLURAL form of the inanimate noun *mtig*, 'stick,' and the OBVIATIVE form of the animate noun *mtig*, 'tree.' This single word-form thus represents two distinct morphosyntactic words. The same is of course true of the form *mtig*, which represents both an inanimate and an animate singular noun. These forms also represent different lexemes.

PREVERBS AND PRENOUNS. Many elements can be attached to the front of nouns and verbs, and in this way resemble prefixes, but their relative PHONOLOGICAL autonomy, most notably with respect to STRESS RULES and EPENTHETIC processes, distinguishes them from person prefixes. Consider, for example, the following words:

bi-ngamon! 'Come and sing!' | o-ngamon! 'Go and sing!'

Both examples of *ngamo* 'ANsg sings' have a suffix attached, /-n/, which makes the verb into an IMPERATIVE form, that is, one expressing a positive command, to a single individual. But both words also have elements attached to the front of them, in the one case *bi-*, 'come and…' and in the other case *o-*, 'go and…'. These DIRECTIONAL elements are different from person prefixes, though, in that they are treated as separate words when applying the metrical stress rules. Both of these elements, in all dialects of Ojibwe, consist of a single syllable containing a single short vowel. Since the metrical stress rule creates weak-strong pairings of syllables into feet, if these elements were attached directly to their stems as prefixes, we would predict the form **bnagmon* for the meaning 'come and sing!' This can be seen clearly with the following diagram of predicted metrical structure:



The Minnesota Ojibwe form is included here once again, to provide evidence for what the underlying short vowels of this word are. The point here, though, is that the vowel of *bi-* is not deleted, because it is treated as a separate unit for the stress rules, and being a separate unit, it too defines a domain in which the vowel in its last syllable is always strong. As far as the stress rules are concerned, *bi-* acts as if it were a separate word.

Elements that attach to the front of a verb such as *bi-* are called PREVERBS. Similar elements attached to nouns are correspondingly called PRENOUNS. In standard written form, preverbs and prenouns are always separated from the stems they are attached to, and from each other, by means of hyphens. Nishnaabemwin has a great number of preverbs and prenouns. For example, the following sentence contains the preverbs *e-*, 'when,' *shki-*, 'first,' and *gii-*, past tense, as well as the prenoun *gchi-* 'great, big.'

(2) ***E-shki-***waabmag aw ***Gchi-***mookmaan maa ddibew ziibing n***gii-***zeghig.

'The first time I saw a white man there by the bank of the river, he frightened me.' (AM3.1)

> **E-shki-waabmag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) when I first saw ANsg'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Gchi-mookmaan** *na 3sProx* 'white American'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **ddibew** *av* 'on the bank'; **ziibing** *ni 0 loc* 'by the river'; **ngii-zeghig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg frightened me.'

The expression *ngii-bi-bskaabii*, 'I came back here,' has two preverbs, and each is set off with its own hyphen. Notice, however, that personal prefixes are attached directly to the front of the word, as in *ngii-zeghig*, 'ANsg frightened me,' which has the past tense preverb *gii-*, and the first person prefix, spelled «n», which is attached directly to the preverb, without any hyphen. When there is no preverb, the prefix attaches directly to the verb, as in *nniim*, 'I am dancing.'

Another distinction between preverbs and person prefixes involves the degree of fusion with the stem. Preverbs are less tightly connected to the stem than prefixes, and occasionally even allow independent particles or adverbs to intervene between them and the stem. In the following sentence, for example, the emphatic particle *sa* occurs between the past tense preverb *gii-* and the stem *wnjibaa*. While such occurrences probably always represent slips of the tongue, they also indicate the relative weakness of the PREVERB-STEM boundary.

(3) Gye wiin maaba niikaanis waajnokiimag gchi-waasa gii-sa wnjibaa widi giiwednong…

'My friend here, too, my fellow worker, has come from far away north…

> **Gye** *av* 'also'; **wiin** *pr pers 3s* 's/he, it (an.)'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **niikaanis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my friend'; **waajnokiimag** *vta ic conj part 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) whom I work with ANsg'; **gchi-waasa** *av* 'very far'; **gii-wnjibaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg came from there'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **giiwednong** *av* 'to the north.' (AM12.7a)

Another example shows a DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN, *nanda*, 'this/these (OBV.),' between a PREVERB and a STEM. This pronoun represents a fronted element associated with a noun that follows the verb.

(4) Gaa go gnagen wgii-gkendziinaawaa waa-kidwaad, bjiinag go naa wgii-nanda naajmotwaawaan Niibaakhomoon.

'They really didn't know what to say, so they just made up some kind of story to tell Nibakom.' (SO6.144)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **gnagen** *av* 'at all'; **wgii-gkendziinaawaa** *vti ind neg 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl did not know INsg'; **waa-kidwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl will say'; **bjiinag** *av* 'shortly'; **nanda** *pr 3obv* 'this/these' **wgii-naajmotwaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl related to ANobv'; **Niibaakhomoon** *na 3obv* 'Niibaakhom.'

2.6.4.1 Person Prefix Forms and Extended Forms with doo-, di- or da-

Consider the following words for 'smoking pipe' in Nishnaabemwin and Minnesota Ojibwe, the singular (simple) form first, and then the possessed form:

		F (W)		F (S)			F (S)	
Nishnaabemwin	—	p	w	aa	g	a	n	
Minnesota Ojibwe	o	p	w	aa	g	a	n	

		F (W)		F (S)			F (S)		F (S)	
Nishnaabemwin	n	—	d	oo	p	w	aa	g	a	n
Minnesota Ojibwe	n	i	d	oo	p	w	aa	g	a	n

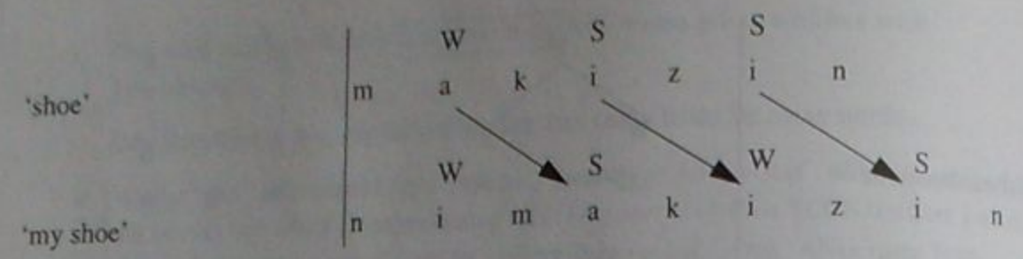
The simple noun form is pronounced as *pwaagan*, because syncope deletes the initial vowel, /o/, which is in a weak position. However, when the POSSESSIVE PREFIX meaning 'my' is added, two changes in the word form occur: first, an extended form of the first person prefix, /nid-/, with a final /d/, is added, and secondly, the initial short /o/ of the stem lengthens after this prefix to /oo/. This lengthening of /o/ to /oo/ is found in all varieties of Ojibwe, it has nothing to do with stress in the contemporary language. Now, some speakers hear these two forms, *pwaagan* and *ndoopwaagan*, and make an interesting inference:

if…	'pipe' =				p	w	aa	g	a	n
and…	'my pipe' =	n	d	oo	p	w	aa	g	a	n
then…	'my' =	n	d	oo						

Faced with the kind of variation that the syncope rule presents, many speakers have come to assume that the singular, /pwaagan/, is the basic form of the word for 'pipe', and that the prefix meaning 'my' is /ndoo-/. They have then begun to use this form elsewhere as the basic prefix meaning 'my' and attach it to words such as *mkizin*, 'shoe', producing *ndoo-mkizin* 'my shoe'. The historical prefixes for first, second and third person possessors were as follows:

	Before a Consonant	Before a Vowel
First Person	ni(n)	ni(n)d
Second Person	gi	gid
Third Person	o	od

Since these elements are prefixes, they are attached to the front of the word. Since they all consist of a single syllable containing a short vowel, they will all always occupy a weak metrical position in a foot in Nishnaabemwin, regardless of the constitution of the stem they are attached to. If they are attached to a stem that contains a short vowel in its first syllable, however, that syllable will move from a weak metrical position in the first foot to a strong one, since the prefix will now be occupying the weak metrical position. For example, consider *mkizin*, 'shoe'.



Adding the prefix meaning 'my' sets up a ripple of effects in the word— the first vowel of the basic word moves into a metrically strong position, and the second vowel moves into a metrically weak position, resulting in a very different appearance to the word meaning 'shoe', *mkizin*, and the word meaning 'my shoe' *nmakzin*. Now let's examine some forms involving a third person possessor, 'ANsg's...', compared to the basic form of the noun.

(a)	'shoe'		m	_	k	i	z	i	n	
	'ANsg's...'	(o)	m	a	k	_	z	i	n	
(b)	'mitten'		m	_	j	i	k	aa	w	a	n
	'ANsg's...'	(o)	m	i	j	_	k	aa	w	a	n
(c)	'boat'		j	ii	m	aa	n			
	'ANsg's...'	(o)	j	ii	m	aa	n			

What is striking about these forms is that possession by a third person possessor is shown only by the alternation of vowels inside the basic word, since the third person possessor prefix is a short vowel /o/, which is always deleted because, being first in the word, it is always in a metrically weak position. We see this in the third person possessed forms of (a) *mkizin*, 'shoe' and (b) *mjikaawan* 'mitten', which are *makzin* and *mijkaawan*, respectively. In the case of (c) *jiimaan*, there is no difference between the simple noun and the third person possessed form.

These are not the only kinds of variation found in the third person possessed forms. Consider the simple and possessed forms of the following words, which includes the words we've already seen:

		Simple	ANsg's...
(a)	shoe	mkizin	makzin
(b)	mitten	mjikaawan	mijkaawnan
(c)	boat	jiimaan	jiimaan
(d)	paddle	bwi	dabwi
(e)	pipe	pwaagan	doopwaagnan
(f)	snowshoe	aagam	daagman
(g)	spoon	emkwaan	demkwaan

A child learning the language, trying to figure out how the third person possessed form relates to the simple form would have considerable difficulty, because of the variation in forms that arises from the simple rule of vowel syncope. The word for 'shoe' appears to insert one vowel and delete another; the word for 'mitten' appears to flip the second and third sounds of the word; the word for 'boat' shows no change at all; the word for 'paddle' appears to add a prefix /da-/; the word for 'pipe' appears to add a prefix /doo-/; the words for 'snowshoe' and 'spoon' appear to add a prefix /d-/. And because the person prefixes are also used with verbs, the variation is not limited to the possessive forms of nouns, but extends to other parts of speech as well.

One way that speakers of Nishnaabemwin have dealt with the massive amount of word-form alternation that has arisen through syncope is to REANALYZE the person prefixes, based on the following forms that existed historically:

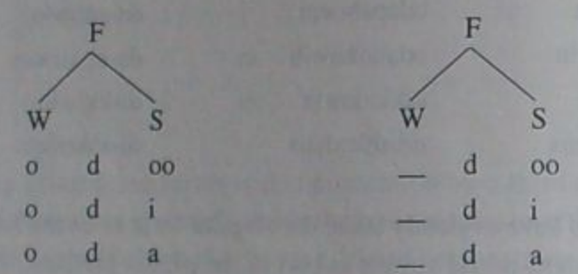
		Modern Singular	Old Form ANsg's...	Reanalyzed Form ANsg's...
(a)	pipe	pwaagan	odoopwaaganan	doo-pwaagnan
(b)	doll	damnowaagan	odaminowaagan(an)	doo-damnowaagan(an)
(c)	seat	pabwin	odapabiwin	da-pabwin
(d)	work	nokiiwin	odanokiiwin	da-nokiiwin
(e)	word	kidwin	odikidowin	di-kidwin
(f)	match	shkodens	odishkodens	di-shkodens

Younger speakers have evidently taken the singular form to be the basic form, and have reanalyzed the old stem-initial vowels as part of the person prefixes. They then use these new prefix forms with other words, to great effect.

		Modern Singular Form	Unreanalyzed Form ANsg's...	Reanalyzed Form ANsg's...
(a)	shoe	mkizin	makzin	doo-mkizin da-mkizin di-mkizin
(b)	mitten	mjikaawan	mijkaawanan	doo-mjikaawanan da-mjikaawanan di-mjikaawanan
(c)	cup	naagaans	doonaagaans	doo-naagaans da-naagaans di-naagaans
(d)	cow	bzhiki	bazhkiiman	doo-bzhikiiman da-bzhikiiman di-bzhikiiman

		Modern Singular Form	Unreanalyzed Form ANsg's…	Reanalyzed Form ANsg's…
(e)	word	kidwin	dikdowin	doo-kidwin da-kidwin di-kidwin
(f)	match	shkodens	dishkdens	doo-shkodens da-shkodens di-shkodens

What the reanalysis does is make the basic stem of the word more constant, even when prefixes are added. While the unreanalyzed possessive forms above show all sorts of variation between the simple and possessed word, this variation is simply eliminated by using the reanalyzed prefixes. There are three forms of this prefix, *di-*, *da-*, and *doo-*, as shown above. This is true of all three persons: first person, *ndi-*, *nda-*, and *ndoo-*; second person, *gdi-*, *gda-*, *gdoo-*. The third person prefix must have a short /o/ in the forms /di-/ and /da-/, which creates a metrical foot with the structure weak-strong, and the /o/ is then deleted.



The extent to which these reanalyzed (extended) prefixes are used is unknown at present, though they are certainly common. In discussing the application of the 'prefix doo-' to verbs, Corbiere 1994:21 writes, 'You can never go wrong with it when you have a verb in present tense', and suggests it as a particularly safe strategy for new language learners, though not reflecting the usage of fluent speakers. Rhodes 1985 implicitly analyzes the person marking system as using the extended form only before verbs that historically had short vowels in their initial syllables, in other words, exactly in those places where its use would be effective in reducing alternations of the basic word form. Furthermore, throughout the dictionary (Rhodes 1985), only the variant /ndi-/ is listed for those verbs that contain the RELATIVE ROOT /iN/, /izh/, as in *ndi-kid*, 'I say something' (historically from /ikido/), and *ndi-nenmaa* 'I think such of ANsg' (historically from /nid-inenim-aa/), but Rhodes suggests that any of the extended forms may occur with words that do not begin with this root, for example, the entry for *ngamod* 'sings' lists the present tense forms as *nda-ngam*, and *nnagam* (historically from /nagamo/), where *nda-ngam* is shorthand for *nda-ngam*, *ndi-ngam*, and *ndoo-ngam*. However, for all stems having initial syllables containing long vowels Rhodes does not list the extended prefix as an option, for example, the entry for *niimid*

'dances' lists only *nniim* as the first person singular, present tense form. Corbiere's (1994) examples representing Manitoulin Island Nishnaabemwin agree with Rhodes, in that she consistently uses the extended first person form /ndoo-/ before stems that historically contained short vowels in their initial syllables, such as in *ndoo-ngam* (from historical *nagamod* 'sings'), *ndoo-damin* (from historical *odaminod* 'plays'), and *ndoo-skooniw* (from historical *iskooniwid* 'ANsg attends school, studies'). Beside these verbs with the extended prefix she lists verbs with simple prefixes, all of which historically have long vowels in the first syllable of their stems: *nniim* (from historical *niimi* 'dances'), *nwiisin* (from historical *wiisini* 'eats'), *ndaakoz* (from historical *aakozi* 'be ill'), *njiibaakwe* (from historical *jiibaakwe* 'cooks'), *ndebsinii* (from historical *debisinii* 'eats enough, eats sufficiently'), and *nmaajaa* (from historical *maajaa* 'leaves'). Note, though, that Corbiere does not list the simple prefix historical forms of verbs with short vowels in their initial syllables, such as *nnagam* 'I sing', *ndoodmin* 'I play', and *ndiskooniw* 'I attend school, study.'

We thus have three possible patterns of use of the extended prefixes by various speakers of Nishnaabemwin, varying in their conservatism:

- Speakers who do not use the extended prefixes, or use them very little.
- Speakers who use the extended prefixes only before stems that historically had a SHORT VOWEL in their first SYLLABLE.
- Speakers who use the extended prefixes even with stems that historically had LONG VOWELS in their first syllables.

Many speakers use extended prefixes with words borrowed from English, such as *ndoo-contractual allowance*, 'my contractual allowance', suggesting that they have become the default form of the prefixes.

Note that the extended prefixes are attached with hyphens, thus being treated as preverbs and prenouns.

2.6.4.2 Examples of Personal Prefix Usage

The short text on the following pages has many forms with personal prefixes, and serves as an illustration of the type of variation found.

(5) (1) Boozhoo! (2) Waahoone ***ndizhnikaaz***. (3) ***Ndoo-mdaaso-bboon'giz***. (4) Gchi-oodenaang ***ndoo-daa***. (5) Niin, ***ngitziimag***, miinwaa ***nmisenyig ndoo-daami*** gchi-oodenaang. (6) Waasnodeg-Kwe zhinkaazo bezhig ***nmisenh***, mdaaswi-shi-naano-bboon'gizi, miinwaa Manidoo-Waaboo geyaabi bezhig ***nmisenh*** zhinkaazo. (7) Mdaaso-shi-niizho-bboon'gizi wa. (8) ***Ngii-ndaadiz*** maampii oodenaang. (9) Wiikwemkong zhinkaade gaa-njibaawaad ***ngitziimag*** jiigbiig. (10) Piichin go ***ndoo-zhaami*** oodi. (11) Jina ***ndoo-yaami*** oodi niibing. (12) ***Nookmis*** daawaan mtiggamig jiigbiig. (13) Mii oodi e-ntaa-gbeshyaang. (14) ***Niwiitaawsensag*** gewii ***ndoo-ni-nkawenaanaanig***.

'(1) Hello! (2) My name is Waahoone. (3) I am ten years old. (4) I live in the big city. (5) Me, my parents and my sisters live here in the big city. (6) One sister is named Waasnoodeg-Kwe who is fifteen years old and Manidoo-Waaboo is the name of my other sister. (7) She is twelve years old. (8) I was born here in the city. (9) My parents came from Wikwemikong. (10) We go there from time to time. (11) We stay there for a short while in the summer. (12) My grandfather has a log cabin at the beach. (13) That's where we frequently camp. (14) We pick up my little cousins along the way.

(1) **Boozhoo** *av* 'hello.' (2) **Waahoone** *na 3sProx* 'Waahoone' (Whippoorwill); **ndizhnikaaz** *vai ind 1s* 'I am so named.' (3) **Ndoo-mdaaso-bboon'giz** *vai ind 1s* 'I am ten years old.' (4) **Gchi-oodenaang** *ni 0 loc* 'in the big city'; **ndoo-daa** *vai ind 1s* 'I live.' (5) **Niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I/me/my'; **ngitziimag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my parents'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **nmisenyig** *nas 1s(3pProx)* 'my older sisters'; **ndoo-daami** *vai ind 1p* 'we live'; **gchi-oodenaang** *ni 0 loc* 'in the big city.' (6) **Waasnodeg-Kwe** *na 3sProx* 'Waasnodeg-Kwe' (Waasnoode 'northern lights'); **zhinkaazo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is so named; **bezhig** *num* 'one'; **nmisenh** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my older sister'; **mdaaswi-shi-naano-bboon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is fifteen years old'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **Manidoo-Waaboo** *na 3sProx* 'Manidoo-Waaboo' (Manitou-Water); **geyaabi** *av* 'another'; **bezhig** *num* 'one'; **nmisenh** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my older sister'; **zhinkaazo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is so named.' (7) **Mdaaso-shi-niizho-bboon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is twelve years old'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this.' (8) **Ngii-ndaadiz** *vai ind 1s* 'I was born'; **maampii** *av* 'here'; **oodenaang** *ni 0 loc* 'in the city.' (9) **Wiikwemkong** *ni 0 loc* 'Wikwemikong'; **zhinkaade** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is so named'; **gaa-njibaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl hail from'; **ngitziimag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my parents'; **jiigbiig** *av* 'near the water.' (10) **Piichin** *av* 'from time to time'; **ndoo-zhaami** *vai ind 1p* 'we go'; **oodi** *av* 'there.' (11) **Jina** *av* 'a short time'; **ndoo-yaami** *vai ind 1p* 'we are'; **oodi** *av* 'there'; **niibing** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be summer.' (12) **Nookmis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **daawaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg has INsg'; **mtiggamig** *ni 0s* 'log cabin'; **jiigbiig** *av* 'near the water.' (13) **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **oodi** *av* 'there'; **e-ntaa-gbeshyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) where we usually camp.' (14) **Niwiitaawsensag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my cousins'; **gewii** *av* 'also'; **ndoo-ni-nkawenaanaanig** *vta ind 1p»3pProx* 'we stop and pick ANpl up.'

(15) Mshibizhiins ngodwaaso-bboon'gizi. (16) Nepaajnikese naano-bboon'gizi. (17) Niizhoodenyig, Nimkii-Aankwad miinwaa Waasmownens nso-bboon'gizwag. (18) Naan'godnong gewii geyaabi niizh ***nwiitaawsag*** bi-nbendaagewag. (19) Ogichidaa-Aamoo-Kwens mdaaswi-shi-bezhig dso-bboon'gizi miinwaa Gekekoons niiwo-bboon'gizi. (20) Esnaa ***ndoo-nwaatoomi*** pii wii-nbaayaang. (21) Nawaj e-mdidjig shpimsagong nbaawag. (22) Aazhoobnaandwewag dash e-gaachiinyjig wiigji-toowaad gewiinwaa wii-debshkinewaad shpimsagong. (23) Gojiing ***ndoo-wiisnimi***. (24) Niizh gchi-doopwinan e-pabwinkaadegin ***ndoo-yaanaa***.

(15) Mshibzhiins is six years old. (16) Najpaajnikese is five years old. (17) The twins, Nimkii-Aankwad and Waasmownens are three years old. (18) Sometimes two more cousins come and sleep over. (19) Ogichidaa-Aamoo-Kwens is eleven years old and Gekekoons is four years old. (20) We are very noisy when it's time to sleep. (21) The bigger ones sleep upstairs. (22) The little ones then climb up and down the stairs trying to fit in. (23) We eat outside. (24) We have two big tables with chairs attached (picnic tables).

(15) **Mshibizhiins** *na 3sProx* 'Mshibizhiins' (Little Water Panther); **ngodwaaso-bboon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is six years old.' (16) **Nepaajnikese** *na 3sProx* 'Nepaajnikese' (Mole); **naano-bboon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is five years old.' (17) **Niizhoodenyig** *na 3pProx* 'the twins'; **Nimkii-Aankwad** *na 3sProx* 'Nimkii-Aankwad' (Thunder Cloud); **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **Waasmownens** *na 3sProx* 'Waasmownens' (Lightning); **nso-bboon'gizwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are three years old.' (18) **Naan'godnong** *av* 'sometimes'; **gewii** *av* 'also'; **geyaabi** *av* 'other'; **niizh** *num* 'two'; **nwiitaawsag** *nad 3pProx* 'my cousins'; **bi-nbendaagewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl sleep over.' (19) **Ogichidaa-Aamoo-Kwens** *na 3sProx* 'Ogichidaa-Aamoo-Kwens' (Warrior Bee Young Woman); **mdaaswi-shi-bezhig** *num* 'eleven'; **dso-bboon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is so many years old'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **Gekekoons** *na 3sProx* 'Gekekoons' (Pigeon Hawk); **niiwo-bboon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is four years old.' (20) **Esnaa** *av* 'really'; **ndoo-nwaatoomi** *vai ind 1p* 'we are noisy'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **wii-nbaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we will (ostensibly) sleep.' (21) **Nawaj** *av* 'more'; **e-mdidjig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who are big'; **shpimsagong** *av* 'upstairs'; **nbaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl sleep.' (22) **Aazhoobnaandwewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl climb back and forth'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **e-gaachiinyjig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who are small'; **wii-gjitoowaad** *vti2 conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will try IN'; **ge-wiinwaa** *pr 3p* 'they ANpl also'; **wii-debshkinewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl will fit in'; **shpimsagong** *av* 'upstairs.' (23) **Gojiing** *av* 'out of doors'; **ndoo-wiisnimi** *vai ind 1p* 'we eat.' (24) **Niizh** *num* 'two'; **gchi-doopwinan** *ni 0p* 'big tables'; **e-pabwinkaadegin** *vii ic conj part 0p* '(CCNJ) INpl which have chairs attached'; **ndoo-yaannaa** *vti ind 1p»0* 'we have IN.'

(25) Nimosh ***ndoo-daawn'genaa*** wii-konaazhkawaad makwa giishpin bbaa-yaad. (26) Endzhi-negwikikaag ***ndoo-bmosemi*** wii-oo-bgizyaang. (27) Naan'godnong gewii ***ndoo-bbaa-bmakzhiwemi***. (28) Zhaageshiinyag gewii ***ndoo-debbinaanaanig***. (29) ***Ndoo-mskominikemi*** bangii. (30) ***Ngashi*** giiyenh ko maangoon noodwaan mdewebtaagzid. (31) Aapji go ***ndoo-mino-yaa*** bbaa-yaayaanh Wiikwemkong. (32) Piichin go ***ndoo-wiindmawaa ngashi*** aapji go ***ndaa-bishigendaan*** ji-dnizyaambaa Wiikwemkong. (33) "Baamaa pii," pane kida.

(25) We borrow a dog to chase the bear away if it comes around (26) We walk to the sandy beach to go swimming. (27) Sometimes we also go paddling (canoeing). (28) We also catch crayfish. (29) We pick raspberries a little. (30) My mother hears the loon call at times. (31) I am so happy when I go to Wiky. (32) Time and again I tell my mother I would like to live there very much. (33) "Later," she always says.' (TN)

(25) **Nimosh** *na 3sProx* 'dog'; **ndoo-daawn'genaa** *vaio 1p»3sProx* 'we borrow ANsg'; **wii-konaazhkawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg will chase ANobv off'; **m(a)kwa** *na 3sProx* 'bear'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bbaa-yaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg comes/is around.' (26) **Endzhi-negwikikaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) where IN is sandy'; **ndoo-bmosemi** *vai ind 1p* 'we walk'; **wii-oo-bgizyaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we will go and swim.' (27) **Naan'godnong** *av* 'sometimes'; **gewii** *av* 'also'; **ndoo-bbaa-bmakzhiwemi** *vai ind 1p* 'we paddle around.' (28) **Zhaageshiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'crayfish (PL)'; **gewii** *av* 'also'; **ndoo-debbinaanaanig** *vta ind 1p»3pProx* 'we catch ANpl.' (29) **Ndoo-mskominikemi** *vai ind 1p* 'we pick raspberries'; **bangii** *av* 'a little.' (30) **Ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **giiyenh** *av* 'evidently'; **ko** *av* 'habitually'; **maangoon** *na 3obv* 'loon'; **noondwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg hears ANOBV'; **mdewebtaagzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) (as) ANsg calls out.' (31) **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **ndoo-mino-yaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I am happy'; **bbaa-yaayaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I go around'; **Wiikwemkong** *ni 0 loc* 'at Wikwemikong.' (32) **Piichin** *av* 'time and again'; **ndoo-wiindmawaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I tell ANsg'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **ndaa-bishigendaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I would like INsg'; **ji-dnizyaambaa** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) I could live there'; **Wiikwemkong** *ni 0 loc* 'at Wikwemikong.' (33) **Baamaa** *av* 'later' **pii** av 'then.'

In this brief text there are 26 forms calling for personal prefixes. Ten of these forms have the traditional prefix /ni-/ (or /nid-/), in all but one case either a noun of relationship (kinship term), or a verb with a preverb, such as *gii-*, 'past tense' or *daa-*, 'should, could, would.' The only other verb form with the traditional prefix is *ndizhnikaaz*, 'I am named so.' All other verbs have *ndoo-*, including both those that historically had long vowels and those that had short vowels in their first syllables.

Forms Showing Traditional Prefix Form /ni(n)-/ (or /ni(n)d-/)			
2	ndizhnikaaz	/izhinikaazo/	'I am named'
5	ngitziimag	/gitiziimag/	'my parents'
5	nmisenyig	/misenyag/	'my older sisters'
6	nmisenh	/misenh/	'my older sister'
8	ngii-daadiz	/gii-ondaadizi/	'I was born there'
12	nookmis	/ookomis/	'my grandmother'
14	niwiitaawsensag	/w-iitaawis-ens/	'my little cousins'
18	nwiitaawsag	/w-iitaawisag/	'my cousins'
30	ngashi	/gashi/	'my mother'
33	ndaa-bishigendaan	/daa-bishigendaan/	'I would like it a lot'

Forms Showing Innovative Prefix /ndoo-/			
3	ndoo-mdaaso-bboon'giz	/midaaso-biboonagizi/	'I am ten years old'
4	ndoo-daa	/daa/	'I live there'
5	ndoo-daami	/daami/	'we (excl.) live there'
10	ndoo-zhaami	/izhaami/	'we go there'
11	ndoo-yaami	/ayaami/	'we are'
15	ndoo-ni-nkawenaanaanig	/ani-nakawenaanaanig/	'we stop & pick them up'
20	ndoo-nwaatoomi	/onwaatoo/	'we are noisy'
23	ndoo-wiisnimi	/wiisini/	'we eat'
24	ndoo-yaanaa	/ayaan/	'we have'
25	ndoo-daawn'genaa	/adaawange/	'we borrow'
26	ndoo-bmosemi	/bimose/	'we walk'
27	ndoo-bbaa-bmakzhiwemi	/babaa-bimakwazhiwe/	'we paddle around'
28	ndoo-debbinaanaanig	/debibinaanaanig/	'we catch them'
29	ndoo-mskominikemi	/miskominikemi/	'we pick raspberries'
31	ndoo-mino-yaa	/mino-ayaa/	'I am content'
32	ndoo-wiindmawaa	/wiindamaw/	'I tell her'

Another example illustrates some of the variation found in different sub-dialects of Nishnaabemwin. Whereas the previous example represents a speaker from Wikwemikong, the following is that of a speaker from Rama. In this case, all first person personal prefixes are of the form /ndi-/, regardless of what the first vowel originally was in each stem. This speaker uses the same strategy in attaching second person prefixes as well.

(1) Ndi-mnozekwe.	'I cook well.'
(2) Ndi-gchi-nokii.	'I work hard.'
(3) Ndi-yaawaag binoojiinyag.	'I have children.'
(4) Ndi-gchi-nendam bemaadziyaan.	'I value my life highly.'
(5) Ndi-nishnaabem.	'I speak Nishnaabemwin.'
(6) Wenesh niin?	'Who am I?'
(7) Nishnaabekwe niin.	'I'm a Nishnaabe woman.' (LM)

(1) **Ndi-mnozekwe** *vai ind 1s* 'I cook well.' (2) **Ndi-gchi-nokii** *vai ind 1s* 'I work hard.' (3) **Ndi-yaawaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I have ANPL'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children.' (4) **Ndi-gchi-nendam** *vai ind 1s* 'I rejoice; am glad'; **bemaadziyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) that I live.' (5) **Ndi-nishnaabem** *vai ind 1s* 'I speak Nishnaabemwin.' (6) **Wenesh** *pr inter 3/0* 'who'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I.' (7) **Nishnaabekwe** *na 3sProx* 'Nishnaabe woman'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I.'

2.7 Clitics

There is a small, very important class of emphatic word-like elements in Nishnaabemwin called PARTICLES. These include such words as *sa, go, wii,* and *dash.* Particles often become CLITICS, meaning that they rather freely lose their own word stress and attach themselves to an adjacent word, in Nishnaabemwin, almost always the preceding word. Clitics that attach to preceding words are called ENCLITICS. Nishnaabemwin enclitics usually attach to the first word in a CLAUSE, which is often an ADVERBIAL word itself, such as *mii,* 'it's, so, and.' In some cases clitic particles fuse to a given word, and become a basic part of the word, such as the fusion that has taken place in the word *wenesh,* 'who,' from *wenen dash,* in sentence (6), above. Often more than one particle occurs in this position, bunched together after the first word of the clause. Clitics often lose segments when they fuse to their hosts, as when *dash* reduces to «sh». Some spellers recognize the presence of an enclitic by separating it from its host with a hyphen, as in *mii-sh.* Other writers don't bother with this convention.

As a word class, particles (most of which are regularly clitics) are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. The following sentence illustrates a typical usage of particles.

(6) Kina ***go*** gii-mnognini pii gaa-bskaabiid, mii-***sh go naa*** aazhgo iw zgaknamwaad iw gaa-ntaawgitoowaad.

'Everything was growing well when he got back, and already they were harvesting what they had grown.' (AK10.19)

> **Kina** *av* 'everything'; **gii-mnognini** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv was growing well'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **gaa-bskaabiid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg came back'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **aazhgo** *av* 'already indeed'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **zgaknamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl harvest IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-ntaawgitoowaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANpl raised IN.'

2.8 Phonological Processes

Sounds group into classes on the basis of shared properties and shared behaviour. The term NATURAL CLASS is used to identify a group of sounds which exclusively share properties or behaviours in a given language. For example, /b/, /p/, and /m/ are a natural class in Nishnaabemwin, because they have in common that they all involve bilabial articulation; /m/ and /n/ are a natural class, because they are both nasals; /b/, /d/ and /g/ are a natural class, because they represent the class of voiced stops in the language.

Typically, sounds undergo adjustments of various sorts when they are used in speech. These adjustments have to do with the position in the word in which the sound appears, and the constitution of neighbouring sounds. In this section we will look at some of the common adjustments that sounds make in Nishnaabemwin speech. Once again, the discussion is organized around the two major classes of sounds, consonants and vowels.

2.8.1 Consonant Processes

In this section we will examine common processes that apply to consonants, including NASAL ASSIMILATION, final DEVOICING of obstruent consonants, the effects of ROUNDED VOWELS on neighbouring consonants, PALATALIZATION, and the deletion of GLIDES.

2.8.1.1 Nasal Assimilation and Nasal Syllabification

ASSIMILATION is a process whereby neighbouring sounds become more alike in some aspect of their pronunciation. For example, if an /n/ sounds like [m] next to a /b/, assimilation has taken place, because [m] is made with the lips just as [b] is, unlike [n]. In rapid speech, assimilation of adjacent sounds is very common in all languages. The most common type of assimilation is NASAL ASSIMILATION, in which a nasal consonant takes on the PLACE OF ARTICULATION of a neighbouring sound, usually a voiced stop. For example, one form of the first person prefix in Nishnaabemwin is [n], as in the following:

ndagshin	'I am arriving'	ndaashkboojge	'I do ripsawing'

However, under some circumstances, namely before a /b/, the first person prefix may be pronounced [m̩] by some speakers, as in the following examples.

Written	Phonetic	Meaning
nbiidoon	[m̩]biidoon	'I bring it'
nbaap	[m̩]baap	'I laugh'

The small mark under the /m/ in these cases indicates that these nasals are SYLLABIC, that is, that they constitute a simple, reduced syllable unto themselves. Nasals can sometimes represent all that remains of a syllable that has had its vowel deleted. Note that even though the first person prefix can be pronounced as [m] before a /b/, it is standardly spelled with an «n», as in the forms in the leftmost column above. Such a spelling gives more importance to its underlying form than its actually pronounced form.

Before the velar stops /g/ and /k/, /n/ has a velar pronunciation, like the last sound in the English word 'sing', which is represented in phonetic transcription with the symbol [ŋ], as we saw earlier in section (5.1.2). These forms, too, are written with an «n».

Written	Phonetic	Meaning
ngoogii	[ŋ]googii	'I dive'
ngiigoonyke	[ŋ]giigoonyke	'I fish'

A DENTAL/ALVEOLAR nasal assimilates its place to that of a following /g/ at the end of a word, and the /g/ is then deleted, leaving only the [ŋ] to evidence the presence of /g/, though the word is spelled with a final «ng». Compare the following pronunciations.

Written	Phonetic	Meaning
dgoshin	dgoshi[n]	'ANsg arrives'
dgoshing	dgoshi[ŋ]	'when ANsg arrives'

Writers of Nishnaabemwin sometimes represent *nwaabndaan*, 'I see INsg,' as «nwaamdaan», suggesting that the /n/ following /b/ has assimilated its labial place, after which the /b/ deletes. In speech, there is often a very weak [b] and the nasal perhaps doubly articulated at both the alveolar ridge and the lips.

2.8.1.2 Final (Obstruent) Consonant Devoicing

Silence, of course, has no vocal cord vibration (voicing). When a sound at the end of a word loses its voicing, as commonly happens in many languages of the world, it is reasonable to say that a type of assimilation has taken place, in that vocal cord vibration has been turned off in anticipation of the following silence. In Nishnaabemwin it is common for voiced consonants (stops, fricatives and affricates) to become voiceless at the end of a word. This means that the following correspondences occur:

/b/	sounds like	/p/	at the end of a word
/d/	sounds like	/t/	at the end of a word
/g/	sounds like	/k/	at the end of a word
/z/	sounds like	/s/	at the end of a word
/zh/	sounds like	/sh/	at the end of a word
/j/	sounds like	/ch/	at the end of a word

Writers of Nishnaabemwin often write words with final voiced consonant sounds as if they were their voiceless equivalents. Many words have sounds of this sort that sometimes occur at the end of the word and sometimes do not, as in the following examples:

b	nnamdab	'I am sitting'	nmadbi	'ANsg is sitting'
d	nmidid	'I am big'	mdido	'ANsg is big'
g	gnebig	'snake'	gnebgoog	'snakes'
z	ndizhnikaaz	'I am named…'	zhinkaazo	'ANsg is named…'
zh	miizh	'give it to ANsg'	miizhid	'if I give it to ANsg'
j	ngiikaj	'I am cold'	giikji	'ANsg is cold'

The lenis consonants often sound differently, then, depending on whether they are at the end of the word or not. At the end of the word, they sound voiceless. When not word-final, they sound voiced. The word meaning 'I am sitting,' *nnamdab*, for example, sounds as if it ends in a voiceless [p]; *nmindid*, 'I am big,' sounds as if it ends in a voiceless [t], and so on. However, when not at the end of the word, each of the sounds in these words sounds voiced, as [b] and [d], respectively. Fortis consonants sound consistently voiceless, however, whether they are at the end of a word or not. For example, the /p/ in *baapi*, 'ANsg laughs' sounds voiceless whether it is final or not, as does the /k/ in *mik*, 'beaver':

p	nbaap	'I laugh'	baapi	'ANsg laughs'
k	mik	'beaver'	mikog	'beavers'

There are two approaches to the spelling of lenis consonants at the end of a word. In the Rhodes dictionary, and in this work, consonants that alternate between voiced pronunciation inside a word and voiceless pronunciation at the end are considered to be fundamentally lenis, to be in a contrastive phonemic relationship with their fortis counterparts, and are always spelled with letters representing voiced sounds, «b», «d», «g», «z», «zh», or «j».

The disadvantage of this approach is that a word is not always spelled exactly as it sounds, since no word is pronounced with a voiced obstruent in final position. The only way to consistently spell words that appear to end in voiceless consonants then is to learn the spelling of the consonant based on how it sounds inside of a word.

The alternative approach, taken by many writers, is to spell final consonants according to their phonetic values, so that a lenis consonant phoneme will be spelled differently, depending on whether or not it is final. The principal advantage of this approach is that it allows language learners to more readily approximate the proper pronunciation on the basis of the way the word is spelled. However, it has the disadvantage that students may not recognize that they are dealing with the same word when it is spelled in multiple ways, or may not themselves understand the relationship between the variable spelling and pronunciation.

The Spelling of Final Consonants that Do Not Alternate. In the discussion above, I have emphasized the fact that lenis obstruents show variable pronunciation, being pronounced with voicing inside a word, but lacking it when independent phonological processes result in the segment being in word-final position, always those involving the loss of a final short vowel. In these cases, there is language-internal phonological justification for consistently spelling the consonant with a symbol representing voicing, since that is its fundamental phonemic value, and this value can readily be determined by examining its behaviour inside of a word. In some cases, however, certain consonants that never occur inside a word are consistently spelled with a voiced symbol, in this case, not on the basis of language-internal factors, but to promote cross-dialect consistency with other varieties of Anishinaabemowin. The most significant morpheme in this regard is the animate plural suffix, here spelled «ag», as in *waagshag*, 'foxes.' For many Nishnaabemwin speakers, the final consonant of this suffix is consistently pronounced [k], since the plural suffix always occurs in word-final position. Many adverbs, too, show a final /j/ in other dialects, but are pronounced with a [ch] by many Nishnaabemwin speakers. These segments do not show the alternations that support their analysis as lenis consonants, since they never occur anywhere except in word-final position, and therefore are always pronounced as fortis (voiceless) consonants. Rhodes (1985) elects to spell these words according to their phonemic values in other dialects of Anishinaabemowin. Examples of such words are *memkaaj*, 'necessarily,' *ndawaaj*, 'after all, necessarily,' *megwaaj*, 'about, approximately, now' (Od), *shkwaaj*, 'for nothing' (M), *giimooj*, 'secretly, on the sly,' *naagaj*, 'later,' and *nwanj*, 'more.' These words can be contrasted with adverbs spelled with final «ch», such as *miigwech*, 'thank you,' and *gmaapiich*, 'later on, afterwards, finally.'

2.8.1.3 Syncope and the Juxtaposition of Identical Consonants

In some cases, two consonants may come together, usually because of the deletion of an intervening short vowel by syncope. Various adjustments are made to the consonants in such circumstances, and I will discuss a few of the more common ones here. To begin, consider the following word, the underlying form of which is based on the Minnesota Ojibwe equivalent, *babaamose*, 'ANsg walks around.'

		F				F		
		W		S		W		S
Underlying Form	b	a	b	aa	m	o	s	e
Syncope	b	—	b	aa	m	—	s	e
Pronunciation		p		aa	m		s	e

Syncope will apply in Nishnaabemwin, deleting the weak vowels /a/ and /o/. When /a/ is deleted the result is that two /b/'s become adjacent at the beginning of the word. These two /b/'s in succession sound like [p] for many Nishnaabemwin speakers, and this word is sometimes spelled «paamse». For some speakers, though, when two identical consonants come together, they are simplified to a single consonant, so that the combination, /bb/, for example, will produce a single [b] in pronunciation, and in spelling, so that, for example, the preverb *bbaa-* is spelled «baa-». In this work, I will spell this word *bbaamse*, in keeping with the practice of Rhodes 1985, which tends to spell the consonants of words on the basis of their historical forms.

The same process applies to the other lenis stop consonants, /d/ and /g/, as well. For example, the Minnesota Ojibwe word for 'you are diving' is *gigoogii*. This word is subject to syncope in Nishnaabemwin, which deletes the /i/ between the two /g/'s, creating a sequence of two lenis consonants which sound like fortis /k/ to many speakers.

		F				F
		W		S		S
Basic Form	g	i	g	oo	g	ii
Syncope	g	—	g	oo	g	ii
Pronunciation		k		oo	g	ii

The future preverb is in some cases /ga-/, as in *nga-niim* 'I'll dance.' But when the second person prefix is put together with the future preverb, we get, *gi+ga-niim*. By syncope, the vowel between the two /g/'s is deleted. Speakers vary in their pronunciation of this sequence. Some pronounce the two successive soft consonants /g/ + /g/ as their hard counterpart, /k/, with an associated spelling of *ka-niim*. In other cases, speakers simplify the two

/g/'s in succession and just pronounce one, which sounds like its common spelling, *ga-niim*. Based on these variations, there are three possible spellings for this word:

gga-niim ka-niim ga-niim

In this grammar I will use the first spelling, the most conservative, since this is the one that is most neutral with respect to dialects, and it is the one that shows most clearly the grammatical components of the word. There is a continual dilemma in the spelling of Nishnaabemwin, the trade-off between grammatical and phonetic transparency.

2.8.1.4 Syncope and the Juxtaposition of Non-Identical Consonants

Obstruent Pairs Differing Only in Voicing. When syncope leaves a lenis stop consonant adjacent to its fortis (voiceless) correspondent, the lenis stop is often lost. Very few words show this pattern, though. Here are some examples:

C1	C2	Basic Form	Reduced	Unreduced
b	p	bapakine 'grasshopper'	pakne 'grasshopper' [pʌk^{h}næː]	nbapkinem 'my grasshopper' [n̩bʌpk^{h}ɪnɛm]
g	k	gikaa 'ANsg is old'	gkaa 'ANsg is old' [k^{h}aː]	ngikaa 'I am old' [n̩gɪk^{h}aː]
g	k	gkahge 'ANsg makes hole in the ice'	gkahge 'ANsg makes hole…' [k^{h}ʌgæː]	ngakhige 'I make hole…' [n̩gʌk^{h}ɪgæː]
g	k	gkendaagzi 'ANsg is known'	gkendaagzi 'ANsg is known' [k^{h}ɛndaːgzɨ]	ngikendaagoz 'I am known' [n̩gɪk^{h}ɛndaːgʊs]
g	k	gkenmaad '(that) ANsg knows about ANobv'	gkenmaad 'that ANsg knows…' [k^{h}ɛnmaːd]	ngikenmaa 'that I know about ANsg' [n̩gɪk^{h}ɛnmaː]

The same process applies to the pairs /z, s/ and /zh, sh/. For example, the word meaning 'month,' *giizis*, has a plural form listed in the dictionary as *giisoog*. The following chart, shows the effects of syncope and subsequent deletion of /z/.

		S		W		S	
Underlying Form	g	ii	z	i	s	oo	g
Syncope	g	ii	z	—	s	oo	g
Deletion of /z/ before /s/	g	ii	—		s	oo	g

A similar process happens with a word meaning, 'be good, be nice,' which Rhodes lists as follows:

nishid *vai* be good; *pres* **nda-nizhish, nnizhish, ndoon'zhish**

The question here is what relationship exists between the form meaning 'ANsg is good,' *nishi*, and that meaning 'I am good,' which may be *nda-nizhish*, *nnizhish*, or *ndoon'zhish*. If we consider the pronunciation of this word in Minnesota Ojibwe, *onizhishi*, 'ANsg is good,' it is easy to arrive at the form of the Nishnaabemwin, by applying syncope and consonant deletion:

	W		S		W		S
Underlying Form	o	n	i	zh	i	sh	i
Syncope	—	n	i	zh	—	sh	i
Deletion of /zh/ before /sh/	—	n	i	—	—	sh	i

To get the first person form, we must add a first person prefix, which has the form *ni(n)d* when attached to a verb that begins with an /o/. The /o/ is lengthened to /oo/ after this prefix. The Minnesota form meaning 'I am good,' is *nindoonizhish*. Note that the final short vowel is deleted in the first person form, but this deletion is not related to the Nishnaabemwin syncope (stress) rule, and it occurs in Minnesota Ojibwe as well as in Nishnaabemwin. If we subject this form to the syncope rule, we easily derive one of the Nishnaabemwin first person forms (the apostrophe that appears in the Nishnaabemwin spelling is discussed in the next section):

		W		S		W		S	
Underlying Form	n	i	d	oo	n	i	zh	i	sh
Syncope	n	—	d	oo	n	—	zh	i	sh
	n		d	oo	n	'	zh	i	sh

Thus, the two forms, *nishi* and *ndoon'zhish* are readily derived from the same basic word, if we apply syncope, and delete the soft /zh/ (IPA /ʒ/) when syncope leaves it adjacent to the hard /sh/ (IPA /ʃ/). The other first person forms show an alternate way of deriving the first person form in Nishnaabemwin, by attaching the first person prefix form *nda-*.

			F		F				F	
			S		W		S		S	
Underlying Form	n	d	a	-	o	n	i	zh	i	sh
Syncope	n	d	a	-	—	n	i	zh	i	sh

The last form listed among the first person variants is *nnizhish*. This form can be accounted for if we assume that some speakers have reanalyzed the basic form of the word meaning 'be good' to be /nizhishi/, that is, if they have lost the first vowel, /o/, that appears in the Minnesota form.

Devoicing of Voiced Obstruents. Very often a lenis obstruent becomes adjacent to a fortis one because of the operation of syncope, in which case the lenis is pronounced with a voiceless articulation, i.e., it sounds more like its fortis correspondent. The following table shows the sounds affected.

Lenis is...	pronounced as fortis...	before (fortis)...
b	p	
d	t	
g	k	p t k s sh ch
z	s	
zh	sh	
j	ch	

So, for example, *waagosh*, 'fox,' has lenis /g/ and fortis /sh/ in its final syllable. However, in the plural, *waagshag*, the /g/ and /sh/ come together, because the vowel between them has fallen out. This word is sometimes spelled «waakshag», because /g/ sounds like /k/

when adjacent /sh/. Again, there is merit in spelling the plural with a /g/, just like the singular, in order to keep the basic form of the word constant.

Weakening or Loss of Initial Consonants. Syncope produces many sequences of consonants at the beginning of a word. For example, *bmibtoo*, 'ANsg runs by,' and *bmide*, 'butter, oil, grease,' begin with the sequence /bm/ as a result of syncope. Spellers sometimes fail to provide the /b/ of these words, spelling them as «mide» and «miptoo», respectively. Omission of consonants of this sort is especially common when the two consonants share the same place of articulation, in this case the lips. *Nbiishing*, 'in the water,' is sometimes spelled *biishing*, which is probably due to assimilation of the /n/ to [m] before /b/, and the difficulty of hearing individually the two, similar, consonants [m] and [b] when they begin a word. The Nishnaabemwin word that is equivalent to Minnesota Ojibwe *owaabandaan*, 'ANsg sees INsg' is sometimes pronounced and spelled «waamdaan» by Nishnaabemwin speakers. This pronunciation follows from simple rules of the sort that we have already seen:

		W		S		W			S	
Underlying Form		o	w	aa	b	a	n	d	aa	n
Syncope		—	w	aa	b	—	n	d	aa	n
/n/ becomes [m] after /b/			w	aa	b		m	d	aa	n
/b/ deleted before [m]			w	aa	—		m	d	aa	n

The sound written «h», glottal stop /ʔ/, historically either occurred at the end of a word, as in *ndeh*, 'my heart,' or between vowels, as in *mazinahigan*, the old form of the word meaning 'book, paper.' The process of syncope, though, often results in /ʔ/ being adjacent to a consonant. This can be seen by applying syncope to the old word for 'book':

Basic (Older) Form	m	a	z	i	n	a	ʔ	i	g	a	n
Syncope	m	—	z	i	n	—	ʔ	i	g	a	n
Deletion of /ʔ/							—				

When the vowel /a/ is dropped due to syncope, /n/ and /ʔ/ «h» become adjacent to each other. When syncope deletes a vowel between an /ʔ/ «h» and another consonant, it is common for the /ʔ/ «h» to be dropped from pronunciation as well. The dictionary, and this grammar, sometimes retains the «h» in spelling, because it often has structural significance.

Diphthongization. At Curve Lake, /ʔ/ «h» may be deleted between /e/ and /i/, evidently independently of syncope, and the /e/ + /i/ sequence then subject to DIPHTHONGIZATION, that is, a process by which a combination of vowels is fused into a single, complex vowel, called a DIPHTHONG. Compare *bkitehgan*, 'hammer' (M, CL) with *bkiteygan* (CL), and *dewehgan*, 'drum,' with *deweygan* (CL). The presence of «y» in the spelled forms of these words suggests that a diphthong has been created prior to the application of syncope, since syncope would delete the /i/ without a trace.

Denasalization. In a few cases, when initial /m/ becomes adjacent to /t/ due to syncope, the /m/ sometimes denasalizes to /b/, as in *mtingndib*, 'blockhead' (Od), which is often pronounced [btɪŋdɪb].

2.8.1.5 Loss of Segments and Structural /w/

We have seen that in Nishnaabemwin when two similar or identical sounds are next to each other, they may sound like a single segment, or at least enough like a single segment that writers will use a single symbol to represent them. As a result, important grammatical features can become obscured. To illustrate, consider the following examples:

nniim	'I am dancing'
gniim	'you (sg.) are dancing'
niimi	'ANsg is dancing'

In Nishnaabemwin, the SECOND PERSON PREFIX begins with a /g/, and the first person prefix, an /n/. However, when a verb begins with /n/, as in the case of the verb /niimi/, the /n/ of the first person is situated right next to the /n/ of the verb stem. So spellers sometimes simplify the two /n/'s in a row and spell the word with a single «n». However, doing so obscures the presence of the marker /n/ that signals first person. Consider also the following words.

nnik	'my arm'	gnik	'your arm'	nik	'ANsg's arm'

Here, the only difference between the words for 'my arm' and 'ANsg's arm' is the presence of an /n/ on the front of the former. Without the /n/ signalling first person, the words are identical, and so can easily be confused.

Because the /o/ of the third person prefix is so structurally important, some writers of Nishnaabemwin include it even when it is not pronounced, but represent it with a «w» instead of an «o», as in the following examples:

wnik	'ANsg's arm'	wmookmaan	'ANsg's knife'

The /w/ used in this way is sometimes called STRUCTURAL-W, referring to its function in elucidating grammatical structure. Structural-w may also be used with basic words that

begin with a /w/, though there its appearance is a little less aesthetically satisfying:

wwaabmaan	'ANsg sees ANobv'	wwaagaakwad(om)	'ANsg's axe'

The representation of the person prefixes as «n» in *nnik*, 'my arm', «g» in *ggoogii*, 'you dive,' and «w» in *wnik*, 'ANsg's arm' gives ORTHOGRAPHIC substance to crucial grammatical elements. We can also see how fundamental an understanding of the rich grammatical structure of Nishnaabemwin words is to spelling them in ways that are helpful to language learners. At the same time that we recognize the importance of representing these structural elements in the spelling of words, we also recognize the need to teach pronunciation as somewhat independent of spelling. Spelling in a way that is very close to pronunciation will often obscure important grammatical relationships and may be extremely confusing to language learners. At the same time, learners need to be aware of the differences between writing and pronunciation in the language.

2.8.1.6 Effects of Vowel Rounding on Adjacent Segments

The rounded vowels in Nishnaabemwin are /o/ and /oo/. Closely related to the rounded vowels is the glide /w/, which also involves lip-rounding in its production. Many varieties of Anishinaabemowin, including Nishnaabemwin, show alternations between the sounds /wa/ and /o/ after a /g/ or a /k/. For example, a very common EMPHATIC particle is pronounced and spelled *gwa* by some speakers, and *go* by others. Some speakers pronounce the word for 'axe' as *waagaakwad*, and others *waagaakod*. The reason for this variation is that some speakers COALESCE the sounds /w/ and /a/ together to form /o/. Recall that /w/ is like /o/ in having lip-rounding. When /w/ and /a/ combine, they produce a hybrid sound that has properties of both sounds, the lip rounding and height of /w/ and the vocality and backness of /a/.

The consonant /w/ may also cause an immediately preceding /a/ or /i/ to be pronounced as [o], as in the word *ntawag*, 'my ear,' which is often pronounced nt[o]wag. Also, after a /w/, the vowel /aa/ is pronounced with considerable rounding of the lips, somewhat like the vowel in the English word *law*, as in *gshkigwaaso*, 'ANsg sews' and *waawaashkesh*, 'deer.' If the /waa/ sequence follows a consonant, the /w/ is often not pronounced separately, but rather, appears to coalesce with the vowel, in a manner similar to that of /w/ + /a/, but in this case with a long vowel, /aa/.

The vowels /oo/ and /o/ also cause lip rounding of consonants that precede them, especially /g/ and /k/ when they are in the same syllable as the /oo/ and /o/. What is especially interesting about this behaviour is that an /o/ can cause such lip-rounding, and then be deleted by SYNCOPE, leaving as the main sign of its presence the lip-rounding of the preceding consonant. An example will clarify, the word for 'knife,' *mookmaan*. In this word the /k/ is pronounced with lip-rounding, which is caused by a following /o/ that is itself never pronounced, because it is always deleted by the rule of syncope.

Basic (Older) Form	m	oo	k	o	m	aa	n
Lip Rounding	m	oo	k^w	o	m	aa	n
Syncope	m	oo	k^w	—	m	aa	n
Pronunciation	m	oo	k^w		m	aa	n

The lip-rounding associated with /k/ here is indicated by placing a small, raised w after it, as in [kw] An example of a /g/ showing similar behavior is that in *gjitoon*, 'try IN!' which has the following structure and rules:

Basic (Older) Form	g	o	j	i	t	oo	n
Lip Rounding	g^w	o	j	i	t	oo	n
Syncope	g^w	—	j	i	t	oo	n
Pronunciation	g^w		j	i	t	oo	n

In Rhodes 1985, /k/'s and /g/'s that have this lip-rounding due to their preceding an /o/ which has been deleted or lost by syncope, are spelled with a small dot under the letter, for example:

mookmaan 'knife' gjitood 'test s.t., try s.t.'

Such words are not spelled this way in normal writing, however, only in the dictionary. The use of the dot assists language learners in the pronunciation of these words. Many speakers today have lip-rounding as the only reflex of the historical short /o/, in other words, they no longer have /o/ in these words at all, only the remnant of it, lip-rounding on the /k/ or /g/ sound. Notice that because these lip-rounded /g/'s and /k/'s are associated with the absence of /o/, they always occur before consonants, because the /o/ that formerly separated the /g/ or /k/ and the following consonant has been lost.

It is not just /k/'s and /g/'s that precede /o/ that show lip-rounding— those that precede /oo/ show the same effect. For example, the word for '(long-eared) owl' would be written «gookookhoo» if all of the /g/'s and /k/'s showing lip-rounding were spelled to show their rounding. However, since /oo/ is never deleted by syncope, it is always pronounced, and there is never any confusion about the /g/'s and /k/'s that precede it; it is always clear that

they show lip-rounding. A dot is put under just those /g/'s and /k/'s whose lip-rounding cannot be predicted from the normal spelling of the word. This circumstance always arises when the source of the lip-rounding, a short /o/, is deleted by syncope.

Unrounding of /o/. An /o/ often loses its rounding at the end of a word, after a consonant other than /g/ or /k/. The words written as *kido*, 'ANsg says' and *zhinkaazo*, 'ANsg is named' sound as if they end in /a/, which is usually pronounced something like the vowel of English *cut*. This change makes phonetic sense when we recall that the other short vowel in the back region is /a/, and that one of the chief differences between /o/ and /a/ is that the former is rounded and the latter unrounded. This change also reflects a common tendency for vowels to lower at the end of a word in Nishnaabemwin.

2.8.1.7 The Use of Apostrophe with «n», «z», and «s»

Recall that an /n/ before /z/, /s/, /zh/ (IPA /ʒ/), /sh/ (IPA /ʃ/) and /y/ (IPA /j/) is phonetically realized as nasalization of a preceding vowel, and not with the full pronunciation of /n/. An example is *binoojiinyag*, 'children.' In some cases, however, an /n/ can be juxtaposed with one of these consonants due to the loss of an intervening vowel by syncope. In such cases the /n/ is more fully pronounced. For example, the word for 'your (single) hair' in Nishnaabemwin is *giin'zis*. The /n/ and /z/ are in different syllables, and the /n/ is fully pronounced, not realized merely by the nasalization of the preceding vowel. Rhodes 1985 follows a convention of using an apostrophe (') to show the point where the vowel has been deleted, as indicated above. This use of apostrophe is rather similar to its usage in English in such words as *don't* and *can't*, where it also indicates that sounds have been deleted. Other Nishnaabemwin examples are *miin'shin* 'give it to me,' *zhoon'yaa*, 'money,' and *biiskon'ye* 'ANsg is dressing.'

As discussed on page 46, the sound /n/ directly before a /g/ has a pronunciation like the final nasal sound at the end of the English word *sing*, as in the word for 'loon,' *maang* (a velar nasal, represented by the phonetic symbol [ŋ]). Sometimes, however, a regular /n/ (dental/alveolar) and a /g/ are juxtaposed due to a weak vowel being lost between them. In such cases, the /n/ retains its normal (dental/alveolar) pronunciation, even though it is adjacent to a /g/. Some examples are *san'goo*, 'black squirrel,' *en'goons* 'ant,' and *shkon'gan*, 'reservation.' Because historically, prior to syncope, there were no sequences of /nk/ in Ojibwe, all contemporary juxtapositionings represent /n/ and /k/, and never [ŋk], so there is no ambiguity in the interpretation of this sequence. But some writers use apostrophe between «n» and «k», as in *aan'koopzo*, 'be tied together' (VAI), and /n/ before /k/ is sometimes pronounced as [ŋ].

Another place where syncope can cause ambiguities in spelling is when a short vowel is deleted between an /s/ or /z/ and an /ʔ/ (spelled «h»). Some examples are *baas'han*, 'break it apart!' and *bniz'haad*, 'cause s.o. to miss an event.' Here again an apostrophe can be used where there is a need for explicitness. There are not many words where such juxtapositionings of /z/, /s/ and /ʔ/ arise, but without the apostrophe, these sequences of «sh» and «zh» could be mistaken for /sh/ (IPA /ʃ/) and /zh/ (IPA /ʒ/), respectively.

2.8.1.8 Palatalization

PALATALIZATION refers to a phonological process which results in consonant pronunciations that are in the palatal or alveopalatal area, that is, in the vicinity of the sounds /ii/, /i/, and /y/. It is thus primarily an assimilation of place of articulation, in which, typically, an alveolar consonant adjusts its place to be more palatal, under the influence of a following palatal (high front) vowel or glide.

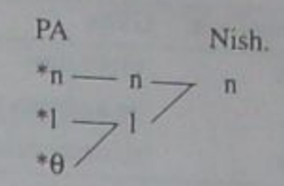
PALATALIZATION OF /d/ AND /t/ TO /j/ AND /ch/. The dental/alveolar stops /d/ and /t/ palatalize to corresponding alveopalatal affricates, /j/ (IPA /dʒ/) and /ch/ (IPA /tʃ/), respectively. As an example, in the first two forms below, the root meaning 'come' has the form /biid/, while in the last two its form is /biij/. In both cases, the high front vowel /i/ conditioning the palatalization of /d/ to /j/ has been subsequently deleted by syncope.

Spelled Form	Underlying Form	Gloss	PoS
biidaadge	/biid+aadage/	'come swimming'	VAI
biidaagmose	/biid+aagimose/	'come snowshoeing'	VAI
biijbizo	/biid+i+bizo/	'come driving'	VAI
biijbatoo	/biid+i+batoo/	'come running'	VAI

The same alternation occurs with /t/ and /ch/, as in the following examples.

Spelled Form	Underlying Form	Gloss	PoS
piitaa	/apiit+aa/	'have height to such extent'	VII
piitaapi	/apiit+aapi/	'laugh to such extent'	VAI
piichgi	/apiit+i+gi/	'grow to such extent'	VAI
piichgidaazo	/apiit+i+gidaazo/	'be angry to such extent'	VAI

ALTERNATION BETWEEN /n/ AND /zh/. A few MORPHEMES, some very common, show an alternation in their final segment between /n/ and /zh/ (IPA /ʒ/), in which /zh/ occurs in palatalizing environments. This alternation reflects a very ancient one, in which Proto-Algonquian *θ palatalized to *ʃ. Over time, *θ merged with *l, which then merged with *n, producing the contemporary alternation between modern /n/ derived from *θ and *ʃ. The following chart lays out the historical developments.



While there are thus many sources of /n/ in contemporary Nishnaabemwin, it is only those that have their source in Proto-Algonquian */θ/ that show an alternation with /zh/. The most significant effect of this ancient process is that some morphemes show an alternation between /n/ and /ʒ/ «zh» in their final segment, as in the form *zhinkaazo*, 'be so named' VAI and *naabi*, 'see; look towards a certain place' VAI, both of which contain the same ROOT MORPHEME, which is realized by /zh/ in the first word and /n/ in the second (in both cases an initial /i/ has been deleted by syncope). Since Bloomfield, it has been customary to use the symbol /N/ to identify this element in UNDERLYING REPRESENTATIONS. So, for example, the underlying representation of *naabi* can be represented as /iN+aabi/, and that of zhinkaazo as /iN+inikaazo/. An alternative is to say that this root has two ALLOMORPHS, /in/ and /izh/, which are not phonologically related.

The following table provides examples of the alternation between /n/ and /zh/ in the RELATIVE ROOT /iN/.

Spelled Form	Underlying Form	Gloss	PoS
naapne	/iN+aapine/	'be ill in such a way'	VAI
naanzh	/iN+aanzh/	'shine in such a way'	VAI
zhinkaazo	/iN+ikaazo/	'be named in such a way'	VAI
zhise	/iN+ise/	'fly in such direction'	VAI

Other common morphemes having /N/ are RELATIVE ROOT /daN/, 'there, in that place,' and the TRANSITIVE ANIMATE VERB (VTA) FINAL /-biN/, 'pull, use the hands.'

ALTERNATION BETWEEN /s/ AND /ʃ/ («sh»): THE MORPHOPHONEME /S/. A few morphemes show an alternation in their final segment between /ʃ/ (spelled «sh») in palatal environments, and /s/ elsewhere. This alternating /s/ must be distinguished from the more common /s/ which does not show palatal alternation. It is customary to identify this segment as a morphophoneme, represented as /S/, as, for example, in the underlying representation of the transitive animate verb stem *saad*, 'put AN in a certain place,' which is /aS/. This element also accounts for the variation in the singular and plural of a now archaic word for a piece of firewood, *mshi* and *msan*, respectively.

The following table illustrates the alternation between /s/ and /ʃ/, using the relative root /daS(w)/, 'so many times.'

Spelled Form	Underlying Form	Gloss	PoS
dso-	/daS-w+i/	'every time'	PV
dshi	/daS+i/	'be a certain amount'	VAI
dshing	/daS+ing/	'so many times'	AV

PALATALIZATION BY /y/ (IPA /j/). A /y/ following /d/, /t/ or /N/ also causes palatalization. For example, a VERBAL FINAL meaning 'go, move' has the form /-yaa/, which, when attached to roots ending in /d/ or /t/, causes palatalization. This final probably occurs in the common verb *maajaa*, 'leave, take off' VAI, which has an underlying structure /maad+yaa/, containing the INCEPTIVE root, /maad/, 'start, begin.' The final /-yaa/ also occurs in *zhaa*, 'go' VAI, where it combines with the relative root /iN/, /iN+yaa/, and again results in palatalization of the last consonant of the root, in this case, /N/. After it has caused palatalization, /y/ in these sequences is deleted.

PA *ē AND PALATALIZATION IN NISHNAABEMWIN. The vowel system of Nishnaabemwin has four long vowels (/aa/, /ii/, /oo/, /e/) and three short vowels (/a/, /i/, /o/), and there is no short /ē/ corresponding to the long /ē/ (which we would probably write as «ee» if there were such a contrast). Proto-Algonquian (PA), the ancient parent language of Nishnaabemwin, evidently did have a short /ē/, but in Ojibwe, this segment has merged with /i/. So there now exist in Nishnaabemwin some /i/'s that come from PA short *ī and some that come from PA short *ē. This fact is significant with respect to palatalization, because it is usually those /i/'s that come from PA *ī that cause a following segment to palatalize. This makes sense, since, as we have seen, palatalization is an assimilation of place of articulation to more palatal location, and it is only /i/, /ii/ and /y/ that are palatal in Nishnaabemwin. The vowel /e/ is not palatal.

The fact that /i/'s from PA *ē do not cause palatalization means that the Nishnaabemwin rule of palatalization appears to have many exceptions. For example, the verbs *nitaagod*, 'sound a certain way' VII (Od) /iNitaagod/, and *nitaagzi*, 'sound a certain way; say s.t.' VAI /iNitaagozi/, both contain the relative root /iN/, but here we do not find the expected palatal form /zh/ of the last segment of /iN/. This is because the /i/ in this word comes from PA *ē.

2.8.1.9 Glide Deletion

It is very common for the glides /w/ and /y/ (IPA /j/) to be deleted between vowels. This is especially common when /w/ is flanked by /aa/, as it is in many TRANSITIVE VERB INFLECTIONS involving second and third person plurals, for example, *gwaabmaawaa*, 'you (pl.) see them (anim.).' In such cases, /w/ is often pronounced only very lightly, if at all. Nishnaabemwin writers sometimes write a «y» at the point of /w/ deletion, especially if it is preceded by /ii/, e.g., «giiyenh», 'so it seems,' from *giiwenh*. The «y» in these cases probably represents the transition between vowels, as the tongue moves between their relative positions.

A few words show variation as to the presence of /y/ or /w/, e.g., *giiwse*, 'hunt' VAI versus *giiyse* in Odawa. The word for 'boy,' is variously written as *giizens*, *giiwzens*, and

gwiiwzens, reflecting variant pronunciations based on the presence or absence of one or both instances of /w/ in this word.

2.8.1.10 Deletion of /ʔ/ «h» (Glottal Stop)

As mentioned previously, it is very common for /ʔ/ (glottal stop, spelled «h») to be weakened to the point of deletion, and thus not pronounced or written, when it occurs adjacent to a consonant, either historically or due to syncope. For example, historical /dewehigan/, 'drum' is often spelled «dewegan», and /ipahiwe/, 'run from something along a certain route' VAI, is spelled as «pawe». Another process undoubtedly related to this phenomenon is the general loss of /h/ (IPA /ʔ/) in VTA INSTRUMENTAL FINAL /-ahw/, in words such as *dbaw*, 'pay for something (animate), which can be compared to stem /dibahw/ in other dialects. Nishnaabemwin retains the /w/ in the simple IMPERATIVE form, *dbaw*, whereas the equivalent Minnesota Ojibwe form is *dbah* (Nichols and Nyholm 1995:44), showing loss of final /w/. Another example is Nishnaabemwin *zkaw*, 'ignite s.t. (anim.),' versus Minnesota Ojibwe *zakah*, both historically from stem /zakahw/.

2.8.2 Processes Related to Vowels

We have already examined several processes relating to vowels, most notably the rule of syncope, which deletes unstressed short vowels. Another common process deletes final short vowels (and glides) in certain contexts. This rule is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, since it is especially pertinent to the pronunciation of ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (VAI) VERBS.

2.8.2.1 Variation Between /a/, /i/ and /o/

Many words show variation in their short vowels, creating variant spellings. For example, the word 'work' (VAI) is variously *nokii* and *nakii;* the word for 'snowshoe' is variously *aagim* and *aagam*; the word for 'my wife, my woman' is variously *ndakwem* and *ndikwem;* the word for 'my husband, my man' *ndanniim* and *ndinniim*. Some occurrences of /a/ represent a well-known feature of Ottawa/Odawa, which frequently has /a/ where other dialects have /i/, as in the words for man and woman, cited above.

There is also a very common tendency in contemporary Nishnaabemwin, perhaps even a norm, to pronounce historical /o/ as [ʌ] (the vowel of English *cut*) after a consonant other than /k/ or /g/, and spell it with «a», as in «nakaaza», 'use Y' VAIO, from /anokaazo/, which shows both historical /o/'s spelled with «a».

2.9 Borrowed Vocabulary

Nishnaabemwin speakers, being bilingual, frequently borrow from English, often integrating English elements into Nishnaabemwin words, such as in *callwihaad*, 'call AN on

the telephone' (Od), and *telephonewihaad*, 'call AN on the telephone.' In such cases, it is customary to retain English spellings, as in these examples.

In the cases of words that have been adapted to Nishnaabemwin phonological patterns, spelling tends to follow Nishnaabemwin norms. For example, many names borrowed from English which begin with a voiced stop or affricate (/b/, /d/, /g/, /j/ (IPA /dʒ/)) show an EXCRESCENT NASAL initially, which is customarily written in the Nishnaabemwin form, though without capitalization, as in *mbingo*, 'bingo,' *mBil*, 'Bill' (CL), *nDeben*, 'David' (W), and *nDebid*, 'David' (W).

2.10 Inflection

Many of the grammatical categories of Nishnaabemwin are marked on words by means of INFLECTION. Inflection refers to the variation that occurs in the shape of words— verbs, nouns, and pronouns in Nishnaabemwin, in order to express grammatically relevant information, such as a verb's ACTORS and GOALS, its status as positive or negative, and its TENSE, along with many other properties. In Nishnaabemwin, inflection is accomplished primarily by means of AFFIXATION, PREFIXATION and SUFFIXATION. The following words, for example, represent a tiny sample of the various inflectional possibilities of the basic transitive animate (vta) verb stem /waabam/, 'see AN':

waabmad	nwaabmaa	gwii-waabmaasii	waabmagwaa
gwaabmaaban	bi-waabmishin	gwaabmin	gaa-waabmaad[1]

Nouns too can have inflectional affixes, indicating such things as PLURALITY, OBVIATION, status as a LOCATION, and the grammatical features of their POSSESSORS. For example, *ngwis*, *ngwisan*, *ngwisag*, *ggwiswaan*, *ggwiswaag*, and *gwisan* (or *wgwisan*) represent but a few of the different inflectional possibilities for the DEPENDENT NOUN STEM /gwis/, 'son.'[2]

Some languages use inflection very sparingly. Most verbs in English, for example, have only a few inflectional forms, as exemplified by *take*, *takes*, *taking*, *took*, and *taken*. ACTORS (SUBJECTS) and GOALS (DIRECT OBJECTS) in English grammar are generally expressed by means of separate words, PRONOUNS. In Nishnaabemwin, however, verb inflection is exceedingly rich. Some verbs have hundreds and even thousands of distinct inflectional forms. Nouns, too, show many more inflectional forms than their English equivalents. The study of inflection is thus much more central to Nishnaabemwin grammar than it is to English. Without a working knowledge of inflection and the categories it realizes, the language can neither be spoken nor understood, and any dictionary will be of minimal use to the student as well, since words are listed in dictionaries on the basis of particular inflec-

1. *waabmad*, 'that you see ANsg.' *nwaabmaa*, 'I see ANsg'; *gwii-waabmaasii*, 'you (sg.) will not see ANsg'; *waabmagwaa*, 'that I see ANpl'; *gwaabmaaban*, 'you (sg.) had seen ANsg'; *bi-waabmishin*, 'come and see me'; *gwaabmin*, 'I see you (sg.)'; *gaa-waabmaad*, 'that ANsg had seen ANobv.'
2. *ngwis*, 'my son,; *ngwisan*, 'my son (obviative)'; *ngwisag*, 'my sons'; *ggwiswaan*, 'your (pl.) son/s (obviative)'; *ggwiswaag*, 'your (pl.) sons'; *ogwisan*, 'ANsg's son(s) (obviative).'

tional forms, called CITATION forms, and to use the dictionary the student must be able to determine the citation form from whatever inflected form is encountered in speech or writing, and conversely, to speak or write the language, be able to produce an inflectionally appropriate form on the basis of the citation form. For example, if we look up 'see' in the dictionary, one of many words that we find is *waabmaad*, 'see AN.' But to say, 'you (sg.) see ANsg' the appropriate form is *gwaabmaa*, and to say 'ANsg sees you,' the appropriate form is *gwaabmig*, neither of which is listed in any existing Nishnaabemwin dictionary. There is simply no practical way that a printed dictionary can list all of the vast number of inflected forms that exist for each verb in the language. Without a knowledge of inflection, a dictionary reader may not even realize that the citation form such as *waabmaad* does not itself actually mean, 'see s.t. (an.),' as it is glossed, but rather means something akin to '...that/if/when ANsg sees ANobv,' in other words, that it is the plain CONJUNCT form specifically indicating a third person PROXIMATE acting on an OBVIATIVE. To use the information provided in the dictionary, the student must recognize that the ending /-aad/ in *waabmaad* is not a part of the basic word stem, and that it must be removed to produce other actor-goal combinations; and when encountering a word such as *gwaabmig*, the student must know that the initial /g/ is an inflectional prefix, which will not be part of the citation form listed in the dictionary. Otherwise, the student will search in vain for this word in the dictionary by seeking under listings beginning with «g». Without knowledge of inflection, students will be very obviously limited in their capacity to produce and understand novel utterances. And without some knowledge of the system underlying Nishnaabemwin inflection, it is less unlikely that an adult student will be able to master the vast number of different verb forms, even to recognize them, much less use them. For fluent speakers who learned the language in childhood, all of this knowledge is unconscious, and the whole system can be taken for granted, but this is not an option for those learning Nishnaabemwin as a second language. How much knowledge of inflection the student must explicitly command is, of course, a matter of one's pedagogical theory and practice, and will vary significantly depending on the age level of the student and the goals of instruction. The instructor must, however, have a good knowledge of the range of inflectional possibilities the language presents if she is to be effective in developing and implementing a comprehensive curriculum that presents the language in its full richness. And pedagogical methods must take into account the centrality of inflection to so much of the language.

In Chapters 3 through 8, I lay out the inflectional systems of nouns, pronouns and verbs in their full complexity, both as a record of the language and as an resource for those seeking to develop comprehensive programs of language instruction. Two kinds of information will be presented, actual inflectional forms, usually in the form of PARADIGMS, and linguistic discussion addressing the characterization of the forms and their relationships to one another, in other words, the structural system underlying the language's inflectional resources.

2.11 Morphemes, Underlying Forms, and Phonological Derivations

In thinking about the relationships of morphemes to pronunciations, it is often useful to try to motivate a single basic form for each morpheme, usually specified as a string of phonemes, which is then combined with other morphemes to produce words. For example, the word *nwiisin*, 'I eat,' can be considered to have the basic forms /ni-/, 'first person,' and /wiisini/, 'eat' VAI, producing /ni+wiisini/. Note that the plus symbol (+) is used to mark MORPHEME boundaries. This basic form of the word, with all morphemes specified, is then subjected to the PHONOLOGICAL RULES of the language, applied in an ordered fashion, to produce the spoken form. The "basic form" of the word in which all of its morphemes are listed in their basic forms as strings of PHONEMES, and prior to the application of any phonological rules, is called its UNDERLYING FORM. The process of successively applying phonological rules to the underlying form to produce the pronounced form is called the PHONOLOGICAL DERIVATION of the word. The following chart illustrates a simple example of a phonological derivation.

Underlying Form	/ni+wiisini/
Rule: Final Short-Vowel Deletion	/ni+wiisin_/
Rule: Syncope	/n_+wiisin/
Pronounced Form	nwiisin

Occasionally, it is not possible to determine the exact underlying form of a given morpheme. For example, the underlying form of the FIRST PERSON PREFIX cannot strictly be said to be /ni/ in Nishnaabemwin, because its vowel is never pronounced, always being deleted by syncope. All that is known of the vowel is that it is short, since it is subject to deletion. In this case, the proper specification of the morpheme can only be /nV/, where /V/ stands for some unspecified short vowel. Inspection of non-syncopating dialects shows that this vowel was historically /i/.

The morphological structure of a Nishnaabemwin word consists of a basic STEM to which additional elements may be attached. The stem is the core component of the word, and may consist of a single morpheme, or, more commonly, may be morphologically complex, consisting of several morphemes. These morphemes appear in structurally specifiable positions traditionally called the INITIAL, MEDIAL, and FINAL positions. The following words illustrate these categories.

Word Stem	Gloss	Initial	Medial	Final
mnwenim	'like AN'	/minw/		/enim/
gaagiijnike	'have a sore arm'	/gaagiij/	/nik/	/e/
jiimaan	'boat'	/jiimaan/		

All words have initials, but only some have medials and finals. Each of these elements may themselves be complex as well. These categories are all discussed in depth in chapters 9 through 11. The combination of a word's initial, medial and final constitute its stem. To the stem may be added prefixes and suffixes which signal various kinds of grammatical information. Suffixes greatly outnumber prefixes in Nishnaabemwin. The only indisputable prefixes in the language are the PERSON PREFIXES, which occur in identical form with POSSESSED NOUNS, with some verb inflections of the INDEPENDENT ORDER, and arguably with PERSONAL PRONOUNS. Person prefixes are never preceded by any other element within the word, so when present, always constitute the first morpheme in the word, and indeed, can serve to delimit the word's boundary. While there can be only one personal prefix associated with a verb, it is not uncommon to find more than one PREVERB. There is no logical limit to the number of preverbs that a given verb can have, though in actual usage, words with more than two or three preverbs are not common. PRENOUNS typically have meanings equivalent to English attributive ADJECTIVES, and other than the prenoun *gchi-*, 'big, great,' are much less common than preverbs. They follow the same ordering conventions as preverbs, though.

We can capture these constraints on the ordering of morphological elements within the word with the following simple template:

(personal prefix)$_{0\text{-}1}$ +	(preverb)$_{0\text{-}n}$+	word stem	+ (suffix)$_{0\text{-}n}$
	(prenoun)$_{0\text{-}n}$+	[initial-medial-final]	

Items in parentheses are "optional," that is, are present in some inflectional forms but absent in others. The number subscripted to the right of a given parenthetic element indicates the number of possible iterations within that category. Thus, while there may be at most one personal prefix, there is no structural limit to the number of preverbs or prenouns that may occur, and the number of potential suffixes is likewise large. I have used subscripted «n» in the table to indicate a large, unspecified number. In part the number of suffix positions argued to exist in Nishnaabemwin depends on the abstractness of one's analysis of the suffix system. Nichols 1980:158, for example, lists 14 suffix position classes for Minnesota Ojibwe verbs, though these do not all occur in the same word form since some are mutually exclusive. I have listed '0-n+' in the template above, simply to indicate that many suffixes can occur, though there are usually no more than a few in any given verb. Often the group of suffixes occurring with a word are treated as a unit and the entire unit is called an ENDING. So, for example, in *nwaabmaanaanig*, 'we (excl.) see ANpl,' the ending is /-aanaanig/, which consists of several distinct morphemes.

The stem of a word along with its inflectional morphemes can also be expressed by means of a linear table of elements laid out in STRUCTURAL-POSITIONAL SLOTS, as in the following examples (note: many morpheme forms listed here are revised in later chapters.)

n+	gii+	waabam	+aa	+naan	+ig	'we (excl.) see ANpl)'
n+	gii+	waabam	+ig	+naan	+ig	'ANpl see us (excl.)
g+	ga+	waabam	+aa	+waa	+g	'you (pl.) will see ANpl'
n+		gwis		+naan	+ig	'our (excl.) sons'
n+		gwis		+naan	+in	'our (excl.) son(s) (obv.)'
g+		daanis		+waa	+g	'your (pl.) daughters'
g+		jiimaan		+waa	+n	'your (pl.) boats'

By aligning a large number of forms in this simple structural fashion, we can determine the relative ordering of elements, and also ascertain which elements fill the same structural positions, which reveals the range of possibilities within a given slot, and thus identifies the grammatical options of the language for the category. In the forms listed above, for example, we can see that there are two elements *-aa* and *-ig* occurring in transitive animate verbs (VTA), evidently occurring in the same structural position, suggesting the possibility that they stand in some kind of functional opposition to each other, and that their meanings are related to one another, which is indeed the case. We can also see that affixal elements shared by nouns and verbs show the same relative ordering within each part of speech— e.g., personal prefixes occur first in a word whether the word is a noun or a verb, and suffixes indicating third person plural and obviative appear to come after suffixes indicating plurality of a first or second person in both possessed nouns and verbs.

2.11.1 Allomorphy, and the Meanings of Morphemes

Another discovery that we make in laying out words so as to show their structures is that a given morpheme often has more than one 'spelling,' or phonological shape. The different forms that a morpheme may take in different morphological contexts, that is, when combined with different morphemes, are called the ALLOMORPHS of the morpheme. For example, the plural suffix on animate nouns may be said to have several allomorphs, including /-iig/ in *sabiig*, 'nets,' /-oog/ in *kikoog*, 'kettles,' and /-ig/ in *nmishiimnaanig*, 'our apples,' among many others. Such an interpretation begs an important question, however, namely that of how we determine the boundaries of morphemes when they are in combination with other morphemes. In some cases morpheme boundaries within a word are readily and uncontroversially specifiable, as with English *book+mark+s*. In other cases segmentation is less straightforward, and may depend on the relative abstractness of one's analysis of the overall morphological system of the language. 'Abstractness of an analysis' has to do in part with how different the hypothesized underlying form of the stem and the affixes are from what is actually pronounced. So, for example, in the case of the plural form *kikoog*, 'kettles, pots,' at first glance there appears to be a plural suffix /-oog/ which has been attached to a stem form /kik/. Many linguistic analyses of Ojibwe, however, have interpreted this word to consist of a basic stem that ends in /w/, /akikw/, to which the regular animate plural suffix

/-ag/ is added. A MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL RULE of COALESCENCE then applies, which unites the final /w/ of the stem with the /a/ of the suffix to produce /oo/, and the pronounced form *kikoog*. This is the nature of abstract analyses, as mentioned above— a basic form is hypothesized to exist, which undergoes an ordered series of transformative phonological or morphological rules, ultimately producing a "surface," attested form. An analysis is more valued linguistically to the extent that the forms and rules it hypothesizes are natural (found widely across languages) and general (at work at many places in the language being investigated). A morphophonological rule is a phonological rule whose operation is restricted to particular morphologically defined contexts, in other words, applies to a particular morpheme or class of morphemes in the presence of other morphemes.

As mentioned earlier, conventional linguistic analyses of the morphological structures of language usually strive to represent each morpheme with a single, specific phonological shape (i.e., spelling, string of phonemes), whenever possible, and to order the morphemes in a word in a specific linear sequence, rather like beads on a string. The analysis of one part of the system invariably has implications for other parts. For example, the analysis of *kikoog*, 'kettles' as deriving from /akikw+ag/, presented above, also requires that the simple singular form of the word for 'kettle, pot,' *kik*, have been subjected to a phonological rule that deleted the final /w/ of its basic form /akikw/, a rule which, in more general terms, deletes word-final post-consonantal glides, that is, deletes /w/ and /y/ at the end of a word when they are preceded by a consonant, as in the case of /kikw/. The benefit of such an analysis is that it accounts for the apparent allomorphy of different stems and suffixes on the basis of general principles at work in many different places in the grammar, and thus captures generalizations about the language. One of the most intriguing questions in the contemporary study of human language is how children are able to learn so much language so consistently in such a short time, and contemporary theories suggest that one reason is that beneath the great apparent diversity of surface (actually pronounced) forms of language there are simpler systems governed by simple and general universal structures and principles. For example, as we have already seen, under a more abstract analysis, the animate plural suffix can be motivated to consistently be /-ag/, which it clearly is in words such as *waagshag*, 'foxes,' and *zhiishiibag*, 'ducks.' An abstract analysis might try to motivate this as the only basic form of this suffix, and seek to explain the apparent variations in actually pronounced forms on the basis of the interaction of the suffix with stems having different phonological shapes, particularly with regard to the phonemic makeup of their final syllables. The drawback of such an analysis is its relative abstractness, in that neither /akikw/ nor /akikw+ag/ is ever actually pronounced as such, and all evidence of the basic forms is thus indirect. This doesn't necessarily mean that such analyses are wrong, but it does make their value as teaching tools questionable. There is often little doubt that they express something "real" about the language, though.

An alternative, more superficial and pragmatic approach to the language's morphology simply examines the nature of actually pronounced forms, and seeks to make as straightforward a segmentation into components as is possible. So, for example, we might consider *kikoog* as consisting of a basic form /kik/, corresponding to the actual pronunciation of the

singular form, to which an animate plural suffix of the form /-oog/ has been attached. This allomorph of the animate plural also shows up on words such as *gnebig*, 'snake' (plural *gnebgoog*), and *mtig*, 'tree,' (plural *mtigoog*). These three words also have similar DIMINUTIVE forms, *kikoons*, *gnebgoons*, and *mtigoons*, respectively. A structural linguistic analysis would argue that the basic stems of each of these words ends in /w/, i.e., /kikw/, /gnebigw/, and /mtigw/,[1] and that the final /w/ coalesces with the /a/ vowel of the plural suffix and /e/ vowel of the diminutive suffix to produce /oo/ in actual pronunciation. Many other aspects of the behaviour of these words become systematic if one hypothesizes a basic stem form ending in /w/. For example, the word for 'be a snake, become a snake,' is *gnebgowi*, while that for 'be a man, become a man' is *niniiwi*. The /o/ that appears in *gnebgowi* can be explained on the basis of the stem-final /w/ found in the abstract form. Otherwise, it just seems to be an accident that both the plural and the "be a…" forms both have an /o/ in them, but that neither form with *nini* does.

In the interests of straightforward pedagogy, however, I will usually take a somewhat less abstract tack in the chapters which follow, at least in terms of my ultimate presentation of forms, if not in my analyses, and identify, for example, simple classes of nouns which share superficial inflectional traits. So, for example, the three words discussed here, *kik*, *gnebig*, and *mtig*, will all be grouped together into the same noun class on the basis of their plural and diminutive forms, and this class will be distinguished from another noun class containing words such as *sab*, 'net,' *pin*, 'potato,' and *mtigmizh*, 'pin oak,' which have their respective plurals in *sabiig*, *piniig*, and *mtigmizhiig*, and their diminutives in *sabiins*, *piniins*, and *mtigmizhiins*. The process of determining such classes is a fairly straightforward one, proceeding by the examination of the nouns of the language and grouping them into classes on the basis of similarities of inflectional behaviour. The goal is to arrive at an exhaustive account of the workings of all the nouns in the language, cast in terms as straightforward and simple as the data permit, in other words, with as few distinct classes as required, but without appealing to excessive abstractness. It is important to realize, however, that membership in the different classes I posit can almost always be explained on the basis of shared abstract phonological stem shapes. And while the notion of abstract shapes may at first seem an impediment to straightforward teaching, once one gains a working knowledge of a few principles and rules, much of Nishnaabemwin inflection becomes quite straightforward, though puzzles will always remain.

Turning from noun to verbal inflection, related analytic problems of determining straightforward meanings of grammatical morphemes arise. As we have seen, for example, words such as *ngikenmaa*, 'I know ANsg,' *ggikenmaa*, 'you know ANsg,' and *wgikenmaan*, 'ANsg (prox.) knows ANobv' all contain an element /-aa/ which we can isolate on the basis of comparison with other forms such as *ngikenmig*, 'ANsg knows me,' *ggikenmig*, 'ANsg knows you,' and *wgikenmigoon*, 'ANobv knows ANsg (prox.).' In these words, a morpheme /-ig/ (actually, often analyzed more abstractly as /-igw/) appears to occur in the same structural position that /-aa/ does in the former set of words. But even the most fluent speaker of the language is unlikely to be able to articulate the meaning of /-aa/, without considerable thought, because speakers have internalized its use without giving any conscious attention to its meaning, which is purely grammatical. Speakers of a language are rarely conscious of the grammatical properties of their utterances, though they consistently use grammatical forms appropriately, and careful linguistic analysis often reveals that the underlying grammatical system is structured, elegant and simple. For example, the morphemes /-aa/ and /-ig/, discussed above can be readily explained on the basis of a GRAMMATICAL HIERARCHY of actors and goals found in all Algonquian languages. I will discuss this hierarchy in Chapter 8. But it is only through a careful study of the entire grammatical system of actor and goal marking on transitive animate verbs (VTA) that one arrives at a satisfactory sense of their systematic functions in the various verb forms in which they occur. Once again there are two possibilities of presentation, which differ in being ANALYTIC or SYNTHETIC in orientation. An analytic approach seeks to exhaustively analyze word forms into all of their component morphemes, with each morpheme having a constant, if sometimes abstract, shape. Morphological analysis of this sort requires a very good knowledge of grammatical principles and the grammatical functions of individual morphemes within morphologically complex words, and the task is particularly daunting for languages as richly endowed morphologically as Nishnaabemwin is. By contrast, a synthetic approach lays out all of the relevant word forms in some structurally suggestive ordering, leaving the nature of the system implicit, and does not necessarily draw the learner's conscious attention to the identity or function of individual morphemes. Both approaches have value, and both are used in this grammar.

1. Actually, based on patterns of short vowel alternations, the basic forms of these words would be hypothesized to be /akikw/, /ginebigw/, and /mitigw/.

2.11.2 Dictionary Entries and Inflection

To be maximally useful, the dictionary must provide a means of deriving all of the many hundreds of inflectional forms of a verb from the information provided in its entry. For example, it would not do to simply list the verb forms *ndaandkwenaa*, 'I put ANsg's head in a different position,' and *nmiinaa*, 'I give (something) to ANsg,' because of the variation that occurs in the stem shape of one of them, but not the other, as can be seen from the following table:

1	miinaad	'that ANsg gives Y to ANobv'	aandkwenaad	'that ANsg moves ANobv's head over'
2	nmiinig	'ANsg gives Y to me'	ndaandkwenig	'ANsg moves my head over'
3	nmiin'goo	'I am given Y'	ndaandkwen'goo	'my head is moved over'
4	miizh	'give Y to AN!'	aandkwen	'move AN's head over!'
5	gmiizh	'I give Y to you'	gdaandkwen	'I move your head over'
6	miizhiyan	'that I give Y to you'	aandkwen'yan	'that I move your head over'

In all cases, the final consonant of the stem /aandkwen/ remains /n/, while in the case of /miiN/, the final consonant is sometimes /n/, as in the first three examples, and sometimes /zh/ (IPA /ʒ/), as in the final three. Part of the (unconscious) knowledge a speaker of Nishnaabemwin has of the word meaning 'give Y to AN' is that it is of the class of transitive animate verbs having a stem varying in just this way. In the case of the word meaning 'move AN's head over,' a speaker knows that it belongs to the group of transitive animate verbs which have stems that always ends in /n/, regardless of how they are inflected. To aid the language learner, at the very least the dictionary must distinguish these two types of transitive animate verbs. One way of doing this is to provide a relevant inflectional form in each entry's listing that shows whether or not the stem-final consonant is ever /zh/, for example, the imperative forms listed in the fourth line of the table above might be used. Rhodes 1985 does exactly this. The headword corresponds to the entry in the first row of the table above, *miinaad* and *aandkwenmaad*, respectively, and additional forms are provided in the entry to reveal various aspects of the verb's behaviour when inflected. The following is Rhodes' entry for *miinaad*:

> **miinaad** *vta* give something to s.o.; *pres* **nmiinaa**; *imp* **miizh, miinizh**; *cc* **e-miinaad, maanaad**

The IMPERATIVE form, labeled *imp*, is given to show that the last consonant of this stem varies between /n/ and /zh/ (see discussion on page 86 above, for details of why). There are many different imperative inflections in Nishnaabemwin, and this one specifically refers to a command given to a single (second-person) actor to be carried out on a singular or plural goal, in other words, the listed form specifically means '(you sg.) give Y to AN!' The two forms listed for this inflection represent dialect variation, and they are ordered to reflect their relative commonness: the form *miizh* is more commonly heard than *miinizh*. The single imperative form listed, however, is not the only inflectional form that shows a stem form in /zh/ for verbs such as *miinaad*, there are many others such as *miizhid*, 'that ANsg gave Y to me,' and *miizhyan*, 'that you (sg.) gave Y to me.' I have indicated all such inflectional configurations in the transitive animate paradigms listed in Chapter 8.

2.12 Derivational and Inflectional Morphology

The study of morphology has traditionally been divided into two sub-areas, DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY and INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY. Derivational morphology is concerned with the structure of a language's vocabulary, also known as its LEXICON or WORDSTOCK, in terms of how words and their parts relate to one another in their structures and functions, and in terms of how new words are formed from existing ones or from component parts of words. The derivational morphology of Nishnaabemwin vocabulary, for example, would seek to account for the structure and relationships that exist between each HEADWORD in the Rhodes dictionary, minus its inflections, but not concern itself with the inflectional forms listed within each entry. For example, derivational morphology would

account for the relationships that exist between the words *daashkboodood*, 'split IN sawing it' VTI, *daashkboonaad*, 'split AN sawing it' VTA, and *daashkboojged*, 'do sawing' VAI. Inflectional morphology as it pertains to Nishnaabemwin addresses the prefixes and suffixes that are relevant to GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS obtaining between words, or those which represent properties of larger grammatical structures, such as the TENSE of a clause or the status of a verb as belonging to a MAIN or SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. One especially important area of inflectional morphology in Nishnaabemwin is the study of the morphological relationships between a verb and the pronouns and nouns which realize its SEMANTIC ROLES of ACTORS and GOALS.

The distinction between inflection and derivation is sometimes controversial in linguistics, because there are some morphological categories that can be analyzed in either way in a particular language, and which vary in their classification as inflectional or derivational in different languages. Basically, we can say that a morpheme is derivational if its presence in a word is a matter of the word's basic stem shape, and inflectional if it has to do with the role a word is playing in a particular grammatical context. Inflectional categories often indicate AGREEMENT between two major WORD CLASSES within a clause. For example, the ANIMATE PLURAL SUFFIX shows agreement between a verb and an associated noun, as in *wiisniwag ninwag*, 'the men are eating,' where the plural morpheme /-ag/ appears on both the verb *wiisni* and the noun *nini*. This agreement is a hallmark property of an inflectional morpheme. Consider, by contrast, the DIMINUTIVE suffix, which appears on the word *niniins*, 'little man.' This morpheme does not produce agreement on an associated verb, as we can see with *wiisniwag niniinsag*, 'the little men are eating.' The verb is identical in form whether the noun associated with it is diminutive or not. On the basis of agreement, the diminutive is a derivational category, changing the stem *nini* into another word, *niniins*.

Morphemes also vary is in their relative productivity, that is, the relative freedom with which they can be attached to LEXEMES of the appropriate LEXICAL CATEGORY and subcategory. For example, the diminutive suffix is attached to words belonging to the lexical category of nouns, and can be attached to almost any noun in Nishnaabemwin, and so is extremely productive. Another function of productivity is the extent to which the meaning of the derived form is predictable from the meanings of its component parts. For example, for the most part diminutives have very predictable meanings, referring either to small or immature members of the class identified by the non-diminutive stems, for example, *waagshens*, 'fox kit,' or *jiimaanens*, 'small boat.' On the basis of the predictability of meaning and the freedom with which it attaches to nouns, the diminutive aligns more with inflectional categories than derivational, because inflections, too, tend to be very productive. One important consequence of the productivity of the diminutive is that there is no need to list diminutive forms such as *jiimaanens* in the dictionary since their meanings are predictable from the basic stem forms from which they are derived. The only diminutives which must be listed are those which have either an unpredictable form or an unpredictable meaning, for example, *mikoons*, 'beaver kit,' derived from *mik*, 'beaver,' has a diminutive with /oo/, and *sabiins*, 'small net,' derived from *sab*, 'net,' has a diminutive with /ii/.

The discussion of a morpheme's productivity is also important from the point of view of teaching the language. Particular emphasis should be placed on those morphemes, whether inflectional or derivational, that are most productive, that is, tend to be more common in speech. This also entails to some extent identifying morphemes when teaching, or at least devising lessons that implicitly take stock of the relative productivity of forms, which means that the teacher must have a reasonably good knowledge of the form and meaning of such morphemes, and of the grammatical systems underlying their usage. I cannot overstate how much more central morphological knowledge is to Nishnaabemwin than it is to English. For example, the inflection of the TRANSITIVE ANIMATE VERB in the INDEPENDENT ORDER can be readily understood if one identifies a couple of dozen morphemes and the principles that govern their selection. And there are hundreds, even thousands, of distinct forms. The alternative is to simply have the student learn each form as if it were independent of the others in its workings.

Morphemes can be treated in two distinct ways, either in terms of their form (STRUCTURE) or their FUNCTION. Form has to do with the PHONOLOGICAL properties of morphemes, issues that we have looked at in this chapter, that is, their PHONEMIC constituency (or spelling), and how these phonemes behave when the morpheme combines with other morphemes to form words. Function has to do with the meaning of morphemes and their combinations, ultimately determined on the basis of usage, and by examining the contrasts a given morpheme shows with other morphemes in the same structural position. In this chapter I have concentrated on form, and left discussion of functions to later chapters.

2.13 Additional Reading

There are many materials which address the nature of Nishnaabemwin sounds and their representation in morphemes. A good place to start is the introduction to the Rhodes (1985) dictionary, which discusses each letter used in the dictionary and its relationship to pronunciation. Piggott 1980 addresses many aspects of phonology in a very technical, theoretical manner, but is invaluable for anyone earnestly desiring a thorough, linguistically-based account of the general sound patterns of the language. Many articles in the two Odawa Language Reports (Kaye, et al. 1971, Piggott and Kaye 1973) discuss aspects of Nishnaabemwin phonology and morphology in theoretically interesting and insightful ways. Valentine 1994 contains a chapter on general Anishinaabemowin phonology, which relates some of the distinctive features of Nishnaabemwin to wider dialect relations.

3

Parts of Speech

3.1 Introduction

The parts of speech in Nishnaabemwin are NOUNS, PRONOUNS, VERBS, ADVERBS, NUMBERS, PARTICLES, PRENOUNS and PREVERBS. In this chapter I will discuss each of these categories in turn, and provide examples of each. As an introduction to Nishnaabemwin parts of speech, consider the following simple sentence.

(1) Maaba gwiiwzens gii-waannose. | 'This boy walked in a circle.' (RV)

> **Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **gii-waannose** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg walked in a circle.'

This sentence contains three words, *maaba*, 'this one,' *gwiiwzens*, 'boy,' and *gii-waannose*, 'ANsg walked in a circle.' Speakers know far more than how many words there are in this sentence and their individual meanings, though. They also have unconscious knowledge of the word class, or part of speech, to which each word belongs. For example, they know that there are two distinct classes of words in their language, conventionally labeled nouns and verbs, and they know that *gwiiwzens* belongs to the class of nouns and *waannose* to that of verbs. Consider the latter word, for example. In the sentence above, it has a leading element *gii-*, which indicates PAST TENSE, that is, indicates that the action referred to occurred sometime prior to the moment the sentence was spoken. Speakers know that to make the same statement about the boy's walking in a circle in present time, they say:

(2) Maaba gwiiwzens ***waannose***. | 'This boy is walking in a circle.' (RV)

> **Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **waannose** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is walking in a circle.'

Speakers also know that to make the same statement into a prediction about the boy's walking in a circle in the future, they can add preverb *wii-*, 'volitional future,' to the verb and say the following:

(3) Maaba gwiiwzens wii-waannose. | 'This boy will walk in a circle.' (RV)

> **Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **wii-waannose** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will walk in a circle.'

The reason we can say with confidence that speakers know that *waannose* is a verb, without their ever having studied the "grammar" of Nishnaabemwin, is that they will only attach these tense elements specifying the time of the action onto verbs. Speakers do not say such things as the following:[1]

(4) *Gii-maaba gwiiwzens waannose.

> ***Gii-maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this' (with past tense); **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **waannose** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg walks in a circle.'

(5) *Maaba gii-gwiiwzens waannose.

> ***Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gii-gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy' (with past tense); **waannose** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg walks in a circle.'

The reason for this is that the words *maaba* and *gwiiwzens* are not verbs, and so cannot have a tense element attached to them. The point is that speakers know from experience that different classes of words function differently in the language, and employ this knowledge in both creating and interpreting utterances. These differences have to do with many aspects of grammatical behaviour, one of which we have seen here, that different classes of words have different elements, such as tense, associated with them. In this chapter we examine the classes of words in Nishnaabemwin in detail, and attempt to lay them out in a way that accurately reflects the workings of the language. Perhaps a bit surprisingly, when we endeavour to formulate all of the things speakers must know in order to speak the language fluently, we find that a bewildering amount of information must be accounted for. This is an important discovery, because it reinforces the basic truth that the best way to learn a language is by hearing it and speaking it as a child. Many linguists believe that children are endowed with special abilities in the area of language learning, that there is in fact a biological program coded into us as children that allows us to learn languages with very little conscious effort. This certainly seems true, since all of the vast complexity of Nishnaabemwin

1. I put an asterisk (*) in front of sentences that are not grammatical, that is, would never be said by a speaker, since they violate grammatical principles of the language.

which I will lay out in this grammar, and much, much more, is acquired by any child who is given adequate exposure to the language and has adequate opportunity to speak it. Parts of speech are also summarized in Chapter 18.2, Nishnaabemwin Parts of Speech, beginning on page 921.

3.2 Guidelines for Determining Parts of Speech

Languages show variation in their inventories of parts of speech, though all languages show considerable overlap in the categories they manifest. The determination of the parts of speech for a given language is based on a consideration of several factors, including SEMANTIC, MORPHOLOGICAL, and SYNTACTIC criteria. Semantic properties are those related to meaning. For example, nouns are often said to denote objects, or concepts that tend to be "time-stable," meaning that their identifiable form and substance tends to remain relatively static over time; verbs are said to denote states, processes, events, and actions associated with and applying to entities identified by nouns and pronouns; and adverbs often denote notions of time, location, and manner, among others. The problem with semantic definitions is that classes of words often show gradation in their meanings, blending into one another, so that, for example, alongside adverbs referring to time such as *noongwa*, 'now, today' and *ggizheb*, 'early in the morning,' there are verbs referring to time-related concepts in Nishnaabemwin, such as *giizhgad*, 'be day' VII and *dbikad*, 'be night' VII. Nouns can be freely derived from verbs in Nishnaabemwin, so, for example, there are nouns that represent events, such as *niimwin*, 'dance' NI and *ggwejkandiwin*, 'race,' (M) NI, which are derived from their corresponding animate intransitive (VAI) verbs, *niimi*, 'dance,' and *ggwejkandiwag*, 'ANpl race against each other.'

DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY. One type of morphological evidence which can be used to identify parts of speech pertains to the components of words that are either specifically related to a particular class or sub-class of words, or which derive one class of words from another. As an example of the former type, all words that end with the derivational component /-shin/ are animate intransitive (VAI) verbs, and many have corresponding inanimate intransitive verbs that end in /-sin/, for example, *bngishin*, 'fall down' VAI and *bngisin*, 'fall down' VII. Furthermore, related to these intransitive verbs are corresponding causative transitive verbs, *bngishim*, 'drop s.t. (anim.)' VTA and *bngisdoon*, 'drop s.t. (inan.)' VTI, the former with characteristic transitive animate FINAL /-shim/ and the latter with characteristic transitive inanimate final complex, /-sid-oo/. The association of specific derivational final components with specific sub-classes of verbs is so strong in Nishnaabemwin that it is only somewhat exceptional verbs that cannot be typed in this way. Even the exceptions, that is, those that do not have obvious class-defining finals, can be classed by their exceptionality, as most are VAI verbs.

Another means of classifying words by derivational morphology is by virtue of suffixes that derive words of one part of speech class or sub-class from another. For example, the suffix /-win/ can be added to almost any animate intransitive verb (VAI) to form a noun, as in *ngamwin*, 'song' NI, from *ngamo*, 'sing' VAI and *niimwin*, 'dance' NI, from *niimi*, 'dance' VAI. Such a classificatory tool is particularly powerful in Nishnaabemwin because it allows for the identification of both the stem that the suffix is added to, and the resulting word. So, for example, the word *dnakiiwin*, 'town, residence, village,' can be readily identified as a noun, derived from VAI *dnakii*, 'live in a certain place' (Od). The strong derivational classtyping of words in Nishnaabemwin results in complex words with very specific derivational pedigrees. For example, the suffix /-ige/ can be added to a transitive inanimate verb (VTI) to produce an animate intransitive verb (VAI) with a focus on AGENTIVE activity. So, for example, from the VTI verb *giishkboodoon*, 'saw s.t. (inan.) off cleanly,' can be derived the VAI form *giishkboojge*, 'do cutting with a saw, do sawing,' which focuses on the activity of sawing by someone. The word *giishkboodoon* is readily identified by its transitive inanimate final /-bood/, meaning 'apply sawing action to s.t. (in.).' The suffix /-ige/ is added to the stem /giishkbood-/, producing an animate intransitive verb, which can then serve as a stem for the addition of the nominalizing suffix /-n/, to produce the noun, *giishkboojgan*, 'saw' NI. Here, too, we can see how knowledge of sound patterns can help us in understanding word relationships— the /i/ of the suffix /-ige/ causes the /d/ of /-bood/ to PALATALIZE to /j/ (IPA /dʒ/), a very common process in many languages, including Nishnaabemwin.

INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY. Another powerful morphological means of determining word class and sub-class in Nishnaabemwin is that of INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY. Inflectional morphology has to do with those morphological operations, most commonly AFFIXATION, that are applied to word stems in order to indicate various kinds of grammatical information, such as the subjects and objects of verbs, their tense, the presence of negation, and for nouns, their possessor(s) and whether they are singular or plural. For example, most nouns can be made plural by the addition of a suffix, a property which they could be said to share with verbs. However, in contexts of negation, verbs show negative marking but nouns do not. So, for example, if we take a sentence such as *Gaawiin gii-wiisni<u>sii</u>wag ninwag*, 'the men did not eat,' it is easy to determine that *wiisni* is a verb by virtue of its showing the NEGATIVE SUFFIX /-sii/. This suffix cannot be applied to the words *gaawiin*, 'not' and *nini*, 'man' to produce **gaawiinsii* or **ninwsiiwag* respectively, since the first is an adverb and the second a noun, and negative suffixes are only added to verbs. We can also easily distinguish nouns from adverbs on the basis of inflection, in that most nouns can be pluralized, but adverbs cannot, so the form **gaawiinag*, a pluralized form of *gaawiin*, 'no, not,' does not exist.

There are many, many derivational and inflectional morphological properties associated with nouns, pronouns and verbs in Nishnaabemwin. While it may seem something of an idle exercise to use these properties as tests of word class and sub-class, the "tests" themselves point to an extremely important fact, namely that speakers command the vast derivational and inflectional systems of the language, and that the language cannot be spoken without such knowledge. Every test I present here points to a grammatical fact of Nishnaabemwin, something that must be controlled in order to speak, though, of course, for most speakers all of this knowledge is completely unconscious. Knowledge of the parts of speech in the language is important, since each part of speech has its own elaborate grammatical properties and complex behaviour.

SYNTACTIC TESTS OF WORD CLASS. The last type of test that I will mention is that of SYNTACTIC behaviour, that is, the ways in which classes of words interact with each other, and what groupings of words of different classes occur in the phrases and sentences of the language. For example, a verb in Nishnaabemwin typically has a SUBJECT associated with it, which can be a noun phrase or a pronoun. Thus, in the simple sentence, *wiisniwag ninwag*, 'the men are eating,' the verb *wiisniwag*, 'they are eating,' has a noun subject associated with it, *ninwag*, 'men.' Transitive verbs may have two or more noun phrases associated with them, as in *Giw kwewag wgii-gnawenmaawaan niw binoojiinyan*, 'those women were watching those children,' which has a subject noun phrase *giw kwewag*, 'those women,' and an object noun phrase, *niw binoojiinyan*, 'that child/those children' (number is indeterminate because the form in OBVIATIVE). This example illustrates another aspect of Nishnaabemwin syntax, namely that nouns may have DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS associated with them, which must agree with their associated nouns in gender (animate or inanimate), number (singular or plural), and obviation (proximate or obviative). Thus, for example, to say 'those men are eating,' one says *wiisniwag giw ninwag*, with demonstrative pronoun *giw*, 'those,' which is ANIMATE PROXIMATE PLURAL. Use of other demonstrative pronouns, such as *niw*, 'those (inan.),' with *ninwag* is not grammatical in Nishnaabemwin. Agreement always specifies relationships between syntactic entities.

3.3 Nouns

The classic definition of nouns which students of English learn is semantic, based on the things that nouns refer to— nouns are said to represent "persons, places, and things." Nouns essentially give names to, or identify, objects in the culturally-constructed world of the speakers of a language. Nouns typically represent words for living things such as persons, spirits, animals, fish, birds, insects, trees, plants, and for non-living things such as tools, household items, other objects of manufacture, and objects in the natural world. All of the words listed in the table below are nouns.

Some Sample Nishnaabemwin Nouns

kwe	'woman'	gaazhgens	'cat'	jiibay	'ghost, soul'
nini	'man'	bneshiinh	'bird'	mnidoo	'spirit'
mdimooyenh	'old woman'	mgizi	'eagle'	jiibay	'ghost., soul'
kiwenziinh	'old man'	mnidoons	'(flying) insect'	pakweyashk	'cattail'
gwiiwzens	'boy'	tree	'mtig'	bkitehgan	'hammer'
kwezens	'girl'	ninaatig	'maple tree'	mookmaan	'knife'
mkwa	'bear'	miishkoons	'grass'	doopwin	'table'

CONCRETE AND ABSTRACT NOUNS. Nouns such as those listed in the table above are called CONCRETE NOUNS, because they refer to physical objects, that is, to things that have physical substance, take up space, and can be touched, or are treated culturally like things that have these properties. The American Heritage Dictionary's definition of *concrete* expresses some of the properties of the referents of concrete nouns: 'Of or relating to an actual, specific thing or instance, particular; existing in reality or in real experience, perceptible by the senses; real; of or relating to a material thing or group of things as opposed to an abstraction; formed by the coalescence of separate particles or parts into one mass; solid.' Concrete nouns are contrasted with ABSTRACT NOUNS, which refer to concepts that are less objective and which usually do not have physical existence. For example, the words *kidwin*, 'word, utterance' *zaaghiwewin*, 'love,' *dkajwin*, 'flu,' and *zoongdehewin*, 'courage,' are all nouns, but are different from concrete nouns, in that these do not refer to discrete physical objects, to substances, or to things that can literally be seen, touched, or separated as objects in the world. Nouns of this sort which name states, conditions and acts are called ABSTRACT NOUNS. Abstract nouns in Nishnaabemwin often have a characteristic ending, *-win*, which is commonly added to verbs to DERIVE nouns referring to a concept associated with the verb, though not all nouns having this ending are abstract. The meaning relationship between the verb to which *-win* is added and the noun that results is not always predictable, as can be seen from the DERIVED NOMINAL (noun) form of the verb, *giigdo*, 'talk, speak' (VAI), which is *giigdowin*. At Curve Lake this word is used to convey such diverse meanings as 'sentence,' 'conversation,' 'telephone,' and 'microphone,' that is, various 'units' of speaking, or instruments associated with speaking. In the meanings 'telephone' and 'microphone,' *giigdowin* is a concrete noun, since these are physical objects; in the meanings 'sentence' and 'conversation,' *giigdowin* is an abstract noun, since these concepts do not refer to objects having physical substance.

3.3.1 Dependent and Independent Nouns

BODY PART TERMS. Another identifiable group of nouns in Nishnaabemwin are those referring to the parts of the body, as in the following examples:

nnik	'my arm'
nkaad	'my leg'
nninj	'my hand'
nzid	'my foot'

All of these words are usually specified for a POSSESSOR, that is, someone or something (an animal, bird, insect, etc.) of whose body the item in question is a part. Nouns that normally require a possessor are said to be DEPENDENT, and are usually INHERENTLY POSSESSED, meaning that they are by nature associated with a particular possessor, and cannot readily be exchanged with others, that is, their ownership doesn't normally change. A possession that can change ownership is said to be an ALIENABLE POSSESSION, and another common way of describing inherently possessed objects is to say that they are INALIENABLY POSSESSED. Cars, books, shoes— things of this sort can easily change owners, and so, are alienably possessed, but body parts typically do not change possession, though, of course, "normal" situations can be suspended, such as when one receives an organ transplant, or hunters refer possessively to the body parts of their game. In Nishnaabemwin an important distinction is usually made between DEPENDENT NOUNS, which are generally inherently possessed, and INDEPENDENT NOUNS, which are not.

Most body part terms in Nishnaabemwin are dependent nouns. Notice that all of the nouns listed above begin with a prefix spelled «n», which indicates that the possessor is FIRST PERSON, for example, *nkaad*, 'my leg,' and *nnik*, 'my arm.' Because dependent nouns generally require a possessor, they are listed in the dictionary with the prefix *n*, meaning 'my,' but the prefix is ignored in the alphabetical listing of words. So, for example, *nkaad* is listed under «k» in the dictionary. The prefix is not in boldface in the dictionary, either, whereas the rest of the word is, as in, for example, n**kaad**, 'my leg.' Dependent nouns can present problems for language learners, because in order to look up a word, the dictionary user must know whether or not the word has a prefix, and if so, roughly what the prefix is. So, for example, when encountering the word *gkaad*, 'your (sg.) leg,' the student must recognize that it has a prefix, and that the word will not be listed under «g», since that portion of the word represents the prefix, meaning 'your.' In this regard, Nishnaabemwin is very different from English, where concepts such as these are usually represented by separate words, 'your,' and 'leg.' Conventional dictionary organizations present many problems for language learners in Nishnaabemwin because of the rich system of inflectional prefixes and suffixes in the language. Furthermore, it is obvious that in order to use dependent nouns correctly, students must have an understanding of possession inflection (See 196).

Page 109 lists many of the body part terms cited in the Rhodes dictionary. Note that while the great majority of such vocabulary requires a possessor, and are thus dependent nouns, not all terms do, such as *miishaaboojiinaagan*, 'eyelash,' and *miishgondaagan*, 'beard hair.' Somewhat surprisingly, the words for female breast, *doodoosh*, and bone, *kan* (or *kanenh)*, are also listed in Rhodes as not requiring a possessor, though they do in other varieties of Anishinaabemowin. A few terms for bodily substances are dependent nouns as well, such as *nminiingwaagan*, 'my sand [in eyes], my sleep [in eyes].' Terms which do not have a designated dialect affiliation are general Nishnaabemwin.

KINSHIP TERMS. Another significant subclass of dependent nouns is those referring to various family and social relationships, vocabulary that is commonly called KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY. Here are some examples.

Some Kinship Terms			
ngashi, nmamaam	'my mother'	ndaan(is)	'my daughter'
nhoos, noos, ndedem	'my father'	ngwis	'my son'

These nouns too carry a prefix that identifies a FIRST PERSON 'POSSESSOR,' or subject of the relationship, «n», translated into English as 'my.' And again, although these words are listed in the dictionary with the prefix spelled «n», they are alphabetized according to the basic word without the prefix, so, for example, *ngashi*, 'my mother,' is listed under «g».

Historically, the Anishinaabe kinship system fundamentally distinguished between PARALLEL and CROSS-relations of aunts, uncles, and cousins. A parallel cousin is the child of one's mother's sisters or father's brothers; a cross-cousin is the converse, the child of one's mother's brothers or father's sisters. Much of the rich traditional Nishnaabe kinship vocabulary is included in the Rhodes dictionary, and tables of various kinship terms extracted from the dictionary are included below and on the following pages. I have divided the terms into four subsets, strictly for convenience of presentation— there is no semantic or cultural reason for doing so. Today there are two systems of kinship terminology, the traditional, 'older' system, and a newer system, more akin to the European system. These are identified with the labels OLD SYSTEM and NEW SYSTEM in the dictionary, and those designations have been retained in the charts which follow. The codes in the final column refer to dialect restrictions.

Kinship Terms for Grandparents and Grandchildren			
*n*mishoomis	'my grandfather'	nad	Oj
*n*gookmis	'my grandmother'	nad	W
*n*nookmis	'my grandmother'	nad	CL
*n*ookmis	'my grandmother'	nad	M
*n*ookmis	'my great aunt'	nad	M
*n*mishoomis	'my great uncle'	nad	Oj
*n*ooshenh	'my grandchild'	nad	Oj
*n*ooshenh	'my niece's child'	nad	Oj
*n*ooshenh	'my nephew's child'	nad	Oj
*n*daanko(o)bjigan	'my great grandchild'	nad	CL, W

Body Part Terms from Rhodes 1985

*n*bakwaakninj *nid* my fist
*n*bikon, *n*bikwan *nid* my back [Od, CL]
*n*daamkan *nid* my chin, lower jaw
*n*deh *nid* my heart [Od]
*n*dengway *nid* my face
*n*denig *nad* my nostril [M, CL]
*n*denniw *nid* my tongue
*n*deteg *nid* my temple [Od]
*n*diniigin *nid* my shoulder-blade [Od]
*n*dinmaangan *nid* my shoulder [Od]
*n*dis *nid* my navel
*n*diy *nid* my rear end, hip
*n*doodkoswan *nid-pl* my kidneys
doodoosh *ni/na* nipple, breast (fem.) [Od/CL]
*n*doon *nid* my mouth
*n*doondan *nid* my heel
*n*dooskon *nid* my elbow [Od]
*n*dooskweyaab *nid* my vein
*n*gaakgan *nid* my chest
*n*gatig *nid* my forehead
*n*gidig *nad* my knee
*n*iindib *nid* my brain [W, CL]
*n*jichaag *nad* my soul [Od]
*n*jaanzh *nid* my nose [Od]
*n*jiingon *nid* my lap [Od]
*n*kaad *nid* my leg
*n*kakon *nid* my shin [W]
kan, kanenh *ni* bone
*n*kon *nid* my liver
*n*koonzh *nid* my bill (of bird) [Od]
*n*kwegan *nid* my neck
*n*masad, *n*misad *nid* my stomach
*n*miin'zis *nid* my (strand of) hair [M, CL]
miishaaboojiignigan *ni* eyelash [W]
miishaaboojiinaagan *ni* eyelash [Od, CC]
miishgondaagan *ni* beard hair [CL, M]
*n*minig *nid* my testicle [CL]
*n*miingwaan *nid* my gills [CL]
miishkiinzhgwaagan *ni* eyelash [M]
miishkwaan *ni* a strand of pubic hair [CL]
*n*miniingwaagan *nid* 'sand [in eyes]; sleep [in eyes]'
*n*miniingwaan *nid* 'sand [in eyes]; sleep [in eyes]' [CL]
*n*naan *nid* my calf (of leg) [Od]
*n*nagaakninj *nid* my palm (of hand) [M, CL]
*n*nagaakzid *nid* my sole (of foot) [M, CL]
*n*nagask *nid* my palate [M]
*n*nagizh *nid* my intestine
*n*nashkidii(ns) *nid* my tail (bird) [W]
*n*nashkid *nid* my tail (bird) [M]
*n*ndib *nid* my head [Od]
*n*ndib *nid* my scalp [Od]
*n*nendib *nid* my brain [CL]
*n*nibiim *nid* my soft spot (baby) [W]
*n*niishkog *nad-pl* my tonsils [M]
*n*nik *nid* my arm
*n*ningwii(h)gan *nad* my wing
*n*ninj *nid* my hand
*n*ninjigaans *nad* my fin [M, CL]
*n*ninjiins *nid* my finger
*n*nishiw *nad* my penis [CL]
*n*nishiw *nad* my testicle [M]
*n*noogan *nid* my hip [Od]
*n*now(ay) *nid* my cheek [Od, (Oj)]
*n*pigegan *nid* my rib [M, CL]
*n*shkanzh *nad* my (finger/toe)nail
*n*shkiinzhig *nid* my eye [W, CL]
*n*shtigwaan *nid* my head [CL, M]
*n*shtigwaan *nid* my forehead [W]
*n*tawag *nid* my ear
*n*weyaan *nid* my pelt [M]
n(w)iibid *nid* my tooth
*n*wiinendib *nid* my brain [M, CL]
*n*wiin'zis *nid* my (strand of) hair [Od]
*n*wiin'zob *nid* my gall bladder [Od]
*n*wiiyaw *nid* my body
*n*yaan *nid* my pelt [CL]
*n*zhag(h)ay *nad* my skin
*n*zhiiga *nad* the small of my back [Od]
*n*zid *nid* my foot
*n*zidens *nid* my toe
*n*zow *nid* my tail [R, CL]

Terms for Parents, Their Children, and Children's Siblings			
*n*gitziimag	'my parents'	nad-pl	Oj
*n*dedem	'my father'	nad	CL
*n*oos, *n*hoos	'my father'	nad	Oj, CL
*n*baabaa(m)	'my dad'	nad	Od, (W)
*n*papaa	'my dad'	nad	R, CL
*n*doodoom	'my mother'	nad	CL
*n*gashi	'my mother'	nad	Od
*n*mamaam	'my mother'	nad	W, CL
*n*mamaanh	'my momma'	nad	M, R, CL
*n*dawemaa	'my sib. of opp. sex'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*shiimenh	'my younger sibling'	nad	Oj
*n*wiijkiwem/nh	'my brother'	nad	Oj
n(n)iijkiwem	'my brother'	nad	W, (Od)
*n*sayenh	'my older brother'	nad	Od
*n*iikaan(is)	'my brother' (male sp.)	nad	W, (Od) old sys.
*n*dawemaa	'my sister'	nad	W, CL new sys.
*n*misenh	'my older sister'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*iidgik	'my sister' (male sp.)	nad	W old sys.
*n*iidgikoonh	'my sister' (fem. sp.)	nad	M old sys.
niijaanis	'child'	na	Oj
mjikwewis	'eldest daughter'	na	Oj
mjiikwis	'eldest son'	na	M
*n*daan(is)	'my daughter'	nad	W, CL, (Od)
*n*gwis	'my son'	nad	Oj
*n*danoozwaagan	'my namesake'	nad	Od

Terms for Aunts, Uncles, and Cousins			
*n*zigos	'my aunt'	nad	M new sys.
*n*nooshenh	'my parallel aunt'	nad	M old sys.
*n*nooshenh	'my parent's fem. cross-cousin'	nad	M old sys.
*n*zhishenh	'my uncle'	nad	Od new sys.
*n*mishoomenh	'my parallel uncle'	nad	Oj old sys.
*n*zhishenh	'my cross-uncle'	nad	Oj old sys.
*n*iitaawis	'my cousin'	nad	W new sys.
*n*iikaan	'my male parallel cousin' (male sp.)	nad	W old sys.
*n*misenh	'my elder fem. parallel cousin'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*bazgim	'my cross-cousin of the opp. sex'	nad	M old sys.
*n*shiimenh	'my younger cross cousin'	nad	Oj old sys.
*n*daangshenh	'my female cross cousin' (fem. sp.)	nad	M old sys.
*n*dawemaa	'my parallel cousin of the opp. sex'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*iikaanis	'my male parallel cousin' (male sp.)	nad	Oj old sys.
*n*iinmoshenh	'my cross-cousin of the opp. sex'	nad	M old sys.
*n*iitaawis	'my [male] cross-cousin' (male sp.)	nad	Od old sys.
*n*ningnis	'my nephew'	nad	W new sys.
*n*ningnis	'my cross-nephew'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*doozhim	'my parallel nephew'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*ningnis	'my cross-cousin's son'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*shimis	'my cross-niece'	nad	M old sys.
*n*doozhmis(kwem)	'my parallel niece'	nad	M old sys.
*n*shimis	'my cross-cousin's daughter'	nad	M old sys.
*n*doozhmis	'my [fem.] cross-cousin's daughter'	nad	M old sys.

Terms for In-Laws, Relations by Marriage			
*n*zigzis	'my spouse's grandmother'	nad	Od
*n*zigzis	'my spouse's cross-aunt'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*zhinis	'my father-in-law'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*zigzis	'my mother-in-law'	nad	Od
*n*mishoomenh	'my step-father'	nad	Oj old sys.
*n*wiidgemaagan	'my spouse'	nad	Oj
*n*naabem	'my husband'	nad	Oj
*n*midimooyem	'my wife' (slightly derogatory)	nad	Oj
*n*iinim	'my brother-in-law' (fem. sp.)	nad	M old sys.
*n*iitaa	'my brother-in-law' (male sp.)	nad	Od old sys.
*n*daangwenh	'my sister-in-law' (fem. sp.)	nad	Od old sys.
*n*iinim	'my sister-in-law' (male sp.)	nad	M old sys.
*n*shiimenh	'my spouse's sibling in law' (older sp.)	nad	Oj old sys.
*n*dawemaa	'my sister-in-law's husband' (fem. sp.)	nad	M old sys.
*n*daangshenh	'my husband's [fem.] cross-cousin'	nad	M old sys.
*n*daangwenh	'my husband's [fem.] cross-cousin'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*iidgikoonh	'my husband's sister-in-law'	nad	M old sys.
*n*iinim	'my wife's [fem.] cousin'	nad	M old sys.
*n*iinmoshenh	'my wife's cross-aunt'	nad	M old sys.
*n*daangshenh	'my cross-cousin's wife'	nad	M old sys.
*n*daangwenh	'my cross cousin's wife'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*nahaangnikwe	'my daughter-in-law'	nad	M old sys.
*n*sim	'my daughter-in-law'	nad	M old sys.
*n*nahaangish	'my son-in-law'	nad	M old sys.
*n*ningon	'my son-in-law'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*nnahaangshim	'my son-in-law'	nad	Od old sys.
*n*sim	'my granddaughter-in-law'	nad	M old sys.
*n*ningon	'my granddaughter's husband'	nad	Od old sys.

OTHER DEPENDENT NOUNS. In addition to BODY PART TERMS and KINSHIP vocabulary, there is a very small set of additional words which are also grammatically dependent, meaning that they typically occur with specification of a possessor. Traditionally the few words in this class consisted mostly of articles of clothing or other objects of close personal possession, but exactly which items are to be treated as dependent seems to be rather unpredictable and variable— there is no way to tell strictly from any property of the item, and there is variation across dialects. Rhodes (1985) lists *ndahiim*, 'my possession,' *nnagway*, 'my sleeve' (Od), *ndaas*, 'my legging, sock, stocking,' *ndazhgan*, 'my sock (archaic),' and *ndiknaagan*, 'my cradleboard' (W), among others. Perhaps reflecting a humourous use of the concept of inalienable possession, the words *nmaznagan*, 'my (financial) bill,' and *ndindwin*, 'my fault' (M, CL) are also among those listed by Rhodes as requiring a possessor.

INDEPENDENT NOUNS. Nouns that do not require possessors are termed INDEPENDENT. *Jiimaan*, 'boat,' and *nini*, 'man,' are independent nouns, and are not listed in the dictionary with a personal prefix designating a possessor. Most nouns are independent. It is possible, of course, even common, for independent nouns to have possessors, such as *njiimaan*, 'my boat' (also *njiimaanim*) or *gjiimaan*, 'your (sg.) boat' (also *gjiimaanim*), but they are not generally required to do so. Independent nouns typically refer to objects and entities that can relatively easily change possession, or which are not normally possessed.

For some speakers, certain nouns that were historically dependent can now be used in a fashion after English that makes them more independent. For example, the following sentence introduces a grandfather in a written story, without any possessive prefix to indicate relationship. The word for grandfather, *mishoomis*, does not show the effects of VOWEL SYNCOPE, either.

(7) Mtiggamgoonsing gii-daa ***mishoomis***. Ngoding giizhgak ooshenyan wgii-gnoonaan w***mishoomsi***man biiwaabkoonsing.

'***A grandfather*** dwelt in a cabin. One day his granddaughter called her ***grandfather*** on the phone.' (GS/EO)

> **Mtiggamgoonsing** *ni 0 loc* 'in a little log cabin'; **gii-daa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg lived there'; **mishoomis** *na(d) 3sProx* 'a grandfather.' **Ngoding** *av* 'one time'; **giizhgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) is day'; **ooshenyan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's grandchild'; **wgii-gnoonaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg spoke to ANobv'; **wmishoomsiman** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's grandfather'; **biiwaabkoonsing** *ni 0 loc* 'on the telephone.'

Another example uses the dependent noun for mother, *gashi*, as a free form, which again, reflects a stem form that would otherwise only occur with a personal prefix, since the first vowel of the stem /a/ (stem /-gashiw/) is not SYNCOPATED.

(8) Pii gaa-gwaabiignind binoojiinh, aaniish gaa-zhichged ***gashi?***

'When the child was fished out of the water, what did the ***mother*** do?' (CC)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **gaa-gwaabiignind** *vta ic conj x»3sProx* '(CCONJ) when ANsg was fished out of the water'; **binoojiinh** *na 3sProx* 'child'; **aaniish** *av* 'how'; **gaa-zhichged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg did so'; **gashi** *na(d) 3sProx* 'the mother.'

Compare the following sentence, with an inflected form of the stem:

(9) Aaniish ***wgashwan*** wewiib gaa-zhichgenid?

'What did ***her/his mother*** do right away?' (CC)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **wgashwan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's mother'; **wewiib** *av* 'right away'; **gaa-zhichgenid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) that ANobv did so.'

3.3.2 Grammatical Gender: Animate and Inanimate Nouns

Another extremely important sub-grouping of Nishnaabemwin nouns is according to kind, or to use the more general linguistic term, GRAMMATICAL GENDER. There are two basic subclassifications, or genders, of nouns in Nishnaabemwin, ANIMATE and INANIMATE. For the most part, nouns belong to one or the other category on the basis of the inherent properties of the things they refer to, though one must keep in mind that there is a strong cultural component in the identification and characterization of objects known or believed to exist in the world. As a very rough guide, animate nouns typically refer to living things, such as people, animals, spiritual beings, fish, birds, trees, and many plants. Inanimate nouns typically refer to non-living things, such as chairs, tables, boats, and books, but include certain plants as well. The following nouns are organized according to their animacy.

Some Animate Nouns		Some Inanimate Nouns	
nini	'man'	bkitehgan	'hammer'
mnidoo	'spirit, manitou'	doopwin	'table'
gaazhgens	'cat, kitten'	mtigoons	'stick'
aamoo	'bee'	kidwin	'word'
mtig	'tree'	naagan	'dish'

There is also a substantial group of nouns that refer to things that are not usually considered to be 'living,' but which are grammatically animate, meaning that they are treated in the language as animate nouns. For example, the words *sab*, 'net', *kik*, 'kettle, ashcan, pot,' and *aagam* (or *aagim*), 'snowshoe,' are all grammatically animate. In some cases, objects belonging to similar notional classes show variation in their grammatical gender. For example, *mskomin*, 'raspberry,' and *zhaaboomin*, 'gooseberry' are animate, while *dehmin* (also *deymin*), 'strawberry' and *miin*, 'blueberry' are both inanimate. In all dialects of Nishnaabemwin, *mnoomin*, 'rice' is inanimate, but *mdaamin*, 'corn' is animate.

There are a few words that occur with variable animacy, but have different, though usually related, meanings according to their gender. For example, *mtig* as an inanimate noun means 'stick,' and as an animate noun, 'tree'; on Manitoulin Island, *bwi* as an inanimate noun means 'paddle', and as an animate, 'propeller,' and the DIMINUTIVE of the animate form, *bwiins*, means 'fan.' On Manitoulin Island, as well, *zhibiihganaatig* as an inanimate noun means 'pencil' and as an animate, 'pen.' In some communities *mkizin* when inanimate is a shoe, but when animate, a tire. On Walpole Island, inanimate *biiway* refers to fur, or the hair of fur, but animate *biiway* refers to fur, wool, or yarn.

The word *ndahiim*, 'my possession,' varies in its animacy depending on the animacy of what is being referred to. If it is referring to grammatically animate things, it is animate; if it is referring to grammatically inanimate things, it is inanimate.

There are many simple grammatical tests for determining the animacy, or gender, of a noun. For one, the plurals of nouns show structured variation, in that animate nouns have plurals ending in «g» (or «k», depending on how one spells), and inanimates have plurals ending in «n». The following examples illustrate this:

Plural Forms of Animate and Inanimate Nouns				
Singular	Meaning	Plural	Final Letter of Plural	Gender
nini	'man'	ninwag	g	Animate
mnidoo	'spirit being'	mnidoog	g	Animate
gaazhgens	'cat, kitten'	gaazhgensag	g	Animate
mtig	'tree'	mtigoog	g	Animate
bkitehgan	'hammer'	bkitehganan	n	Inanimate
doopwin	'table'	doopwinan	n	Inanimate
mtigoons	'stick, twig'	mtigoonsan	n	Inanimate
kidwin	'word'	kidwinan	n	Inanimate
naagan	'dish'	naagnan	n	Inanimate

Another grammatical test of a word's animacy is whether the TRANSITIVE verb *nwaabmaa*, 'I see (animate)' (VTA) or *nwaabndaan*, 'I see (inanimate)' (VTI) is used when making reference to seeing the object in question, for example, *nini nwaabmaa*, 'I see the man,' (animate), but *jiimaan nwaabndaan*, 'I see the boat' (inanimate). The same sort of test can be used with the INTRANSITIVE verbs meaning 'be big,' *mdido* (VAI) for animates and *mchaa(mgad)* (VII) for inanimates.

Another grammatical test of animacy is to determine which (DEMONSTRATIVE) PRONOUN meaning 'this' is used with the noun in question, whether *maaba* (or *aw*), for animates, or *maanda* (or *ow*), for inanimates. We can summarize these tests as follows:

Various Tests for Noun Gender in Nishnaabemwin					
Gender	Example	Test 1 Plural Test	Test 2 'See' Test	Test 3 'Be Big' Test	Test 4 Pronoun Test
Animate	nini	ninwag	nwaabmaa	mdido	maaba/aw
Inanimate	jiimaan	jiimaanan	nwaabndaan	mchaa(mgad)	maanda/ow

DIALECT VARIATION IN GENDER ASSIGNMENT. Many words show variable gender in different communities. For example, *daabaan* 'car, wagon' is animate for speakers at Walpole and on Manitoulin Island, but is inanimate for those at Curve Lake. The word *dewehgan*, 'drum' is also inanimate at Curve Lake, but animate at Walpole and on Manitoulin. In some cases, there are small families of words that tend to be grammatically animate across Nishnaabe communities. For example, words referring to heavenly bodies such as the sun, *giizis*, the moon, *dbik-giizis*, and the stars, *nangoonsag*, are all animate in all communities. Words referring to processed lumber and wooden objects are often animate, such as *bzagaak* (or *nbagsag*), 'board, plank,' *bmidsaa*, 'canoe thwart,' and *jiibyaatig*, 'cross, crucifix.' The names of cards are animate, such as *bezhgoobiihgaan*, 'ace,' *niizhoobiihgan*, 'deuce,' and *zhmaagni-gimaa*, 'jack.' In many communities, words for grains and grain products are often animate, though here there is variation. *Bkwezhgan*, 'bread,' *skaan*, 'biscuit,' and *mdaamin*, 'corn,' are all animate at Curve Lake. *Bkwezhgan* is inanimate at Walpole and on Manitoulin Island, however, though one word for a wedding cake at Walpole, *waab-gookookhoo*, literally 'white owl,' is animate, as is *biitoojiishkwegnigan*, 'pie.' Terms for tobacco and related paraphernalia are usually animate, for example, *semaa*, 'tobacco,' *semaans* 'cigarette' (CL), and *pwaagan*, 'pipe,' are all animate. Tobacco has religious significance in Nishnaabe culture, and the observation has been made that items of traditional religious significance are often animate, as we saw with the word for 'drum,' *dewehgan*, at least in some communities. This may also be the reason that celestial objects are animate, because in traditional mythology they were associated with living beings. The word for the group of stars in Orion's belt, for example, *Aadwahamoog*, is animate plural, and literally means, 'they travel together in a boat,' evidently in reference to a story connected with this constellation.

Although there is variation among the languages and dialects of the Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) group as to which nouns are grammatically animate, there is substantial agreement for many words. The table on the following page presents a set of words for which Nishnaabemwin agrees with most of its sister dialects in animacy (gender) assignment. Nishnaabemwin can be distinguished from other varieties of Ojibwe, however, on the basis of a small but consistent set of words that it does not treat as animate. In most Ojibwe dialects, for example, all terms for money are animate, but in Nishnaabemwin they are consistently inanimate, including *zhoon'yaa*, 'money,' *zhoomaankenh*, 'penny,' *bezhigwaabik*, 'one dollar,' and *niizhwaabik*, 'two dollars.' Even the archaic word *shining*, 'bit, twelve and a half cents,' from English *shilling*, is inanimate. Note, though, that at Walpole Island, the word for 'small change,' *zhoomaankensag*, is animate, as we can see from its plural ending.

Some General Nishnaabemwin Animate Nouns[1]			
aa(d)sookaan	'sacred story'†	jiibay	'soul, spirit; ghost'
aagam, aagim	'snowshoe'	jiibayaatig	'cross, crucifix'
baagaakigan	'basket splint(s)'	*n*jiichiigom	'my wart'
(b)baamgaajgan	'toy top'	kik	'kettle; pot; ash can'
bezhgoobiihgan	'ace' (playing card)	kosmaan	'pumpkin, squash'
bgesaan	'peach, plum'	mdaamin	'(a kernel of) corn'
bgiw	'pitch, gum'	mjikaawan	'mitten, glove'
bmidsaa	'rafter, canoe thwart'	mkom, mkam	'(a piece of) ice'
bnagzigan	'hominy'	miigwan, miigaans	'feather'†
daabaan	'car'	mnidoomin	'bead'
daatgaagmin	'blackberry'	mshiimin, waabmin	'apple'
dbahgiiiswaagan	'clock'	mskodiismin	'bean'
dbik-giizis	'moon'	mskomin	'raspberry'
*nd*eshkan	'my horn'	mtigwaab	'bow' (archery)
dewehgan	'drum'	naabkawaagan	'necklace, scarf'
dgow	'wave'	nang	'star'
*nd*iniigan	'my shoulder blade'	nbagsag, bzagaak	'board, plank'
ezhaazhaanh	'dumpling'	pakweyashk	'cattail'
gaaway	'porcupine quill'	pin	'potato'
*n*gidig	'my knee'	pwaagan	'pipe' (for smoking)
giizis	'sun, moon, month'	sab	'net'
goon	'snow'	semaa	'(a wad of) tobacco'
jichaag	'spirit, soul'	shkode-daabaan	'train'
jiibaakwe-kik	'cooking pot'	zhigon	'grindstone'

1. The dagger symbol (†) marks a few nouns that show variable gender in different Nishnaabemwin communities.

Most Anishinaabemowin dialects treat all words for hides, such as *mik-weyaan*, 'beaver hide,' as animate, but the few listings in the Rhodes dictionary (all from Curve Lake) consistently show these words as grammatically inanimate. The word for 'stone,' *sin*, is animate in most Anishnaabemowin dialects, but consistently inanimate in Nishnaabemwin.

At the same time that we see vocabulary that is grammatically animate in other dialects showing up as inanimate in Nishnaabemwin, there is also a distinctive set of vocabulary that shows the opposite behaviour. The following table presents several words which are ani-

mate in the Odawa subgroup of Nishnaabemwin, but not in its sister dialect, the Ojibwe of Minnesota.

Some General Odawa Animate Nouns			
bgiw	'gum, pitch'	*n*nagway	'my sleeve'
biiway	'wool, yarn'	*n*ningwiigan	'my wing'
bookdoonzh	'pear'	*n*ninjigaans	'my fin'
bshkwegin	'(piece of) leather'	siboojgan	'file, whetstone'
miishaaboojiinaagan	'eyelash'	waak	'fish egg'
mshkode-jiimaan	'steamboat'	waasechganaabik	'glass, windowpane'
*n*naghay, *n*shaghay	'my skin'	*n*zhiigan	'small of my back'

GENDER SHIFT. Another noteworthy aspect of gender is the traditional phenomenon of GENDER SHIFT, in which an object that is "normally" grammatically inanimate becomes animate due to its assuming animate properties, such as the ability to speak or exert spiritual power. A good example of this is found in Andrew Medler's story of the mirror being (Bloomfield 1958:213-216), in which a young man during a fast receives a blessing from a mirror, which later provides him with protection in battle. When the mirror visits the young man during his vision fast and offers its protection, it is initially referred to with grammatically inanimate words, but then, when it confers its blessing, it becomes animate; later, when it protects him in battle, it is once again inanimate. The following sentences from Mr. Medler's story illustrate the difference.

(10) Baamaa dash ngoding dbikak ***gii-bi-yaamgadni iw*** waawaabmowin.

'Finally then one night there came that mirror.' (AM31.8)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ngoding** *av* 'one time'; **dbikak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be night'; **gii-bi-yaamgadni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv came'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waawaabmowin** *ni 0s* 'mirror.'

Here, the word for mirror, *waawaabmowin*, is clearly inanimate, as can be seen from the inanimate pronoun *iw*, 'that' which occurs with it, and the use of an inanimate subject verb (VII), *bi-yaamgad*, 'come (there).' Later in this story, when the mirror comes to bless the young man, it is animate, as can be seen from its occurrence with the animate pronoun *aw*, 'that', and the animate subject verb (VAI), *bi-yaa*, 'come (there)':

(11) Miinwaa dash e-aazhoo-dbikak ***gii-bi-yaa aw*** waawaabmowin.

'The next night ***that*** (***anim.***) mirror being ***came*** again.' (AM31.14)

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **e-aazhoo-dbikak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN be next night'; **gii-bi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg came'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **waawaabmowin** *na 3sProx* 'mirror.'

Note too that Bloomfield has now translated the word *waawaabmowin* as 'Mirror Being,' though the only difference in the Nishnaabemwin between this sentence and the preceding example is the shift in grammatical gender.

Gender shift almost always involves the shift of something that is grammatically inanimate to the status of grammatically animate. The opposite case, where grammatically animate objects become inanimate, does not seem to occur, or at least is very uncommon. It is also very important, in the light of phenomena such as gender shift, to recognize the fluidity of grammatical categories. Cecil King (1997:116-17), for example, feels very strongly that the terms animate and inanimate for the two classes of nouns in Nishnaabemwin are misleading and restricting, and too dependent on English criteria. He writes:

> My language is an Algonquin language, I am told, and it is structured by describing things as animate or inanimate, so I am told. English definitions of the terms "animate" and "inanimate" lead people to think of things being alive or not alive. Is this how our language is structured? I think not. In Odawa all so-called inanimate things could not be said to be dead. Does animate then mean having or possessing a soul? Is this a sufficient explanation? I think not. Is the animate-inanimate dichotomy helpful in describing the structure of my language? I think that it is limiting, if not wrong outright. For in Odawa anything at some time can be animate. The state of inanimateness is not the denial or negation of animateness as death is the negation of the state of aliveness. Nor can something have a soul and then not have a soul and then acquire a soul again. In Odawa the concept of animateness is limitless. It can be altered by the mood of the moment, the mood of the speaker, the context, the use, the circumstances, the very cosmos or our totality. English terms imprison our understanding of our own linguistic concepts.

These points on grammatical animacy are useful. Most concepts in grammar are relatively fluid, and in Nishnaabemwin the category labeled animacy seems to be particularly so. There is no doubt, though, that from a grammatical point of view, there are two categories of nouns in Nishnaabemwin, and that the distinction between these categories is absolutely fundamental to the workings of the language, whatever we choose to call them. All nouns are identified in the dictionary as to the grammatical feature that linguists commonly

refer to as animacy. Animate nouns are labeled *na* and inanimate nouns, *ni*. Dependent nouns show variable animacy as well. All terms of kinship relation are of course animate, since they refer to relations among living beings. Terms for body parts are most often inanimate, but there is a small class that is animate in at least some communities. For example, *ngidig*, 'my knee,' *nshkanzh*, 'my (finger)nail,' and *nzhaghay*, 'my skin,' are all animate for most Nishnaabemwin speakers. In the dictionary, dependent nouns are only distinguished from independent nouns on the basis of the former having a personal prefix, *n*, 'my' in their listings, as in ***n*gidig**, 'my knee.'

GENDER AND PROPER NAMES. Another aspect of gender to bear in mind is that while words such as *mookmaan*, 'knife' and *aankod*, 'cloud' are usually inanimate when referring to knives and clouds, they are animate when used as the names or designations of living beings such as people. For example, *Gchi-mookmaan*, which literally means something like 'big knife,' is the common designation for an American, and when used with this meaning and reference, it is animate. However, *gchi-mookmaan* can also be used to designate a large knife such as a cleaver, in which case it is inanimate. In many communities the word *miishgondaagan* means 'beard hair,' if inanimate, but 'person with a beard,' if animate. Another example is the name *Biidaankod*, 'Cloud Approaches,' which also occurs as a verb meaning 'clouds are approaching.' When used as a name of a person, though, this word is an animate noun.

Some Nishnaabemwin First Names	
Bebaamaash	'Blowing-Around'
Biidwewdam	'Come-Hither-Talking'
Boodookwe	'Tadpole-Woman'
Dkamse	'He-Walks-Across' (Tecumseh)
Naadgiizhgokwe	'Day-Fetching-Woman'
Naawkwegiizhgokwe	'Noonday-Woman'
Wezhgonid	'Fishtail'

Some names of places are inanimate nouns. For example, the Nishnaabe name for the community which in English is called Petoskey, Michigan, is *Biidaasge*. As a name, the word is an inanimate noun, though *biidaasge* is otherwise a verb (VAI) taking an animate subject (*giizis*, the sun, NA), and meaning 'shine in this direction, [the sun] breaks through.' Since the Nishnaabe names of people and places are often based on some salient attribute of the person or place, and since attributes are commonly expressed in Nishnaabemwin by verbs, names derived from verbs are very common. Another point to make is that because of potential problems of ambiguity, it is probably best to capitalize names in writing, as an aid to the reader, especially for readers who many not be completely fluent in the language.

Some Nishnaabemwin Names of Places	
Biiwaan'goonh-ziibi	'Flint River, Mich.' ('Flint River')
Bkejwanong	'Walpole Island, Ont.' ('At the Delta')
Bngoonaang	'Moraviantown, Ont.' ('Ash Town')
Mnidoowni-Mnising	'Manitoulin Island' ('Spirit- Island')
Mnishenh	'Walpole Island' ('The Island')
Waabgonoojiinaang	'Wallaceburg, Ont. ('Rat Town')

3.3.3 Pronouns

Another important class of words in any language is its PRONOUNS. There are many distinct kinds of pronouns in Nishnaabemwin. Pronouns are traditionally described as words which stand in place of nouns, but this is a less useful definition for languages such as Nishnaabemwin than it is for English. English, for example, uses PERSONAL PRONOUNS extensively, to indicate who and what is involved in verbal events and actions, such as in the following sentence. In Nishnaabemwin, no pronouns need be used.

I saw a moose when ***I*** was hunting. ***I*** shot (at) ***it***.

(12) Mooz ngii-waabmaa giiwseyaan. Mii dash gii-baashkzog. (RV)

> **Mooz** *na 3sProx* 'moose'; **ngii-waabmaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I saw ANsg'; **giiwseyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) when I was hunting.' **Mii** *av* 'so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-baashkzog** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I shot ANsg.'

Nishnaabemwin often expresses the equivalent concepts by means of prefixes and suffixes on nouns and verbs. There are pronouns corresponding to the English personal pronouns, but they are used differently, often for EMPHASIS or CONTRAST, or in contexts in which there is no verb in the sentence. I discuss many of these differences in Chapter 12. In this section, though, I simply introduce the different kinds of pronouns that occur in the language, though the reader should be aware that there is much dialect variation in the forms of many pronouns, and that I have undoubtedly missed some regional forms.

Rhodes 1985 does not use a special code for pronouns in the dictionary. Rather, because they often substitute for nouns, they are treated as independent nouns, and use the appropriate codes for their gender. So, for example, the personal pronoun *niin* (or *nii*), 'I, me,' is labeled NA, and the demonstrative pronoun *wi*, 'that (inan.)' is labeled NI.

3.3.3.1 Personal Pronouns

PERSONAL PRONOUNS identify people and things on the basis of their relationship to the discourse in which they are referred to, in other words, on the basis of their CONVERSATIONAL ROLE. For example, the pronoun *nii* (or *niin*), 'I' is used by anyone who takes the role of *speaker* in a discourse (grammatically, called FIRST PERSON); the pronoun *gii* (or *giin*), 'you (sg.)' is used to refer to anyone who is being *spoken to* in a discourse (grammatically, called SECOND PERSON); the pronoun *wii* (or *wiin*), 'she, he, it (anim.)' is used to refer to anyone who is referred to in the discourse but is not directly involved in it at the moment of speaking (grammatically, called THIRD PERSON). Each person category can be SINGULAR or PLURAL in NUMBER. The personal pronouns of Nishnaabemwin are listed in the following chart. The numbers in the left column are codes customarily used to identify the different categories of the personal pronouns when they are realized as prefixes and suffixes on verbs, that is, these codes represent a shorthand way of referring to the grammatical categories of person and number which each pronoun realizes.

Personal Pronouns				
Code	Short	Long	Meaning	Grammatical Categories
1s	nii	niin	'I'	First Person Singular
2s	gii	giin	'you'	Second Person Singular
3s	wii	wiin	'he, she, it (anim.)'	Third Person Singular
1p	niinwi	niinwin	'we (but not you)'	First Person Plural Exclusive
21	giinwi	giinwin	'we (including you)'	First Person Plural Inclusive
2p	giinwaa		'you'	Second Person Plural
3p		wiinwaa	'they'	Third Person Plural

INCLUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE. First person plural in Nishnaabemwin makes a distinction between INCLUSIVE and EXCLUSIVE. FIRST PERSON PLURAL INCLUSIVE includes the person or persons addressed, so carries a meaning something like English 'we, you and I (and perhaps others).' FIRST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE excludes the person or persons addressed, and conveys the meaning, 'we, that is, I and others, but not you.' The numeric abbreviation for first person plural inclusive, 21, explicitly recognizes that the second person is included, as opposed to 1p, used for the exclusive, in which no reference to second person is made. The presence or absence of second person is extremely important to many aspects of the workings of Nishnaabemwin, so these codes explicitly index whether or not second persons are involved. Grammatically, first person plural exclusive is strictly first person, and not grammatically third person, while first plural inclusive is grammatically both first person and second person.

Two distinct forms are given for most of the personal pronouns listed, in columns labeled short and long. These two sets of personal pronouns reflect dialect differences, with

some speakers using the shorter forms and some the longer. There is no grammatical difference between them. Other variants probably exist as well. The usage of personal pronouns is exemplified in detail in Chapter 12.

3.3.3.2 Personal Pronouns of Precedence

There is a set of personal pronouns used to express concepts such as 'x first,' or 'x's turn,' formed in conjunction with an adverbial-like base, *ntam*, 'first.' The following table lays out these forms as used on Manitoulin Island (provided by MC).

1s	niintam	'me first, my turn'
2s	giintam	'you (sg.) first, your turn'
3s	wiintam	'ANsg first, ANsg's turn'
1p	niintamwi(n)	'we (excl.) first, our (excl.) turn'
21	giintamwi(n)	'we (incl.) first, our (incl.) turn'
2p	giintamwaa	'you (pl.) first, your (pl.) turn'
3p	wiintamwaa	'ANpl first, ANpl's turn'

(13) ***Niintam*** nga-giigid. | '***I*** will speak ***first*** (e.g., at a conference)' (MC)
Niintam *pr pers 1s* 'I first'; **nga-giigid** *vai ind 1s* 'I will speak.'

3.3.3.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns specify concepts equivalent to English 'this (one)' and 'that (one),' that is, they specify persons and objects on the basis of their proximity to the place of speaking, or to the location of the speaker, or to some other point that the speaker chooses to make the point of reference. Demonstrative pronouns index the nominal categories of GENDER, NUMBER, and OBVIATION. I discuss the use of demonstratives in greater detail in Chapter 12, but for now, provide tables of their forms.

Proximal Demonstrative Pronouns, 'this, these'				
Code	Set 1	Set 2	Meaning	Grammatical Categories
3s	maaba	aw	'this (one)' (anim.)	proximate animate proximal sing.
3'	nanda, nonda	now	'this (one)' (anim.)	obviative animate proximal
3p	gonda	gow	'these' (anim.)	proximate animate proximal plural
0	maanda	ow	'this (one)' (inan.)'	inanimate proximal sing.
0p	nanda, nonda	now	'these' (inan.)	inanimate proximal plural

Distal Demonstrative Pronouns, 'that, those'				
Code	Set 1	Set 2	Meaning	Grammatical Categories
3(s)	wa	aw	'that (one)' (anim.)	proximate animate distal sing.
3'	niwi niwin	niw	'that (one)/those' (anim.)	obviative animate distal
3p	giwi, giwig	giw	'those' (anim.)	proximate animate distal plural
0s	wi	iw	'that (one)' (inan.)'	inanimate distal sing.
0p	niwi niwin	niw	'those' (inan.)	inanimate distal plural

These tables use standard numeric codes to identify the grammatical features of the various forms. The codes are identified as follows:

3(s)	animate third singular proximate
3'	animate third obviative
3p	animate third plural proximate
0(s)	inanimate third singular
0p	inanimate third plural

The terms PROXIMAL and DISTAL are used to label the two demonstrative categories representing the degree of proximity (closeness) to the reference point (often, the speaker's location), with the "nearer" set labeled proximal (not to be confused with the term PROXIMATE, which is contrasted with OBVIATIVE), and the farther set labeled distal. Note also that within each of these categories two sets of demonstrative pronouns are indicated in the tables, labeled Set 1 and Set 2. These two sets reflect dialect variation in Nishnaabemwin, with those labeled Set 1 strongly historically associated with Manitoulin Island Odawa, and those of Set 2, with other locales. For example, both Gregor McGregor, who was from Birch Island, on the north shore of Lake Huron, and Angeline Williams, who was from Sugar Island, near Sault Ste. Marie, used *a'aw* (or *aw*) and *i'iw* (or *iw*), but not *wa* or *wi*. The same is true of Nora Soney, from Walpole Island. The texts of Sam Osawamick and Francis Fox, both from Manitoulin Island, however, have only *wa* and *wi* forms. In some areas speakers vary in the usage of these sets, and some communities and speakers use mixed sets of demonstratives, reflecting the historical constituency of the communities as both Odawa and Chippewa. I will use both of these sets without comment, based on the forms provided by speakers.

Other demonstrative variants occur as well. For example, the following forms are used by a speaker from Massey.

Code	Pronoun	Meaning	Grammatical Categories
3s	maaba	'this (one)' (anim.)	proximate animate proximal sing.
3p	maamig gondag gow	'these' (anim.)	proximate animate proximal plural
0s	maanda	'this (one)' (inan.)'	inanimate proximal sing.
0p	maamin	'these' (inan.)	inanimate proximal plural

Code	Pronoun	Meaning	Grammatical Categories
3s	aw, wa	'that (one)' (anim.)	proximate animate proximal sing.
3p	—	'those' (anim.)	proximate animate proximal plural
0s	wedi	'that (one)' (inan.)'	inanimate proximal sing.
0p	—	'those' (inan.)	inanimate proximal plural

(14) Nmamaa gii-zhitoonan ***maamin*** jiimaanan. | 'My mother made ***these*** boats.' (MT)

> **Nmamaa** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **gii-zhitoonan** *vti ind 3sProx»0p* 'ANsg made INpl'; **maamin** *pr 0p* 'these'; **jiimaanan** *ni 0p* 'boats.'

REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS. Many speakers of Nishnaabemwin have another category of demonstrative pronouns, referring to a third degree of distance from the speaker, and roughly translating into English with expressions such as 'that over there,' and 'those over there.' Such pronouns are common among the languages of the world, and are often called REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVES. The following chart lays out some of these forms for Nishnaabemwin.

Remote Demonstrative Pronouns, 'over there'			
Code	Form	Meaning	Grammatical Categories
3s, 0s	widi, wedi	'that (one) over there'	remote singular
3'	niwi, niwedi ni-wediin (CL)	'that/those (anim.) over there'	remote animate obviative
3p	giwi, giwedi, wediig	'those (anim.) over there'	animate remote plural
0p	niwi, niwedi ni-wediin (CL)	'those (inan.) over there'	inanimate remote plural

3.3.3.4 Indefinite Pronouns

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS are used when the identity of what is being mentioned is either unknown or not important, or is of a general nature, and correspond to the English words 'someone, anyone,' and 'something, anything.' The inanimate indefinite pronoun is *gegoo* (or *gegoon* in some communities), and the animate is *waya* (or *gwaya*) or *wiya*. The animate pronoun can also be inflected for the nominal feature of OBVIATION by some speakers, producing, for example, *wayan* (or *wiyan*). Inflection for PLURALITY is evidently not common.

(15) Mii dash ***gegoo*** iw wii-gkendang aw gimaa mii maajiinaazhkawaad niw mzhinwen. Gnimaa ge mshkiki ndawendaagok ***waya*** aakzid.

'And if the chief wanted to know ***something*** he sent the messenger. Perhaps also medicine if it is wanted when ***someone*** is sick.' (AK9.5-6)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wii-gkendang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg wants to know IN'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'chief'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **maajiinaazhkawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg sends ANobv away'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **mzhinwen** *na 3obv* 'messenger(s)'; **Gnimaa ge** *av phr* 'or'; **mshkiki** *ni 0s*'medicine'; **ndawendaagok** *vii conj 0* 'IN is desired'; **waya** *pr indef 3* 'someone'; **aakzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is ill.'

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS IN COMBINATION WITH KINA AND GAA. The indefinite pronouns can be combined with the word *kina* (also *gkina*) to specify the notions of 'everybody' and 'everything.' With NEGATIVES, *waya* and *gegoo(n)* signal 'no one' and 'nothing,' respectively.

(16) ***Kina gegoo*** wgii-bi-giiwewdoonaawaa wiinwaa, ***gaawiin gegoo*** wgii-wnitoosiinaawaa, mii go eta go gaa-bchinwind maa wninjiing.

'They brought ***everything*** home, they didn't lose ***anything,*** it was only that he was accidentally injured there on his hand.' (AK10.15)

> **Kina** *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **wgii-bi-giiwewdoonaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl brought INsg home'; **wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'they'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **wgii-wnitoosiinaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s neg* 'ANpl did not lose INsg'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **gaa-bchinwind** *vta ic conj x»3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg was shot accidentally'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wninjiing** *ni 3sProx(0) loc* 'on ANSG's hand.'

(17) ***Gaawii wayan*** gii-waabmaasiin zhebaa mBill. | 'Bill didn't see ***anyone*** this morning.'

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not' **wayan** *pr indef 3obv* 'anyone'; **gii-waabmaasiin** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg did not see ANobv'; **zhebaa** *av* 'this morning'; **mBill** *na 3sProx* 'Bill.' (MC)

3.3.4 Dubitative Pronouns

DUBITATIVE PRONOUNS are used to express the concepts 'what(ever) might (that be)...' and 'who(ever) might (that be)...'. They are rather similar to the English expressions 'whatever' and 'whoever,' and like these English expressions, tend to occur in association with DUBITATIVE elements indicating uncertainty, and verbs associated with them are often INFLECTED with the DUBITATIVE MODE. The Nishnaabemwin dubitative pronouns are animate, *wegwen* (also *wegwenh, wegwendig)* and inanimate, *wegdagwen* (also *wegdogwen, wegwen, wegwenh, wegwendig*). For many speakers, *wegwen(h)* has become the general form of the dubitative pronoun, both animate and inanimate. Some examples of dubitative pronouns:

(18) Ngii-miinig dash aw maa nembaaswid carpenter shop gii-zhid, Wa-waabndan ***wegdagwen*** nendwendaagdogwen.

'The instructor in the carpenter shop gave it to me, saying, "Go see ***whatever*** might be wanted."' (AM8.28)

> **Ngii-miinig** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'ANsg gave Y to me'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **nembaaswid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) instructed'; **gii-zhid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANsg said to me'; **Wa-waabndan** *vti imp 2s* 'go (you SG) and see IN'; **wegdagwen** *pr dub 0* 'whatever'; **nendwendaagdogwen** *vii ic conj part dub 0* '(CCNJ) what (IN) might be wanted.'

(19) ***Wegwen*** dash aw ge-gshkitoogwen ji-zhngwaadzig mii aw gbeyhiing ge-bmaadzid, da-ntaa-ndawenjge da-nbwaakaa miinwaa gwyak da-zhi-yaa.

'And ***whoever*** may be able to keep it down he's the one who will live for a long time, he'll be a good hunter, he'll be clever and he'll behave right.' (AK5.6)

> **Wegwen** *pr dub 3* 'whoever'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ge-gshkitoogwen** *vti ic conj dub 3sProx»0* 'ANsg might be able to do IN'; **ji-zhngwaadzig** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg keeps down' (i.e., 'doesn't vomit'); **mii** *av* 'it's'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that one'; **gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **ge-bmaadzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg will live'; **da-ntaa-ndawenjge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be good at hunting'; **da-nbwaakaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be wise'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gwyak** *av* 'right'; **da-zhi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANSG will be thus.'

3.3.5 Pronouns of Kind

There is a set of pronouns, which I call PRONOUNS OF KIND, that are used to express the notions of similarity or kind, as in the following examples:

(20) A: Mshiimnag ngii-biinaag. B: Wegnesh ***dnawag***?

'A: I brought apples. B: What ***kind (pl.)***?' (MC)

> **Mshiimnag** *na 3pProx* 'apples'; **ngii-biinaag** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I brought ANpl.' **Wegnesh** *pr inter 3/0* 'what'; **dnawag** *pr sim 3pProx* 'kinds.'

The following table shows the common form of these pronouns.

Pronouns of Kind		
Code	Form	Meaning
3s	dnawa	'that kind' (animate)
3'	dnawan	'that kind' (anim, out of perspective)
3p	dnawag	'those kind(s)' (animate)
0s	dnawa	'that kind' (inanimate)
0p	dnawan	'those kind(s)' (inanimate)

Not all speakers inflect this pronoun for features of gender, number and obviation, and for some speakers, the inflectionally distinct forms are more common when used without an associated noun, as in example (20), above.

3.3.6 Pausal (Generic, Substitutive) Pronouns

There are pronouns in Nishnaabemwin that are used when the speaker is trying to remember a word or thought in conversation, and roughly translate with English meanings such as 'the…' or 'whatchamacallit.' I refer to these pronouns as PAUSAL PRONOUNS, though they are also sometimes called NOUN SUBSTITUTE words. The following table lists the more common forms, though there is much dialect variation.

Pausal Pronouns		
Set 1	Set 2	Meaning
nahii	yahii	inanimate singular
nahiin	yahiin	inanimate plural
nahaa	yahaa, yahaanh	animate plural
nahaag	yahaag, yahaanyag	animate plural

The two sets listed reflect differences of dialect. Undoubtedly other forms exist as well. An example of usage follows:

(21) "Aanh, ***nihii*** sa iw sapnigan." | "'Oh, ***uh*** they're scissors.'" (NS3.5)

> **Aanh** *av* 'well'; **nihii** *pr paus 0s* 'watchamacallit'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **sapnigan** *ni 0s* 'scissors.'

There is also a SUBSTITUTIVE LOCATIVE ADVERB, *nahiing* (or *nihiing*).

(22) ***Nihiing*** shkwaaj ngii-naabjikaaznaaba wi mdamoojgan Zoozep endaad jiigbiig.

'I last used the fishing rod ***uh/there*** at Joseph's place by the river.' (MO)

> **Nihiing** *av* 'uh where'; **shkwaaj** *av* 'last'; **ngii-naabjikaaznaaba** *vai ind pret 1s* 'I used Y'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mdamoojgan** *ni 0s* 'fishing pole' (cf., **gndamoojgan**); **Zoozep** *na 3sProx* 'Joseph'; **endaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) where ANsg lives'; **jiigbiig** *av* 'near the water.'

3.3.7 Interrogative Pronouns

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS are used when asking questions of *who* or *what*. The ANIMATE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN varies dialectally between *wenen*, *wene*, and *wenesh* (a fusion of *wenen* and the FOCUSING PARTICLE *dash*). The inanimate interrogative pronoun is *wegnen*, *wegnesh*, or *wanesh*. Some speakers use *wegnesh* with animates as well, and some use *wenesh* with inanimates. There is much variation.

(23) ***Wenesh*** gaa-daapnang nmookmaanens? | '***Who*** picked up my knife?' (AM39.646)

> **Wenesh** *pr inter 3/0* 'who'; **gaa-daapnang** *vti ic conj 3s»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg took IN'; **nmookmaanens** *ni 1s(0s)* 'my little knife.'

(24) ***Wegnesh*** wezhtooyan? | '***What*** are you making?' (AM39.573)

> **Wegnesh** *pr inter 3/0* 'what'; **wezhtooyan** *vti ic conj 2s»0* 'you (SG) are making.'

3.4 Verbs

VERBS specify actions, states, and events, in relation to beings and things in the world or the imagination. The table below provides a few examples of Nishnaabemwin verbs.

Some Sample Nishnaabemwin Verbs	
bgambiisaa	'the rain comes here' VII
Gchi-namhe-giizhgad	'it is Easter' VII
gichii	'ANsg takes footwear off' VAI
gminpwaa	'you like the taste of it (anim.)' VTA
gnwabiigzi	'be long' (of stringlike objects) VAI
gnwaakzi	'be long' (of wooden objects) VAI
gnwegad	'be long' (of cloth) VII
gokzigaade	'be stuck on' vii
naagne	'go such direction through the snow' VAI
ngodooshkne	'be a container full' VII
shkwaa-naagshi-wiisni	'eat dinner' VAI

Many concepts which are expressed by nominals in English find expression as verbs in Nishnaabemwin. The seasons of the year, the days of the week, the time of day, weather expressions, geographical features, and number expressions are all commonly expressed with verbs. Nishnaabemwin verbs are typically structurally complex as well, encoding many components of meaning in richly articulated word structures. These structures are examined in detail in Chapters 9 and 10. In the following sections, we will examine some of the more important grammatical categories relevant to understanding the classification of Nishnaabemwin verbs.

3.4.1 Transitivity and Animacy

Consider the following sentence.

(25) Wnaadmawaan nini gwiiwzensan. | 'The man helps the boy.' (RV)

> **Wnaadmawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg helps ANobv'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **gwiiwzensan** *na 3obv* 'boy/s.'

The verb *naadmaw* 'help AN' has two SEMANTIC ROLES associated with it, that of the helper, in this case filled by *nini*, 'man,' and that of the one helped, in this cased filled by *gwiiwzensan*, 'boy.' Even if we make the roles plural, there are still only two, as in *Wnaadmawaawaan ninwag gwiizensan*, 'The men are helping the boys.' In this case both roles are filled by more than one person, but there are still only two identifiable roles, that of helper(s) and that of helped. Compare this to a verb such as *niimi*, 'dance,' as in *Niimi gwiiwzens*, 'The boy is dancing.' Here there is only a single role, that of the dancer. Verbs that have two (or sometimes, more) specific roles associated with them, and in which the filler(s) of one role act(s) upon the filler(s) of the other role, are said to be TRANSITIVE, while verbs with only a single role are said to be INTRANSITIVE. In English, most verbs can function both transitively and intransitively, depending on how they are used in a given sentential context, but this is not usually the case in Nishnaabemwin. Consider, for example, the following sentences:

(26) Mshiimnan wdamwaan gwiiwzens. | 'The boy is eating an apple.' (RV)
apple.AN eat boy

(27) Wiiyaas wmiijin gwiiwzens. | 'The boy is eating meat.' (RV)
meat.IN eat boy

(28) Wiisni gwiiwzens. | 'The boy is eating.' (RV)
eat boy

The English sentences all appear to use the same verb, *eat*. In (26) and (27) the verb has two roles, one, the eater, *gwiiwzens*, 'boy,' and two, that which is eaten, either *mshiimnan*, 'apple' (anim.) (in (26)) or *wiiyaas*, 'meat' (inan.) (in (27)). In (28), however, there is only one role, that of an eater. Since the first two verbs have two roles associated with them, and transferred action, they are transitive; the last verb has only one role associated with it, and is thus intransitive. In English, the same verb is used in all three sentences, but in Nishnaabemwin there is a different verb in each case. The transitive verbs *maw* and *miijin* differ in that the role of what is eaten is filled in the case of *maw* by a grammatically animate noun, and in the case of *miijin*, by an inanimate noun. However, when there is only one role, that of eater, the verb is *wiisni*. We thus find three different verbs in Nishnaabemwin, clearly indicating transitivity and even whether what is eaten is animate or inanimate. In English, there is a single verb, *eat*, which may be used either transitively or intransitively.

Choosing an intransitive verb other than *wiisni*, we see that there are often two distinct intransitive verbs in Nishnaabemwin associated with a given concept as well, as in:

Mdido gwiiwzens. 'The boy ***is big***.' (RV)

Mchaa (or ***mchaamgad***) jiimaan. 'The boat ***is big***.' (RV)

Each of these verbs has only one role associated with it, whatever has the property of being big. In the first sentence that role is filled by *gwiiwzens*, 'boy,' which is animate. In the second sentence the role is filled by *jiimaan*, 'boat,' which is inanimate. In each case, we must use a different verb in Nishnaabemwin, sensitive to whether what is being described as big is grammatically animate or inanimate. Notice that, again, English uses the same word in both cases. This is a huge difference between the two languages.

In TRANSITIVE verbs, it is the role of the object (goal) of the action that determines which verb is used. Transitive verbs have two roles, one of which tends to be more active than the other, more clearly an initiator of the action of the verb in some way, and one of which is

usually more passive in the action, more clearly the receiver of the action. The more active role is identified in Algonquian grammatical tradition as the ACTOR, and the more passive role the GOAL of the action. It is the role of the recipient of the action (the goal or object) that is crucial in choosing the appropriate transitive verb in Nishnaabemwin: *maw* is used when the recipient of the verbal action is animate, and *miijin* when the recipient is inanimate.

Based on the number of roles that a verb has and the grammatical gender of these roles, four main classes of verbs in Nishnaabemwin can be established, outlined as follows:

	Animate	Inanimate
One Role	Animate Intransitive (VAI)	Inanimate Intransitive (VII)
Two Roles	Transitive Animate (VTA)	Transitive Inanimate (VTI)

Note the abbreviations used with each subclass of verbs, VAI, VII, VTA, and VTI. The first letter of the abbreviation, V, specifies the major part of speech of the word, that of a verb. The next letter, if the verb is intransitive, specifies whether the single role is animate (VAI) or inanimate (VII), and the last letter identifies the verb as intransitive. If the verb is transitive, the second letter specifies it as such, and the third letter specifies whether the recipient of the action is animate (making the verb a VTA) or inanimate (making the verb a VTI). In designing this coding system, Leonard Bloomfield created these abbreviations in part on the basis of the English ordering of subjects, verbs, and objects. The reason that the A and I are last in the transitive verb codes (VTA and VTI) is to underscore the fact that it is the object, the recipient of the action, that determines the subclass of the verb as VTA or VTI. In the case of intransitive verbs, though, there is only a subject, which, in English, precedes the verbs, as in *The apple is big*. So, schematically, we arrive at the relations outlined in the following table.

SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	
Animate A	Intransitive I		Animate Intransitive (VAI)
Inanimate I	Intransitive I		Inanimate Intransitive (VII)
	Transitive T	Animate A	Transitive Animate (VTA)
	Transitive T	Inanimate I	Transitive Inanimate (VTI)

It is also important to recognize that in Nishnaabemwin a verb's TRANSITIVITY does not have to do with whether there are nouns *explicitly mentioned* in the sentence. For example, the following sentences might be said in Nishnaabemwin.

(29) Gii-bkade gwiiwzens. | 'The boy was hungry.'
ANsg.was.hungry NA.boy

(30) Mshiimnan wgii-mwaan. | 'He ate an apple.'
NA.apple.OBV ANsg.ate.ANobv

The verb in (30), *wgii-mwaan*, is transitive, even though only one of the fillers of the two roles of the verb is explicitly mentioned with a separate noun in the sentence. While the role of the eater is not specified with a separate noun here, it is clear from the prefix and suffix inflections on the verb and from the conversational context who the eater is. Being transitive animate is a property of the verb itself, not the context in which it occurs, that is, is not a matter of whether the two roles of the verb are explicitly identified by nouns in the sentence or not. This is rather different from English, where one can say, *The boy ate*, in which case the verb is intransitive, or *The boy ate an apple*, in which case the verb is transitive. In English, whether a verb is transitive or intransitive is partly determined by what nominals occur with it in a sentence, but this is not so in Nishnaabemwin. In Nishnaabemwin, one need only inspect a verb to determine whether it is transitive or not, and even to determine if it is transitive animate or transitive inanimate. In Nishnaabemwin, transitivity is based on properties of the verb itself, including its derivational structure and the inflectional configuration that is used with it. Of course, the choice of what nouns can occur with a given verb are also based on the properties of the verb, for example, one cannot say, **Mshiimnan wgii-miijin gwiiwzens*, 'The boy ate (inanimate) the apple,' because the verb *miijin* is transitive inanimate (VTI), and requires that the recipient of the action be grammatically inanimate, but *mshiimin*, 'apple' is grammatically animate. The sentence is thus not grammatical.

The status of VTI verbs as transitive has been rather controversial, owing to the behaviour of their THEME SIGNS, which are invariant, and are selected for a particular verb rather in the way that FINALS are. An excellent critique of the issues can be found in O'Meara 1990. For additional discussion of transitivity see Chapter 5.2, Different Ways of Assessing Transitivity, beginning on page 214.

PAIRED TRANSITIVES AND PAIRED INTRANSITIVES. The effect of the interaction of transitivity and animacy creates four subclasses of verbs, as we have seen. And fundamentally, in Nishnaabemwin, for all concepts that can be applied equally well to animates and inanimates, there are two somewhat different verbs depending on whether the object being discussed is grammatically animate or inanimate. In other words, most of the time that a verbal concept is introduced as vocabulary for a language learner, both the animate and inanimate forms should be provided. The following chart illustrates animate and inanimate intransitive verbs:

Some Animate and Inanimate Intransitive Verbs		
Concept	Animate Intransitive Subject	Inanimate Intransitive Subject
'be big'	mdido	mchaa(mgad)
'be small'	gaachiinyi, gaashiinyi	gaachin
'be clean'	biin'zi	biinad

The concept 'be clean,' for example, is expressed in Nishnaabemwin by two somewhat different verbs, *biin'zi*, when cleanliness applies to an animate, and *biinad*, when it applies to an inanimate; the concept of 'being small' is expressed by two somewhat different verbs, depending on whether what is small is grammatically animate or inanimate. The only cases where there is not a pairing of animate and inanimate intransitive verbs are those in which a concept cannot be logically applied to a given gender-class, such as *ndaadzi*, 'be born in a certain place,' which usually only applies to animates, since only animate things can customarily be born, so there is only an ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (VAI) verb in this case. By contrast, there are no animate intransitive verbs corresponding to the INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (VII) VERBS *zhitgweyaa*, 'be a river running in a certain direction' and *nkwetgweyaa*, 'the rivers meet,' because such concepts usually simply do not apply to animates. Note, however, that there is a paired set of intransitives, *maajiigi*, 'grow (of animates)' and *maajiigin*, 'grow (of inanimates).' The reason for this, as the reader will recall, is that some plants are grammatically inanimate, and plants grow, indeed are alive, so there is a need for a verb of growing that applies to grammatically inanimate things. And, of course, not all grammatically animate words represent things that grow, as we have seen, so for, example, *maajiigi* would probably never be said of *kik*, 'kettle' or *shkode-daabaan*, 'train.' But we must remember too that languages are infinitely resourceful, and they are capable of expressing all sorts of things that don't exist in the "real" world. Resourceful speakers will always find a way to express whatever their imagination inspires them to present to the world, so we must be very careful in saying what a language can and cannot do. Languages can express almost anything we can imagine, and sometimes the rules are bent a little to accommodate the vision.

Just as many intransitive verbs come in pairs, so too do transitives. The following table provides a few examples.

Some Animate and Inanimate Transitive Verbs		
	Animate Object	Inanimate Object
'see x'	waabmaad	waabndang
'eat x'	mwaad	miijid
'cook x'	mnzwaad	mnozang
'shoot at x'	baashkzwaad	baashkzang

Once again, it should be clear that to know a verbal concept in Nishnaabemwin, for a large portion of transitive verb vocabulary, one must know both the transitive animate (VTA) and the transitive inanimate (VTI) forms. Usually, as can seen from the list above, the relationship between the paired verbs is very structured, but occasionally, it is not.

GLOSSING VERBS IN THE DICTIONARY. A great problem arises in artfully translating concepts involving animacy from Nishnaabemwin into English. This is because English has three distinct pronouns for its three genders, masculine ('he'), feminine ('she'), and neuter ('it'), and distinct subject and object forms for the masculine and feminine. But animate nouns in Nishnaabemwin can include: kettles, pipes, wolves, walleye and whippoorwills, which are referred to in English with the pronoun 'it'; female humans, which are referred to in English with the pronoun 'she'; and male humans, which are referred to in English with the pronoun 'he.' So if we wanted to give an accurate translation of the meaning of the animate intransitive verb *mdido*, we would have to provide something like 'he, she, or it (including animals, fish, birds, spirits, and other grammatically animate vocabulary in Nishnaabemwin) is big.' We might be able to shorten this to 'he, she, it (anim.) is big,' but that is still rather awkward. Anyone who makes a dictionary of Nishnaabemwin must deal with this problem, and different compilers have taken different approaches. If we examine Rhodes 1985, we find that the gloss for animate intransitive *mdido* cleverly avoids the issue altogether, and is simply given as 'be big, be large,' without any reference to a subject. The gloss for the inanimate intransitive verb *mchaa* is equally simple, 'be big.' The only way to know that *mdido* applies to animates and *mchaa* to inanimates is by the inspecting the part of speech designation, which is given as *vai* for animate intransitives and *vii* for inanimate intransitives. This means that students learning Nishnaabemwin cannot use the dictionary properly unless they understand the relationship of the grammatical code to the kinds of subjects (roles) that are associated with each of these kinds of verb.

Turning to transitive verbs, we find that the dictionary uses a somewhat different strategy. Looking up *waabmaad* and *waabndang*, we find the glosses 'see s.t. (an.)' for the former and just 'see s.t.' for the latter. The abbreviation *s.t.* does not stand as a short form of the word 'something,' though, as we might initially assume. Rather, it represents 'anything referred to by a word that is grammatically inanimate' and *s.t. (an.)* stands for 'anything referred to by a word that is grammatically animate.' Rhodes also uses the abbreviation *s.o.* in the glosses of words that usually have human recipients, such as *miinaad*, VTA, which is glossed 'give something to s.o.' Note, too, here, the use of the fully spelled out word, *something*, which refers to an object that is involved in the meaning of the verb, but is not inflectionally indexed on it, since it is almost always the case that only two roles are inflectionally marked on the verb, and in this case it is the giver and the receiver that are marked, and not the object given. Again, students must be aware of these conventions in order to make use of the information provided by the dictionary.

3.4.2 Animate Intransitive Verbs with Objects (VAIO Verbs)

In Chapters 9 and 10, I show that verbs generally have specific morphological structure that identifies them as belonging to a verbal subclass, either VAI, VII, VTI, or VTA. I have made the point that transitive verbs are those which have (at least) two semantic roles associated with them, and intransitives, those with one role. However, there are verbs which are animate intransitive in terms of their basic (derivational) word structure, but which sometimes occur with a second role associated with them. The linguist Edward Sapir once observed that "all grammars leak," and this is a place where Nishnaabemwin leaks, though the leakage occurs to some extent in all varieties of Anishinaabemowin. These verbs are different from VTA or VTI transitive verbs, in that their recipients (patients, goals, objects) can be either animate or inanimate, whereas with regular transitive verbs, the verb takes either an animate goal or an inanimate goal, but not both. They are different too from VTA verbs in that their goals can only be third person, whereas in VTA verbs, goals can also be first or second person, as in *nwaabmig*, 'ANsg sees me,' (with a first person goal), and *gwaabmig*, 'ANsg sees you' (with a second person goal). These structurally intransitive verbs that take optional third person objects are labelled VAIO (for verb animate intransitive + object) in the Rhodes dictionary. What is particularly striking about them is that, although they are structurally intransitive verbs, they take inflectional suffixes which code the grammatical properties objects (goals) associated with them, including gender, number, and obviation. I will have more to say about them in Chapter 5, but for now, provide a couple of examples.

(31) Kina dash niw ***wdadaawenaawaan.*** | 'All these things (inan.) ***they sell.***' (AM15.3)

> **Kina** *av* 'all'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **wdadaawenaawaan** *vaio ind 3p»0p* 'ANpl sell INpl.'

(32) Zhashkoonyan gye zhaangweshwan wnisaawaan ***daawewaad***.

'They kill muskrats and mink and ***sell them.***' (AM15.7)

> **Zhashkoonyan** *na 3obv* 'muskrat(s)'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **zhaangweshwan** *na 3obv* 'mink'; **wnisaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl kill ANobv'; **daawewaad** *vaio conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl sell (Y).'

3.4.3 Ditransitives

Some transitive verbs have more than two semantic roles associated with them. The most common notional classes of such verbs are those that involve the transfer of something from one person to another, as in *miinaad*, 'give something to s.o.,' and those which involve doing something (transitive) for the benefit of another, as in *zkahmawaad*, 'light something for s.o.' Traditionally such verbs are said to have a DIRECT OBJECT, the item transferred, and an INDIRECT OBJECT, the recipient of the transfer. Verbs having two objects of this sort are

commonly called DITRANSITIVES. All such verbs are transitive animate, and all have animate GOALS. These verbs are treated in more detail in Chapter 13. The following table lists a few ditransitives to illustrate.

dbahmawaad	pay for something for s.o.
mkamaad	take something away from s.o.
ndaknaad	cut into something in search of s.o.
niindaahaad	send something to s.o.
nsitamoohaad	explain something to s.o.
waabndahaad	show something to s.o.

3.4.4 Inverse-Only Transitive Animate Verbs (VTAI Verbs)

There is a small set of transitive animate verbs (VTA) that refer to bodily states induced by some foreign agent. The following list of some of these words, using the form of entry and gloss found in the Rhodes dictionary, will illustrate their nature.

Some Transitive Animate Inverse-Only Verbs	
aakshkadeshkaagod	'give s.o. a stomach ache' (of things ingested)
aakziishkaagod	'make s.o. sick' (of things ingested)
dewkweshkaagod	'give s.o. a headache'
gaasknaabaawgweshkaagod	'make s.o. thirsty'
giiwshkwebiishkaagod	'make s.o. drunk'
giiwshkweshkaagod	'make s.o. dizzy'
sosnaamshkaagod	'make s.o. cough'

These words have only third person actors, never first or second person. For example, one can say, *ngiiwshkweshkaagon*, 'it's making me dizzy' (CL.R161), but not **ggiiwshkweshkoon*, 'you are making me dizzy.' These verbs are always transitive animate (VTA), since they necessarily involve action upon objects that are persons or animals, which are always of animate gender in Nishnaabemwin. They are indicated in the Rhodes dictionary with the code VTAI, which stands for Verb Transitive Animate, Inverse (only). I discuss the meaning of the grammatical category INVERSE and related terms in Chapter 8.

3.4.5 Participles

There is another class of words in Nishnaabemwin that is something of a hybrid between nouns and verbs, traditionally called PARTICIPLES in Algonquian grammatical tradition, though they have similarities with English gerunds. A participle is a verb used as a nominal

expression, that is, one which is used similarly to the way a noun is customarily used, to identify people and objects. Although they are clearly verbs, participles have properties of both nouns and verbs, and have distinctive endings that reflect both their nominal and verbal properties. An example of a participle found in the dictionary is *weniijaanid*, which Rhodes glosses as 'mother.' This word is actually a participial form of a VERB OF POSSESSION, *wniijaani*, and literally means, 'one who has a child.' The plural form is *weniijaan'jig*, which shows a verbal element, *-j*, designating a third person animate, and a special plural ending, *-ig*, resembling the plural of animate nouns. While Rhodes does not explicitly identify participles in the dictionary with any special code, they are usually recognizable from their form. The dictionary sometimes includes the obviative form of participles, an inflection in Nishnaabemwin that is used to designate a noun, or a verb associated with a noun, as backgrounded or otherwise grammatically secondary to another noun. I discuss participles in more detail in chapter 12, along with associated concepts such as obviation, so will not pursue the subject here. Obviative forms are identified in the dictionary with the abbreviation *obv*. The obviative of *weniijaanid* is *weniijaannijin*, and is listed as such in the dictionary. Any verb can be made into a participle in Nishnaabemwin, for example, *nebaajig*, 'those who are sleeping,' can be made from the verb *nbaa*, 'ANsg sleeps.' To list every participle form in the dictionary would result in a bewildering number of terms, since there are potentially hundreds of participle forms for some verbs. Rhodes has chosen to list only those participles whose meanings have become conventionalized in some way, that is, where a given participle is widely accepted to have a specific meaning not necessarily determinable from its literal meaning. For example, the word *bemaabiigniged* is listed in the dictionary with the meaning 'baseball manager' (on Manitoulin Island). This word literally means 'one who holds the reins,' so shows a METAPHORICAL SHIFT from one who manages a team of horses to one who manages a team of baseball players.

Gidaagon bembizod, a word for 'snowmobile' on Manitoulin Island, illustrates another aspect of some dictionary entries containing participles, namely, that they can consist of a verb along with other, associated, words, creating a phrase. This word literally means 'that (animate) which drives along on top of the snow.' The meaning 'on top of the snow' is provided by the separate word, *gidaagon*.

3.5 Adverbs

Rhodes also identifies a class of words in Nishnaabemwin as ADVERBS, identified with the label AV. Traditionally, adverbs are defined as a class of words which modify verbs, adjectives, and clauses, typically expressing such notions as time, location, manner, degree, or circumstance. Such a classification can also be used with Nishnaabemwin, which has many words fitting each of these categories. For example, time (temporal) adverbs include *bjiinaago*, 'yesterday,' *waabang*, 'tomorrow,' *megwaa*, 'meanwhile,' and *noongwa*, 'now'. Place (LOCATIONAL) adverbs include *maa*, *maanpii*, *zhonda*, and *zhanda*, all meaning 'here,' as well as *shpiming*, 'above,' *aazhoogaam*, 'across the lake,' and *shaweyhiing*, 'alongside.' Adverbs of CIRCUMSTANCE include *njida*, 'on purpose,' and *nshike*, 'alone.'

MANNER terms include *aabdig*, 'absolutely,' *gaawaanh*, 'barely,' *geskana* (or *gshkonwaaj*), 'suddenly,' and *maamkaadkamig*, 'amazingly.' These few examples are only representative of large numbers of adverbs belonging to each of the classes outlined here.

There are important differences between Nishnaabemwin and English in the expression of concepts associated with English adverbs. Some of these ideas, as we can see from the examples above, are expressed in Nishnaabemwin by separate adverbial words, just as they are in English. In other cases, though, elements attached to the verb itself express the ideas that separate English adverbs do. For example, to express the idea of 'accidentally,' a PREVERBAL element *bichi-* can be attached to the front of the verb, as in *ngii-bchi-btaagshkawaa*, 'I accidentally bumped ANsg.' (CL, RH:413). In some words, though, the element meaning 'accidentally' is a basic (ROOT) component of the word, as in *bchichged*, 'do something accidentally, make a mistake,' and *bchinaajged*, 'shoot (at) something accidentally.' These words have the same element that is found in the preverbal element *bichi-*, but in their cases it functions as a root component of the word.

In the notes which follow, I will lay out some of the more common NOTIONAL CLASSES of adverbs, with a substantial listing of the members of each class, based on the rich corpus of materials in the Rhodes dictionary. In this chapter my focus is on presentation and classification, rather than function, that is, how these items are used. I discuss the functions of different adverb classes in Chapters 15, 16, and 18.

3.5.1 Temporal Adverbs

TEMPORAL ADVERBS specify the time or duration of an action, event, or state. Though such words occur with considerable frequency in Nishnaabemwin, they represent but one way of indicating time, with others documented in Chapter 16. The table below lists some of the more common temporal adverbs, in alphabetical order.

Some Temporal Adverbs

aabding	'once, one time'	gaagge	'all the time, forever'
aazhi, aazhgo	'already'	gbe-X	'the duration of…'
baamaa	'later'	gbe-bboon	'all winter'
biinish	'until, as far as'	gbe-dbik	'all night'
bjiinag	'a short time ago'	gbe-giizhig	'all day'
(b)jiinaago	'yesterday'	gbey(h)ii(ng)	'for a long time'
dbikong	'last night'	gegpii	'finally, eventually'
endso-X	'every…'	geyaabi	'still, yet'
endso-ggizheb	'every morning'	ggizheb	'in the morning'
endso-giizhigak	'every day'	gmaapii	'in a while, later on'
eshkwaaj	'the last time'	jina	'for a short time'

Temporal Adverbs (cont.)			
ko	'usually, habitually'	niizho-bboon	'for 2 years, 2 years ago'
maadaa	'before, in advance'	noongo	'today, now'
maapii	'later on'	noongo dbik	'tonight'
megwaa	'while, at this time'	noongo giizhgad	'today'
memdage	'usually'	nso-bboon	'for 3 years, 3 years ago'
mewnzha	'long ago'	nsogon	'for 3 days, 3 days ago'
miinwaa	'again'	ntam	'first, at first'
mshi	'yet'	pane	'always'
naagaj	'later on'	pii	'then, when'
naangim	'until'	piichin	'continually; intermittently
naan'godnong	'now and then'	shkwaayaaj	'the last time, at the end'
ngodbik	'for one night'	shkweyaang	'in the past'
ngoding	'once, at one time'	waabang	'tomorrow'
niigaan	'in the future'	wiiba	'soon, early'
niizhgon	'for 2 days, 2 days ago'	zhaazhi	'already, a while ago'

3.5.2 Locational Adverbs

LOCATIONAL ADVERBS specify the location of an action, event, or state. They too are extremely common in Nishnaabemwin, involving both simple and complex adverbs. The structure of these forms is discussed in Chapter 11, and their function in Chapter 15.

Locational Adverbs			
aabtawna	'around the middle'	gaaming	'across (body of) water'
aabtawyihii(ng)	'halfway, in the midde'	gaamkana	'on other side of road'
aazhoogaam(i)	'across (body of) water'	gamiing	'by/in the water'
besho	'near, close'	gaamyihiing	'across the way'
bgodkamig	'out in the wilds'	gidaagon	'on the snow'
biindig	'inside'	gidaajwan	'upstream'
biinish	'as far as'	gidaaki	'up the hill'
dbi	'wherever' (dubitative)	gidaatig	'at top of tree; on the log'
e-bngishmog	'in the west'	gidbag	'on the roof'
eshkweyhiing	'last in line, at the end'	gidbiig	'on top of the water'
gaamaajwan	'on other side of water'	gidgamig	'on the roof'

Locational Adverbs (cont.)			
gidkamig	'on the ground'	nakeyaa	'in that direction'
giiwednong	'in the north'	neyaab	'back'
giizhgong	'in heaven'	ngoji	'off some/anywhere'
giji-	'on'	niigaan	'ahead'
gijyahii(ng)	'on top of s.t.'	niisaajwan	'downstream'
gojiing	'outside'	niisaaki	'downhill'
jiigaatig	'near the wall or woods'	nike	'in certain direction'
jiibii(n)g	'at the waterfront'	noopming	'inland, in the bush'
jiiggamig	'near the house'	odi, widi, etc.	'there'
jiigsabak	'near the wall'	shawekna	'on the side of road'
jiigyahii(ng)	'close by'	shaweyhiing	'alongside s.t.'
maa	'here, there'	shkwaayhiing	'behind'
maampii	'here'	shkweyaang	'behind; in back of'
megwe	'amongst, in middle of'	shpiming	'above, on high'
megweyhiing	'in the middle'	shpimsagong	'upstairs, in the attic'
megyaak	'in the woods'	waabnong	'in the east'
naamaabik	'under the rock(s)'	waabshkokiing	'in the marsh'
naamaatig	'under a tree'	waasa	'far'
naamaazhbik	'under the rocks'	yekwaayhiing	'at the very end'
naamkamig	'undergound'	yeyiidwiyhiing	'at both ends'
naamsagong	'downstairs'	zaagjiyhiing	'outside'
naamyihii(ng)	'underneath'	zhaawngong	'to/in the south'
naanaawgaam	'in middle of lake'	zhawekna	'on side of the road'
naanaawyihiing	'right in the middle'	zhaweyhiing	'alongside s.t.'
naawij	'on the open water'	zhiwi	'there' (Od)
naawyihii(ng)	'in the middle of it'	zhonda	'here' (Od)

3.5.3 Manner Adverbs

MANNER ADVERBS specify the way or manner in which an action or event is undertaken. Nishnaabemwin has many such words, and I list the most common ones below. Some examples of their usage follow.

Manner Adverbs			
aabdig	'necessarily'	gyak	'straight, correct, right'
aanwi	'in spite of'	iizan	'pretending
bbenak	'better'	maamkaadkamig	'amazingly'
bebezhig	'one by one'	maamndaa	'can, be able to'
bekaa	'slow(ly)'	maamwi	'collectively, together'
bzaan	'quiet(ly)'	memeshkod	'by turns'
bzhishig	'just like'	memkaaj	'necessarily'
dbishkoo	'in the same way'	naasaab	'the same, in the same way'
debnaak	'carelessly'	nishaa	'in fun, in jest'
egaaj	'slowly'	nshike	'by oneself, alone'
eshkam	'gradually, increasingly'	wenpazh	'for nothing, free of charge'
gegaa	'almost'	weweni	'properly, well'
geskna	'suddenly'	wewiib	'hurriedly, quickly'
ggiibaaj	'foolishly'	wiinge	'with all one's might'
giimooj	'stealthily, secretly'		

(33) Maaba sa begdenmaad niw sa eni-nbon'jin, ***dbishkoo*** naa noongo sa mekdewkon'ye ezhchiged, mzinhigan wdagndaan nonda sa bgidenmaad gaa-nbon'jin.

'This person who performed the burial rites over those who died in the course of time, ***just as*** the priest does now, he read from a book when he performed the rites over one who had died.' (AM24.3)

Maaba *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **begdenmaad** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) performed a funeral for ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **eni-nbon'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) had died'; **dbishkoo** *av* 'like'; **noongo** *av* 'nowadays'; **mekdewkonye** *na 3sProx* 'priest'; **ezhchiged** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) as ANsg does so'; **mzinhigan** *ni 0s* 'book'; **wdagndaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg reads INsg'; **nonda** *pr 3obv* 'this/these'; **bgidenmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) when ANsg holds a funeral for ANobv'; **gaa-nbon'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) has died.'

(34) ***Egaaj*** dash gii-nhishin gye niw wmitgwaabiin gii-daapnaad.

'***Slowly*** he adjusted himself as he lay and picked up his bow.' (AM36.25)

Egaaj *av* 'slowly'; **dash** *av* 'and'; **gii-nhishin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg adjusted self while lying'; **gye** *av* 'also'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wmitgwaabiin** *na 3obv* 'ANsg's bow(s)'; **gii-daapnaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg took up ANobv.'

3.5.4 Conjunctive Adverbs

CONJUNCTIVE ADVERBS serve to connect PHRASES, CLAUSES, or SENTENCES. There is only a small number of such words, the most common of which I list below, followed by a couple of examples in context.

Conjunctive Adverbs			
dash	'so, and'	megwaa	'while'
endgwen(h)	'whether'	meshkod	'instead'
giishpin	'if'	miinwaa	'and, again'
gye, ge	'and, also'	naangim	'until'
maage	'or'	nmanj	'however'
maanoo	'anyway'	zhigo	'then, now'

(35) Ngii-nkwetwaa dash ji-zhaayaambaa ***giishpin*** bgidniwaad ngitziimag.

'I answered him that I would go ***if*** my parents permitted me to go.' (AM8.3)

Ngii-nkwetwaa *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I answered ANsg'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ji-zhaayaambaanh** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) I would go there'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bgidniwaad** *vta conj 3pProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANpl let me'; **ngitziimag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my parents.'

(36) Wgii-ggwejmigoon niw mshkikiiwninwan ***endgwen*** gaa-waabmaagwen niw shkinwen.

'The doctor asked her ***whether*** she had seen the young man.' (AM30.30)

Wgii-ggwejmigoon *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv asked ANsg'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **mshkikiiwninwan** *na 3obv* 'doctor(s)'; **endgwen** *av* 'whether'; **gaa-waabmaagwen** *vta ic conj dub 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg might have seen ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkinwen** *na 3obv* 'young man/men.'

3.5.5 Quantificational Adverbs

QUANTIFICATIONAL ADVERBS specify how many, in general terms, such as *bngii(shenh)*, 'a few,' and *gkina* (also *kina*), 'all.' Because they specify quantities, they are related to NUMBERS, and show similar grammatical behaviour.

Quantificational Adverbs	
aanind	'some'
bngii(shenh)	'a little, few'
dshing	'so many times'
eko-nsing	'the third time'
gkina, kina	'all'
niibwa, niibna	'many'
neniizh	'both'

(37) Gegoo giiwenh gii-gwaaksinni ***bngii*** kiins wshkanzhiing, aapji go naa ***bngii***.

'Just ***a little bit*** of earth, a very ***small amount***, was stuck to his claws.' (SO5.36)

> **Gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-gwaaksinni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv adhered'; **bngii** *av* 'a little'; **kiins** *ni 0s* 'bit of earth'; **wshkanzhiing** *nad 3sProx(3obv) loc* 'in ANsg's claw(s)'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **bngii** *av* 'a little.'

(38) ***Eko-nsing***-sh giiwenh begskijiignaamaad wi ziisbaakod, mii giiwenh gii-gwekbagzod, gii-zaagjibtood.

'After she had plastered him with the sugar ***for the third time***, he spun around and ran outside.' (SO1.26)

> **Eko-nsing-sh** *av* 'third time'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **begskijiignaamaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg had slapped ANobv hard'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ziisbaakod** *ni 0s* 'sugar'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-gwekbagzod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg turned around quickly'; **gii-zaagjibtood** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg ran out(side).'

3.5.6 Adverbs of Degree

There is a limited number of adverbs which specify DEGREE, or intensity. These adverbs overlap with QUANTIFICATIONAL ADVERBS discussed in the previous section.

Degree Adverbs	
aapji	'really'
bngii(shenh)	'a little, a few'
en'gok	'with all one's might'
eta	'only, just'
getin	'really, truly, hard'
ggwetaankamig	'extremely'
niibwa, niibna	'many, much, a lot'
nzaam	'too (much)'
washme	'more'

(39) ***Aapji*** go mno-zhi-yaa go. | 'He was ***really*** feeling much better.' (SO4.45)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **mno-zhi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is feeling good.'

(40) ***Zaam*** gzhide mii maa biinjiiyhiing. | 'It is ***too*** hot in here.' (AM21.12)

> **Zaam** *av* 'too'; **gzhide** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is hot'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **maa** *av* 'here'; **biinjiiyhiing** *av* 'inside of it.'

The adverb *eta* is somewhat unusual in its requirement that it follow some word it is associated with., often the particle *mii*. The word that *eta* follows is very commonly the first word in its clause, understandable since *eta* provides a delimiting FOCUS. In the following example *eta* intervenes between a demonstrative pronoun and an associated participle/relative clause.

(41) Giw ***eta*** e-ngamjig da-wiisniwag. | '***Only*** those who sing shall eat.' (AM39.655)

> **Giw** *pr dem 3pProx* 'those'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **e-ngamjig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* 'who (ANpl) dance'; **da-wiisniwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl will eat.'

3.5.7 Negative Adverbs

Negative adverbs are of two basic types, those that have some negative component in their meaning, and those that function fundamentally in contexts of syntactic negation. The second class typically requires that associated verbs be marked with negative inflectional suffix, as in example (42) below, while the first class does not generally have this restriction (as in example (43) below). The first class includes the words *aana*, 'in spite of, in vain,' and *eshkwaaj*, 'for nothing.' The second class includes the negative words *gaa* and its many combinations, as well as *gego* (or *gegwa*), which is used in NEGATIVE COMMANDS (PROHIBITIONS).

Negative Adverbs	
aana	'in vain, in spite of'
dbi iidig	'[I] don't know where'
eshkwaaj	'for nothing'
gaa gnage	'not at all'
gaa wii	'no, not'
gaa wiikaa	'never'
gego, gegwa	'don't'
nmanj iidig	'I don't know [how]'
nmanj iidig pii	'I don't know [when]'

(42) ***Gaa*** dash miinwaa ***wiikaa*** ngii-zhaasiimin odi.

'And we ***never*** went there again.' (AK1.10)

Gaa *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **ngii-zhaasiimin** *vai ind 1p neg* 'we (excl.) didn't go there'; **odi** *av* 'there.'

(43) Eshkwaaj maa ngii-bi-zhaa! | 'I came here for nothing!' (CL R124)

Eshkwaaj *av* 'for nothing'; **maa** *av* 'here'; **ngii-bi-zhaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I came hither.'

3.5.8 Interrogative Adverbs

INTERROGATIVE ADVERBS are used in questions. The adverb *na* is used in YES/NO (POLAR) QUESTIONS. The other adverbs are used in questions that request specific content (SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS). Interrogative adverbs are closely related to INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS (see §3.3.7 (page 129)).

Interrogative Adverbs	
aandi-sh	'where'
aanii-sh	'how, which, why, what'
aanii-sh pii	'when'
aanpii-sh	'where'
aapii	'where'
na	'yes/no question'
nmanj iidig	'I wonder [how]'

(44) Ggii-zhichge ***na*** dash iw gaa-zhi-gkinoohmoonaan?

'Did you do it the way I taught you?' (AM30.32)

Ggii-zhichge *vai ind 2s* 'did you (SG) do'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-zhi-gkinoohmoonaan** *vta ic conj 1s»2s* '(CCNJ) how I taught you (SG) to do.'

(45) ***Aanii-sh*** gaa-zhichgeyan? | '***What*** did you do?' (SO2.16)

Aanii-sh *av* 'how then'; **gaa-zhichgeyan** *vai ic conj 2s* 'you (SG) did so.'

3.5.9 Evidential Adverbs

EVIDENTIAL ADVERBS provide a means by which a speaker can index the nature and reliability of his or her report. They are often used in the context of telling stories or narratives, where the events reported may not represent the firsthand knowledge of the speaker.

Evidential Adverbs	
geget	'sure, really, of course'
giiwenh	'so they say, allegedly'
gnabaj	'probably'
gnimaa	'maybe'
iidig, iidog	'supposedly'

(46) Aapji ***giiwenh*** siniikaani gaa maamda ji-gtigewaapan mii-sh gii-bskaabiiwaad.

'It was ***reportedly*** very rocky and it was not possible for them to farm and so they returned.' (AK15.5)

Aapji *av* 'really'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **siniikaani** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv is rocky'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **maamda** *av* 'able'; **ji-gtigewaapan** *vai conj pret 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl could farm'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **gii-bskaabiiwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl came back.'

(47) Gaawiin wgii-gkenmaasiin pii ***iidog*** nebnid niw ookmisan.

'***Evidently,*** he didn't know when his grandmother died.' (AK13.26)

Gaawiin *av* 'not'; **wgii-gkenmaasiin** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv neg* 'ANsg did not know about ANobv'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **iidog** *av* 'it seems'; **nebnid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) when ANobv died'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ookmisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's grandmother.'

3.6 Numbers

NUMBERS show variable expression in Nishnaabemwin, in some cases occurring as separate words, in others as elements attached to the front of nouns or verbs, and in others, as ROOT COMPONENTS of words. Rhodes identifies numbers in the dictionary with the abbreviation, *nm*. A couple of examples of number expressions using a free word:

(48) Naan'godnong ***niizh*** nde-bjibwaag ji-bwaa-kina-gnjibhiwewaad.

'Sometimes I manage to spear ***two*** of them before they all get away.' (AM14.9)

> **Naan'godnong** *av* 'sometimes'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **nde-bjibwaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I am able to spear ANpl'; **ji-bwaa-kina-gnjibhiwewaad** *vai conj 3p* '(CONJ) before ANpl all escape.'

(49) Gmaapii dash wgii-noondwaan ***niizh*** kwewan bi-debtaagzinid bi-gaagiigdonid.

'At last he heard ***two*** women who came within hearing as they talked.' (AM38.15)

> **Gmaapii** *av* 'finally'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wgii-noondwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg heard ANobv'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **kwewan** *na 3obv* 'woman/women'; **bi-debtaagzinid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv came within earshot'; **bi-gaagiigdonid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv were conversing.'

Number elements can also occur as PREVERBS or PRENOUNS, just as many other adverbial elements do, as in the following example:

(50) ***Niizho***-dbahgaans dnizan. | 'Cook it for ***two*** hours.' (AM39.818)

> **Niizho-dbahgaans** *ni 0s* '(for) two hours'; **dnizan** *vti imp 2s»0* 'cook IN.'

VERBS OF NUMBER are also common in Nishnaabemwin, in which the number component functions as the ROOT element of a word, as in the following examples.

(51) ***Niizhnoon*** doopwinan. | '***There are two*** tables.' (AM39.221)

> **Niizhnoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl are two in number'; **doopwinan** *ni 0p* 'tables.'

(52) Miinwaa gii-ggwejmaa wegdagwen wenji-***niizhootwagegwen***.

'Again s/he was asked why ***s/he had two ears***.' (AM34.5)

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **gii-ggwejmaa** *vta ind x»3sProx* 'ANsg was asked'; **wegdagwen** *pr dub 0* 'whatever'; **wenji-niizhootwagegwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg might have two ears from.'

3.7 Particles

Rhodes also identifies a class of particles in Nishnaabemwin, closely related to numbers and adverbs. Of particles, Rhodes says, "all forms which do not readily fit in one of the other classes are treated as particles" (p xv). Particles are identified in the dictionary with the abbreviation PT. The distinction between particles and adverbs is not made in other dictionaries of varieties of Anishinaabemowin (e.g. Nichols and Nyholm 1995), and all such words are called particles.

INTERJECTIONAL AND EXHORTATIVE TERMS. Particles include the rich sets of interjectional and exhortative words of Nishnaabemwin. INTERJECTIONS are simple expressions of one or two adverbial words that serve to express emotional and evaluative attitudes. EXHORTATIVES serve to enjoin others to undertake some activity. Other kinds of meaning are conveyed by interjections as well, such as basic greetings. Interjections are unique in Nishnaabemwin in sometimes having the sound [h] (IPA [h]). The table below lists some of the interjectional vocabulary of Nishnaabemwin.

Some Interjectional Particles			
aa!	'come on!'	haaw!	'okay!'
aambe!	'let's (go)'	hanshge!	'go ahead!'
aasnaa!, naasnaa!	'look out! careful!'	hawn!	'fire!; go!'
ambe	'come on, let's…'	kawe!	'wait!'
boozhoo!	'hello!'	miigwech	'thank you'
daga	'come on'	otaayaa!, taayaa!	'oh my!; hey!'
enh, or enhenh	'yes'	was!	'scat!, shoo!'
gaa! kaa!	'no!'	was-widi!	'move away!'

(53) ***"Aa haaw!"*** aaniish mii sa giiwenh gii-wiindmaadwaad giwi ninwag, "Zhaadaa!"

'"***Okay***!," well, it seems those men told each other. "Let's go!"' (SO1.33)

> **Aahaaw** *av* 'okay'; **aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-wiindmaadwaad** *vta/vai recip conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl told each other'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ninwag** *na 3pProx* 'men.'

(54) ***Aa haa!*** Mii go eta bngwi eksing! | '***Wow***! There is only a pile of ashes!'

Aa haa *av* 'wow'; **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **bngwi** *ni 0s* 'ash'; **eksing** *vii ic conj 0* 'that (IN) is piled up.' (SO2.35-36)

EMPHATIC PARTICLES. EMPHATIC PARTICLES add various kinds of emphasis to statements or components of statements. They are extremely common in running conversation and narrative. For example, in Sam Osawamick's telling of six stories, comprising approximately 450 sentences, the emphatic particle *sa* occurs 150 times. Particles are often phonological CLITICS (see §2.7 (page 72)). Nishnaabemwin enclitics usually attach to the first word in a CLAUSE, which is often an adverbial word itself, such as *mii*, 'it's, so, and.' Often more than one particle occurs, bunched together after the first word of the clause. Pat Ningewance, a northern Ojibwe speaker, has pointed out how important the proper use of these particles is to speaking the language fluently, and describes the particles as being akin to salt, sprinkled through the language to give it spice and flavour.

The following is a list of some of the more common emphatics of Nishnaabemwin, with the insightful glosses listed in the Rhodes (1985) dictionary, followed by a few examples in sentential contexts. Emphasis is treated in Chapters 12 and 18.

Emphatic Particles	
go	emphatic heightening assertiveness
maa	emphatic expressing cooperation or a request for cooperation
naa	emphatic marking evaluative information
sa	emphatic of novelty
sha	emphatic of contradiction
wii	emphatic expressing unexpectedness

(55) Ngoding ***sa*** giiwenh gii-daawag nishnaabeg.

'Once, there evidently lived some people.'

Ngoding *av* 'once'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-daawag** *vai ind 3p* 'ANpl were living there'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians.' (beginning of story) (SO2.1)

(56) Ngoding ***sa*** giiwenh nishnaabeg ziisbaakdokewag, ngoji ***go naa*** noopming, waasa ***go naa*** noopming.

'Once, it is said, some people were making sugar, somewhere inland, far inland.'

Ngoding *av* 'once'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **ziisbaakdokewag** *vai ind 3p* 'ANpl are making sugar'; **ngoji** *av* 'somewhere'; **noopming** *av* 'in the bush'; **waasa** *av* 'far'; **noopming** *av* 'in the bush.' (SO1.1) (beginning of a story)

(57) Nenbozh ***go sha*** gii-bmi-yaa. | 'Why, Nenabush came by here.' (AM35.13)

Nenbozh *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush'; **gii-bmi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg came by.'

THE SEQUENCING PARTICLE/ADVERB *DASH*. The adverbial element *dash*, 'so, then,' is extremely common in Nishnaabemwin, one of the most common words in the language. It is especially prone to ENCLITICIZATION with a preceding word, and many conventional terms, such as *aanii-sh*, 'how,' *wegne-sh*, 'what,' and *mii-sh*, 'and then…' have it so commonly that it has arguably become an integral part of the word it is associated with. It is especially common for *dash* to attach to interrogative (question) words that begin a sentence. The particle *go* commonly attaches to adverbial words, such as *aazhi*, 'already.' Several examples of *dash* occur in example sentence (58), below. The element *dash* is rather like English 'so,' or 'then,' in running narrative, that is, it serves to pace and delimit sequential narration. It also occurs in contrastive constructions with the adverb *wii(n)*, similar to English expressions such as 'on the one hand… and on the other hand…'. The many functions of particles could fill a grammar of themselves, and I recognize that my treatment in this grammar is quite incomplete.

THE PREDICATIVE ELEMENT *Mii*. The adverb/particle *mii* is as common as it is important to the workings of Nishnaabemwin discourse, functioning both as a DISCOURSE SEQUENCING device and, in construction with RELATIVE CLAUSES and related constructions, as a FOCUSER. Rhodes (1985:231) glosses it with the meanings 'that is what…' and 'that's it (with nouns),' which represent its most common meanings. I examine the use of this this particle in Chapter 18, but here provide a couple of examples of its usage. In the first, *mii* serves as a discourse sequencer; in the second example, it provides very explicit focus.

(58) ***Mii*** dash gchi-gtaamgok ***mii-sh*** gii-gnabaasninig iw wjiimaanwaa ***mii*** dash gii-gbwanaabaagwewaad, ***mii*** dash gaa-wnji-wiiji-yaawaad maaba gwiiwzens niw ookmisan.

'***And*** there was a great storm ***and*** it capsized their boat ***and*** they drowned, ***and*** that's why this boy was staying with his grandmother.' (AK13.2)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gchi-gtaamgok** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) the weather is really terrible'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-gnabaasninig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) INobv capsized by wind'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wjiimaanwaa** *ni 3pProx(0s)* 'their boat'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-gbwanaabaagwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl drowned'; **mii** *av* 'that's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-wnji-wiiji-yaawaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) why ANsg was with ANobv'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ookmisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's grandmother.'

(59) ***Mii*** dash nonda gaa-zhwenmigjin. | 'And ***it's*** this one (obv) who took pity on him.'

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **nonda** *pr 3obv* 'this/these'; **gaa-zhwenmigjin** *vta ic conj part 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) took pity on ANsg.' (FF4.7)

3.8 Prenouns, Preverbs, and Pre-Adverbs

PRENOUNS and PREVERBS are elements that attach to the front of nouns and verbs, respectively. Much less common are PRE-ADVERBS. The PHONOLOGICAL behaviour of these elements is noteworthy, in their clearly being PREFIXES in some aspects of their behaviour, though each preverb, prenoun, or pre-adverb acts as a separate 'word' with respect to the VOWEL DELETION RULE of SYNCOPE, in that their final vowels are never deleted, that is, act as if they were the last vowel in a word.

3.8.1 Prenouns

PRENOUNS specify several kinds of relations, including location, number, colour, and various other qualities. They are not common, occurring most frequently in expressions of quantification, such as *ngo-bboon*, 'one year,' and *nso-naagaans* 'three cupfuls.' The lists below illustrate some of the more common notional classes of prenouns.

PRENOUN AND ROOT FORMS. Many of the classes of prenouns discussed below have corresponding ROOT forms, occurring as INITIAL (ROOT) components of basic noun (and verb) STEMS. For example, the prenoun *msko-*, 'red,' has a corresponding root form, /miskw/, which occurs in words such as *mskodiismin*, 'bean' NA, and *mskomin*, 'raspberry' NA. The morphological structure of nouns is treated in Chapter 11. See also 9.10.1, Attributive (Descriptive) Expressions, beginning on page 342, for details of the use of such descriptive roots with intransitive verbs.

Some Colour Prenouns		
mkade-	'black'	mkade-pakne 'cricket' (M, CL) mkade-mskomin 'blackberry' (CL, BC)
msko-	'red'	msko-jiis 'beet' msko-jiisens 'radish' (Od)
waabi-	'white'	waab-gaag 'white porcupine' (W)
zaaw-	'brown, yellow'	zaaw-mzinhigan 'brown paper' (W) zaaw-zhoon'yaa 'gold' (CL)
zhaawshko-	'blue, green'	zhaawshko-bneshiinh 'Eastern bluebird' (W) zhaawshko-magkiins 'small green frog' (M)

Some Quantificational Prenouns		
ngo-	'one'	ngo-namhe-giizhig, 'one week' (Od) ngo-bboon 'one year'
niizho-	'two'	miizho-dbahgaans 'two hours' (AM39.818)
nso-	'three'	nso-giizis 'three months
niiwo-	'four'	niiwo-bboon 'four years'
naano-	'five'	naano-naagaans 'five cupfuls' (W)

Some Locational Prenouns		
biinji-	'inside'	biinji-mkakong 'inside the box' biinji-gzhaabkizgan 'in the oven'
giji-	'on top of, over'	giji-doopwin 'over the table' (M) giji-doopwining 'on the table' (CL)
jiigi-	'near, close to'	jiigi-wiigwaaming 'close to the house' (CL) jiigi-doopwin 'near the table' (M)
naami-	'under'	naami-doopwin 'under the table' (M) naami-doopwining 'under the table' (CL)

Some Descriptive Prenouns		
gete-	'old'	gete-Nishnaabe 'an elder' (CL)
wshki-	new, young	ndooshki-mkiznan 'my new shoes' (CL)
myagi-	'strange, foreign'	myagi-nishnaabe 'stranger' (M) myagi-zhmaagan 'foreign soldier' (CL)
waawye-	'round'	waawye-bgaan 'round nut, walnut' (W)
baate-	'dried'	baate-miinan 'dried berries' (M)
bbashko-	'hairless'	bbashko-nini 'bald man' (CL) bbashko-jidmoo 'mangy squirrel' (CL)
gaadi-	'spotted'	gaadi-gnebig 'immature water snake' (W)
bgwaji-	'wild'	bgwaji-deymin 'wild strawberry' (CL)

THE PRENOUN GCHI-. Of all the prenouns, by far the most commonly used is *gchi-*, 'great, big.' It often forms lexically particular vocabulary, as in, *Gchi-mnising*, lit., 'Big Island,' referring specifically to Christian Island.

(60) Gaasmooni-jiimaan wgii-wzhitoon mzi gii-bbaamaashi Daawaa-mnising, Neyaashii-nagmiing miinwaa ***Gchi***-mnising.

'He made a sailboat and went all around to Manitoulin Island, to Cape Croker, and to Christian Island.' (AK5.10)

Gaasmooni-jiimaan *ni 0s* 'sailboat'; **wgii-wzhitoon** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg made INsg'; **mzi** *av* 'everywhere'; **gii-bbaamaashi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg sailed around'; **Daawaa-mnising** *ni 0 loc* 'to Manitoulin Island'; **Neyaashii-nagmiing** *ni 0 loc* 'to Cape Croker'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **Gchi-mnising** *ni 0 loc* 'to Christian Island.'

Other specialized terms include *gchi-gaawnzig*, 'common merganser,' *gchi-dendenh*, 'bullfrog', *gchi-aawdaas-daabaan*, 'truck' (Walpole), *gchi-miin*, 'highbush blueberry,' *gchi-mishiikenh* 'tortoise,' *Gchi-mookmaan*, 'American,' and *Gchi-bboon-giizis*, 'Big-winter Moon (December).' *Gchi-* also occurs with lexically specific meanings with verbs, such as, *Gchi-name-giizhgad*, 'be Easter,' and *gchi-piitendaagwad*, 'be great (a type of congratulations)' (CL). The element *gchi-* is actually more than a prenoun and a preverb, since it can also be attached to adverbs, as in *gchi-ggizheb*, 'very early (in the morning),' *gchi-zhaazhi*, 'very long ago,' and *gchi-gaamiing*, 'overseas.' In such usage it could be called a PRE-ADVERB.

3.8.2 Preverbs

PREVERBS are extremely common in Nishnaabemwin, and are used to signal many different kinds of meanings, including the time of the action (tense), desire, obligation, possibility, the beginning and ending of an action or event, and relations between verbs and other elements in the sentence that translate with such diverse expressions as 'there', 'from,' 'so,' 'so many,' 'to such an extent,' and 'in that place.' In this section I will introduce the major categories of preverbs in Nishnaabemwin. Based on a consideration of meaning and positional distribution, the classes of preverbs include those of TENSE and MOOD, DIRECTION (LOCATION), RELATION, ASPECT, MANNER, QUALITY, and QUANTITY.

PREVERB AND ROOT FORMS. Many of the classes of preverbs discussed below have corresponding root forms, occurring as initial (root) components of basic verb stems. For example, the directional preverb *bmi-*, 'along,' has a corresponding root form, /bim/. The following examples illustrate the contrast, with a preverb in example (61), and corresponding root in (62). The morphological structure of verbs is treated in Chapters 9 and 10.

(61) Mii-sh gii-zhi-bbaabtood maa nsawhigning mdaaching, gii-***bmi***-ngamo gii-***bmi***-dkonang iw biiwaabik gechi-giinaag.

'Then he ran around the tipi ten times, he was going ***along*** singing and carrying ***along*** a very sharp metal spear point.' (AK11.12)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **gii-zhi-bbaabtood** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg ran around there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **nsawhigning** *ni 0 loc* 'in conical lodge'; **mdaaching** *nm* 'ten times'; **gii-bmi-ngamo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went along singing'; **gii-bmi-dkonang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg went along holding IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **biiwaabik** *ni 0s* 'piece of metal'; **gechi-giinaag** *vai ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) is very sharp.'

(62) Nenbozh giiwenh ***gii-bmosegban*** ddibew.

'Once, the story goes, Nenabush was walking ***along*** the bank of a stream.'

Nenbozh *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-bmosegban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg was allegedly walking along'; **ddibew** *av* 'on the river bank.' (AM35.1)

INITIAL CHANGE. Before introducing the various subclasses of preverbs, it is necessary to describe a MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESS called INITIAL CHANGE, which occurs only with the CONJUNCT ORDER of inflection, and affects the first vowel in a verbal complex consisting of a verb and any associated preverbs. Initial change is used in a variety of grammatical contexts, such as the formation of PARTICIPLES and ITERATIVE forms, and in constructions having relative roots or relative preverbs, such as most content questions. Each of the seven vowels of Nishnaabemwin has a characteristic CHANGED FORM, as illustrated by the following table.

Initial Change	
Unchanged	Changed
i	e
a	e
o	(w)e
ii	aa
aa	yaa
e	ye
oo	waa

Initial change always results in a syllable with a long vowel. If we consider the process of short vowel syncope (weak vowel deletion), discussed in Chapter 2 (esp. p. 54ff.), we recognize that the first short vowel of a word is always deleted because it is in a metrically

weak position. The process of initial change, however, strengthens this vowel by making it long, so that it is not subject to deletion. For this reason, some processes of initial change may appear more irregular than they really are, especially to language learners. Consider the following preverbs, for example, in their contemporary and historical plain (unchanged) and changed forms.

Contemporary		Historical	
Plain	Changed	Plain	Changed
nji-	(w)enji-	onji-	wenji-
piichi-	epiichi-	apiichi-	epiichi-
zhi-	ezhi-	izhi-	ezhi-
bbaa-	bebaa-	babaa-	bebaa-
bmi-	bemi-	bimi-	bemi-

Upon inspection, it appears that the changed forms are made by prefixing /we/ or /e/ in the case of *nji-*, and /e/ in the cases of *piichi-* and *zhi-*. For *bbaa-* and *bmi-*, however, a vowel /e/ appears to be inserted after the initial consonant. But inspection of the historical forms, provided in the right two columns of the table, suggests that initial change may be applying to these preverbs before they undergo vowel syncope, making the first short vowel in the word long, and therefore not subject to deletion by syncope.

Words with /w/, either initially with /aa/, or which traditionally had /w/ due to the change of /o/ to /we/, sometimes lose their /w/ in the process of initial change. For example, the changed form of *waabi*, 'be able to see,' vai, is for some speakers, *yaabid*, 'one who sees,' and the changed form of *shki-*, 'first, new' (from /oshki-/) is often *eshki-*, though here it is possible to analyze this sequence as *e-shki-* (see discussion below), in which case the initial /o/ of /oshki-/ is lost by syncope.

Aside from problems related to vowel syncope, there are some ancient and widespread idiosyncrasies in the workings of initial change. For example, several preverbs and words that begin with /d/ have initial changed forms with a prefixed /en/, as in *dzhi-*, 'there, in that place' and *dso-*, 'so many,' which have changed forms *endzhi-* and *endso-*, respectively. The verb *daa*, 'live there,' has an initial changed form *endaad*, which has a somewhat specialized meaning, 'where s/he lives.' The changed form of the preverb *aano-*, 'try in vain to...' is *aano-*, for some speakers, in other words, the changed form is unchanged. The changed form of the preverb *da-* 'FUTURE TENSE' is *ge-*. Because so many verbs and preverbs have rather irregular initial change forms, Rhodes elected to list initial change forms in the dictionary, preceded by the code CC, for CHANGED CONJUNCT. For example, Rhodes lists the changed forms of *nbaa*, 'sleep,' as *e-nbaad* and *nebaad*.

PREVERB E-. In order to stabilize the form of preverbs and verb stems between their changed and unchanged forms, many contemporary speakers of Nishnaabemwin attach a preverbal element *e-* in place of initial change. This preverb itself probably derives from the

changed form of a preverb *a-*, which Rhodes glosses with the meaning 'where,' and notes that it normally only occurs with the conjunct order of verbal inflection. By attaching this preverb to the front of the word, any preverb that would normally otherwise contain the first vowel in the word no longer does so, and, as such, does not have to show any alternation in its form. This strategy is also used with initial change in verb roots, as well, especially those that historically had a short vowel in their first syllable. This phenomenon gives rise to some interesting alternations between forms that use preverb *e-* and those that change a short vowel in the initial syllable. For example, there are two forms of the expression meaning, 'the one who does (something),' *ezhchiged* and *e-zhichged*, depending on the strategy used to represent initial change. The following charts show how the application of vowel syncope gives rise to the variant forms.

ezhchiged, with changed root vowel

	F		F		F			
	S		W		S		S	
	e	zh	i	ch	i	g	e	d
Syncope	e	zh	__	ch	i	g	e	d

e-zhichged, with preverb e- attached

	F		F		F			
	S	W		S		W		S
	e-	i	zh	i	ch	i	g	e	d
Syncope	e-	__	zh	i	ch	__	g	e	d

Rhodes 1996:4 notes that *e-* tends to be used much less with participles than with other construction-types calling for initial change, e.g., *waasnid*, 'the one who ate,' is greatly preferred to *e-wiisnid*, with the former showing initial change of the first vowel of the verb stem, /wiisini/, 'eat' VAI.

VERBAL ORDER. Another concept that must be introduced at this point is that of VERBAL ORDER. In this usage an order designates a unified inflectional system for indicating subjects and objects on verbs by means of prefixes and suffixes. Nishnaabemwin has three such verbal orders, called the INDEPENDENT, CONJUNCT, and IMPERATIVE. The following table shows some inflectional forms for the animate intransitive (VAI) verb *jiibaakwe*, 'ANsg cooks,' using the three different orders:

	Verbal Order		
	Independent	Conjunct	Imperative
'I'	**n**jiibaakwe	jiibaakwe**yaanh**	(no form)
'you' (sg.)	**g**jiibaakwe	jiibaakwe**yin**	jiibaakwe**n**
'ANsg'	jiibaakwe	jiibaakwe**d**	(no form)

Each of these forms consists of the basic word (LEXEME) *jiibaakwe*, along with prefixes or suffixes which specify who is cooking. In the independent order column, we see that to say 'I am cooking,' an «n» is prefixed to the verb; to say 'you (sg.) are cooking,' a «g» is prefixed; to say 'ANsg is cooking,' nothing is apparently added. In the case of the conjunct order, though, the system for marking the subject is quite different, and suffixes are used to indicate person: *-yaanh* for 'I' (or *-yaan*), *-yin* (or *-yan*) for 'you,' and *-d* for 's/he.' In the imperative order, used to express commands and prohibitions, there is yet another way of marking person, this time by adding a suffix, *-n* for second person singular. Note that there are no first person or third person command forms because commands in Nishnaabemwin can only be issued to second persons (you can only give a direct command to someone that you're directly addressing).

There are thus three distinct systems of prefixes and suffixes for indicating subjects and objects in Nishnaabemwin. The imperative order, as already noted, is used in direct commands. The use of the independent and conjunct orders is more difficult to define. Traditionally, it has been said that the independent order is used to mark subjects and objects on the main (or independent) verb in a sentence, and the conjunct with subordinated, or dependent, verbs. The conjunct is also used when asking substantive questions, that is, those that ask for information such as who, what, when, where, how, or why. But there are some cases where usage of independent and conjunct overlap. I discuss the usage of verbal orders in more detail in Chapter 16.

Initial change only occurs with verbs inflected for the conjunct order, and then, only under certain circumstances. Conjunct order inflection without initial change is often called PLAIN CONJUNCT, and conjunct order with initial change, CHANGED CONJUNCT. Some preverbs and particles have the restriction that the verb associated with them is required to be in either the plain or the changed conjunct, or have meanings that vary depending on which they occur with. For example, the conjunctive adverb *giishpin*, 'if,' only occurs with the plain conjunct; the interrogative adverb *aanii pii*, 'where,' with the plain conjunct means 'where [at]?' and with the changed conjunct means 'where [to]?'

In the discussion of preverbs which follows, I will have occasion to make use of the concepts of verbal order and initial change. A few tense preverbs have different forms in the independent and conjunct orders, and a few preverbs, as already mentioned, have irregular initial changed forms.

3.8.2.1 Tense and Modal Preverbs

Although I address TENSE in more detail in chapter 16, I will illustrate some common tense preverbs here in order to clarify what they are. Tense preverbs specify the time of the action or state expressed by the verb. MODAL preverbs express desire, obligation, or possibility. The preverb *wii-* is used to express both futurity and desire, and varies considerably in its usage across dialects. The following chart lists the tense and modal preverbs of Nishnaabemwin, in their independent order, plain conjunct, and changed conjunct forms.

Tense and Modal Preverbs			
Ind.	Plain Conj.	Changed Conj.	Meaning
gii-	gii-	gaa-, e-gii	past tense
da-	ji-	ge-	future tense
ga-	ji-	ge-	future tense
wii-	wii-	waa-, e-wii-	future tense, want to…
daa-	da-, ji-	ge- + dub.	modal
gii-	gii-	—	modal

Note that the form of the plain and changed conjuncts is quite irregular for the modal and future preverbs. Here I provide only a couple of example of tense and modal preverbs. They are extremely common, and extensive discussion can be found in Chapter 16.

(63) Aapji gii-zegzi aw sa ngashi wnji iw gii-bzhineyaan ***da-***gii-daapneyaambaan.

'My mother was very much frightened because when I fell out of the canoe I ***might*** well have got drowned.' (AM6.11)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **gii-zegzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was frightened'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **wnji** *av* 'from'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-bzhineyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I had a close call'; **da-gii-daapneyaambaan** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) I might have drowned.'

(64) Gaa wii maaba g***daa-***mwaasii. | You ***shouldn't*** eat this. (SO3.10)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gdaa-mwaasii** *vta ind 2s→3sProx* 'you (SG) should not eat ANsg.'

3.8.2.2 Relative Preverbs

There are six RELATIVE PREVERBS that function to relate the verbal event to various associated circumstances, such as way in which it takes place, where it takes place, the reason it takes place, how long since it's taken place, how many times, and how often. These elements are discussed in greater detail in Chapters 15, 16, and 17, but are introduced here. Relative preverbs very often induce initial change when they occur with verbs inflected for the conjunct order. All relative elements also occur as root forms, or basic structural components, of verbs as well, in which case they are called RELATIVE ROOTS. Some relatives may also be used as free words, especially /onji/, 'from, source, about.'

Relative Preverbs		
Unchanged	Changed	Meaning
(a)ko-	e-ko-, eko-	'since; so far; for a long time'
(a)piichi-	e-piichi-, epiichi-	'to the extent that…, in the process of…'
(i)zhi-	ezhi-, e-zhi-	'like a certain thing; towards a certain place; in a certain direction; in a certain way'
(o)nji-	e-nji-, enji-, wenji-	'from a certain direction, for a certain reason'
d(a)zhi-	endzhi-, en'zhi-	'at a certain place; there'
d(a)so-	endso-, en'so-	'so many times, every time'

(65) Niizhwaak dso-bboon gaa-***ko***-zhiwebak maanda.

'It was two hundred years ***ago*** that this happened.' (PI1.3)

Niizhwaak *nm* 'two hundred'; **dso-bboon** *av/ni* 'so many years'; **gaa-ko-zhiwebak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) such extent IN happened'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this.'

(66) Wanesh waa-***nji***-zhaayan odi? | '***Why*** are you going to go there?' (PI1.18)

Wanesh *pr inter 0/3* 'what'; **waa-nji-zhaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* 'you (SG) will go there because of'; **odi** *av* 'there.'

(67) Mdaaswi-shi-naanan ***dso***-bboon'gizi. | 'He's fifteen years ***old***.' (PI1.24)

Mdaaswi-shi-naanan *nm* 'fifteen'; **dso-bboon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is so many years old.'

3.8.2.3 Directional Preverbs

The DIRECTIONAL PREVERBS specify the orientation of the action in time or space relative to the time and location of speaking, or some other reference point established by the narrator. The directional preverbs of Nishnaabemwin are listed in the following table. Most directionals also occur as ROOTS in basic VERB structure.

Directional Preverbs		
Unchanged	Changed	Meaning
bi-	bi-, ebi-, e-bi-	'come (and)…'
biiji-	baaji-, e-biiji-	'coming in this direction'
(a)ni-	eni-, e-ni-	'go away (and)…'
b(i)mi-	bemi-, e-bmi-	'going by, going along'
b(i)baa-, b(a)baa-, baa-	bebaa-, e-bbaa-	'going around'
(a)wa-, oo-, wi-	?	'go (over) and…'

(68) "Wanesh go naa yaapiichin ***bi***-wnji-zhaaswan?"

'"How about it, why don't you ***come*** over once in a while?"' (AK13.28)

Wanesh *pr inter 0/3* 'what'; **yaapiichin** *av* 'once in awhile'; **bi-wnji-zhaaswan** *vai conj 2s neg* '(CCNJ) why don't you (SG) come here.'

(69) Bekish gii-***bmi***-giigoonyke gii-ndawenjge ge gii-shamaad niw bekden'jin nishnaaben.

'Besides he fished as he went ***along*** and he went hunting, giving food to those Indians who were hungry.' (AK5.11)

Bekish *av* 'at the same time'; **gii-bmi-giigoonyke** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went along fishing'; **gii-ndawenjge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg hunted'; **ge** *av* 'and'; **gii-shamaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg fed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **bekden'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) were hungry'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s).'

(70) Mzi gii-***bbaa***-ayzhaa gii-***bbaa***-waabmaad nishnaaben.

'He went ***around all over*** seeing Indians.' (AK5.9)

Mzi *av* 'everywhere'; **gii-bbaa-ayzhaa** *vai redup ind 3s* 'ANsg went around going all about'; **gii-bbaa-waabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx 3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg went around seeing ANobv'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s).'

3.8.2.4 Aspectual Preverbs

Several preverbs make reference to the start or conclusion of an event, or its frequency, habituality, or the efforts or desire on the part of an agent/subject to bring the event about. I have grouped all of these under a general category of ASPECTUAL PREVERBS, mostly for convenience. As with the other classes of preverbs that we have examined in this chapter, these preverbs generally show two changed forms, one which alters a vowel inside the preverb itself, and another which attaches preverb *e-*.

Some Aspectual Preverbs		
Unchanged	Changed	Meaning
aazhoo-	e-aazhoo-, yaazhoo-	'next (of periods of time)'
booni-	e-booni-, bwaani-	'stop…'
de-	e-de-	'be able to…, manage to…'
g(a)gwe-, g(a)gweji-	e-ggwe-, gegwe- e-ggweji-, gegweji-	'try to…' 'try to…'
(a)kawe-	e-kawe-	'in the process of, first'
maajii-	e-maajii-, myaaji-	'begin'
(na)nda- (na)ndo-	e-nda-, nenda- e-ndo-, nendo-	'look to, seek to' 'look to, seek to'
noonde-	e-noonde-, nwaande-	'prematurely, before goal is goal is reached'
n(i)taa-	e-ntaa-, netaa-	'be able to, do often, be good at'
(i)shkwaa-	e-shkwaa-, eshkwaa-	'finish…, after…, quit…'
webi-	e-webi-, wyebi-	'begin'
(o)shki-	e-shki-, eshki-	'at the beginning, for the first time'

(71) Ngii-***booni***-zhooshkwaademin. | 'We ***stopped*** skating.' (W R82)

> **Ngii-booni-zhooshkwaademin** *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl) stopped skating.'

(72) Mii-sh ***maajii***-nda-waabmad wenzhishid e-gwyakwaakwzid mdaamin, pii dash go ge-ni-zhaayan naangim go odi yekwaayan.

'Then you ***start*** looking for the good kind of corn standing straight, and then you go on until you come to the end there.' (AK6.3)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **maajii-nda-waabmad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you (SG) go and look for ANsg'; **wenzhishid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg which is good'; **e-gwyakwaakwzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) which (ANsg) stands straight'; **mdaamin** *na 3sProx* 'corn'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ge-ni-zhaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) will go there'; **naangim** *av* 'until'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **yekwaayan** *vai ic? conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) are at the end.'

3.8.2.5 Negative Preverbs

Two preverbs carry a negative meaning, though verbs associated with one (*aano-*) does not carry negative inflectional marking, and with the other (*bwaa-*) only optionally does, nor does a negative particle occur in clauses containing them, as is typical of standard negation in the independent order, but not the conjunct. The negative preverb *aano-* signals a failed attempt at something, translating roughly into English as 'try in vain to…' The negative preverb *bwaa-* is used only with the conjunct order, and conveys meanings such as 'not,' 'lest' (i.e., 'for fear that…'), and 'so that not.' Negatives are discussed in detail in Chapter 16.

Negative Preverbs		
Unchanged	Changed	Meaning
aano-	e-aano-, yaano-	'try in vain to…'
bwaa-	e-bwaa-	'so that not…, lest' (conjunct only)

(73) Gesge naa wd***aano***-gnahmawaan wiijkiwenyan wii-***bwaa***-mwaanid niwi, gaa sa giiwenh go maamda.

Although he really tried to persuade his friend ***not*** to eat it, it was impossible.'

> **Gesge** *av* 'although'; **wdaano-gnahmawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg tries in vain to warn ANobv'; **wiijkiwenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's friend (ANobv)'; **wii-bwaa-mwaanid** *vta conj 3obv»3"obv* '(CONJ) ANobv will not eat ANobv"'; **niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'that/those'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **maamda** *av* 'able.' (SO3.14)

3.8.2.6 Preverbs of Manner and Degree

There is a large number of preverbs that express various qualifications of the manner in which a verbal action or event occurs or is undertaken, of the degree of intensity with which an action is carried out. Most such preverbs are not common, though *gchi-*, 'a lot, much,' is very frequent, and a few others such as *mdwe-* 'in the distance, out of sight but audible' are not uncommon.

Preverbs of Manner and Degree		
Unchanged	Changed	Meaning
aabji-	e-aabji-, yaabji-	'constantly, continually'
aapji-	e-aapji-, yaapji-	'entirely, completely, for the last time'
baakji-	e-baakji-, byaakji-	'prematurely; irreversibly'
b(i)chi-	e-bchi-, bechi-	'accidentally, by mistake'
b(i)zaani-	e-bzaani-, bezaani-	'quietly'
d(a)go-	e-dgo-, dego-	'among, together [with]'
g(i)chi-	e-gchi-, gechi-	'lot, much, greatly, really'
g(a)giibaaji-	e-ggiibaaji-, gegiibaaji-	'badly, foolishly'
g(a)gwetaani-	e-ggwetaani-, gegwetaani-	'extremely, terribly'
giimooji-	e-giimooji-, gaamooji-	'stealthily, secretly, on the sly'
g(i)nibi-	e-gnibi-, genbi-	'quickly, quick'
maamiiko-	e-maamiiko-, myaamiiko-	'remarkably, amazingly'
maamwi-	e-maamwi-, myaamwi-	'together, among them all, all together'
mmaandaa-	e-mmaandaa-, memaandaa-	'miraculously'
nboodewi-	e-nboodewi-, neboodewi-	'bashfully, embarrasedly'
niizaani-	e-niizaani-, naazaani-	'dangerous; dangerously'
n(i)paaj-	e-npaaj-, nepaaj-	'wrongly, incorrectly'
wiiji-	e-wiiji-, waaji-	'in company with, with'
wiinge-	e-wiinge-, waange-	'carefully'

(74) ***Wiinge***-ggwejmaawaad go iidig. | 'They questioned her very ***carefully***.' (SO2.17)

> **Wiinge-ggwejmaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl questioned ANobv carefully'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems.'

The preverb *gchi-*, as with its prenoun counterpart, is common, and adds a measure of intensity, as in the following examples, where it occurs with a variety of verbs.

(75) Mii dash ekdod, "Jibwaa niizhgon'gak wii-bi-***gchi***-nimkiikaa."

'This was what he said: "Before two days have passed there is going to be a ***big*** thunderstorm."' (AM10.16)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ekdod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg said'; **Jibwaa-niizhgon'gak** *av* '(CONJ) before IN be two days'; **wii-bi-gchi-nimkiikaa** *vii ind 0s* 'there will be a great thunderstorm.'

(76) Pii go menookmigin ***gchi***-mooshkhan iw ziibiiwenh endaayaan.

'In springtime the creek near my house runs ***very*** deep.' (AM14.1)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **menookmigin** *vii ic conj 0 iter* '(CCNJ) whenever it is spring'; **gchi-mooshkhan** *vii ind 0* 'there (INsg) is a great flood'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ziibiiwenh** *ni 0s* 'stream'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

(77) Mii dash maaba shkinwe gaa-zhi-***gchi***-zaaghaad niw shkiniigkwen

'Then this young man accordingly ***very much*** loved that young woman.' (AM28.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **shkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man'; **gaa-zhi-gchi-zaaghaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg thus greatly loved ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkiniigkwen** *na 3obv* 'young woman/women.'

3.8.2.7 Evaluative Preverbs

There is also a small set of evaluative preverbs, corresponding to English adjectives, which evaluate the verbal action, event, or state according to whether it is viewed as good or bad. The most commonly used preverbs of this sort are *m(i)no-*, 'good,' *m(a)ji-*, 'bad, evil,' and *maanaaji-*, 'wrong, harmful, evil, bad.'

Unchanged	Changed	Meaning
maanaaji-	e-maanaaji-, myaanaaji-	'bad, ill, harmful, wrong'
mji-, maji-	e-mji-, meji-	'evil, bad'
mno-, mino-	e-mno-, meno-	'good, well, nice'

Some examples of the usage of these preverbs follow.

(78) Mii-sh gaa-zhi-giigdood aw, "Gego doodwish'kegon iw, gaawiin niin gwii-***mji***-doodoosnoonim."

'And then he spoke thus, "Don't do that to me, I'm not going to do ***evil*** to you people."' (AK14.14)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gaa-zhi-giigdood** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg spoke thus'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that one'; **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **doodwish'kegon** *vta imp 2p neg* 'don't (you pl) do Y to me'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **gwii-mji-doodoosnoonim** *vta ind 1s»2p neg* 'I do not want to do harm to you (pl).'

(79) Mii maanda niigaan da-ni-giizhgak ge-***mno***-aabjitooyan.

'In days to come you will have ***good*** use of this.' (AM31.13)

Mii *av* 'and'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **niigaan** *av* 'ahead'; **da-ni-giizhgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) the days will be'; **ge-mno-aabjitooyan** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you (SG) will use IN well.'

3.8.2.8 Quantitative (Numeric) Preverbs

Numeric elements sometimes appear attached to verbs, just as they do nouns, especially in verbs having to do with units of time, such as statements of hours and years.

Some Numeric Preverbs		
Unchanged	Changed	Meaning
aabta-	e-aabta-, yaabta-	'half'
ngo-	e-ngo-, nengo-	'one'
niizho-	e-niizho-, naazho-	'two'
nso-	e-nso-, neso-	'three'
niiwoo-, niiyoo-	e-niiwoo-, naawoo-	'four'
naano-	e-naano-, nyaano-	'five'
ngodwaaso-	e-ngodwaaso-, nengodwaaso-	'six'

(80) Mii-sh endso-aabta-bboon mii gii-miinndwaa iw zhoon'yaa, endso-***ngo-bboon'gak*** gii-miinaawag iw bagoowyaan, …

'Then every ***half-year*** they were given that money and every ***single*** year they were given that cloth, …' (AK10.8a)

Mii-sh *av* 'and so'; **endso-aabta-bboon** *ni/av* 'every half year'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-miinndwaa** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money'; **endso-ngo-bboon'gak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) every year's span'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given Y'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bagoowyaan** *ni 0s* 'cloth.'

3.8.2.9 Subordinating Preverbs

There are a few preverbs that are used as SUBORDINATORS, though all of these arguably have other functions as well, particularly that of signalling tense relations. A subordinator is a preverb that serves to subordinate one verb to another verb or a predicative particle, such as *mii*. Such preverbs only occur with the conjunct order.

Some Subordinating Preverbs	
a-	'where'
e-	'that, who' (changed form of a-)
gaa-	'when, where, who' (changed form of gii-)
gaa-	'that'
ji-	'to…, would, will'

The preverb *e-* is evidently the changed form of *a-* (see discussion on page 156 regarding its use as vehicle of initial change). The preverb *gaa-* is most often the initial changed form of past tense preverb, *gii-*. The preverb *ji-* is a future tense preverb, but represents the plain (unchanged) conjunct of *ga-/da-*. It also appears related to *daa-*, the modal preverb.

(81) Ngoding kiwenziinh ngii-noondwaaba ***a***-dbaajmod shkniigkwen gii-ndodmaagod iw wiikwebjigan.

'Once I heard an old man tell of how a young woman asked him for love medicine.' (AM28.1)

Ngoding *av* 'once'; **kiwenziinh** *na 3sProx* 'old man'; **ngii-noondwaaba** *vta ind pret 1s»3sProx* 'I heard ANsg'; **a-dbaajmod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) as ANsg related'; **shk-niigkwen** *na 3obv* 'young woman/women'; **gii-ndodmaagod** *vta conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANobv asked ANsg for Y'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wiikwebjigan** *ni 0s* 'love medicine.'

(82) Gichi-geskana miinwaa mno-giizhgadnig ***gaa***-bmibiisaag.

'Immediately when the storm passed it was a nice day again.' (FF3.4)

Gichi-geskana *av* 'immediately'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **mno-giizhgadnig** *vii conj 0obv* 'INobv is a nice day'; **gaa-bmibiisaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCONJ) when rain goes by.'

There are some cases where *gaa-* appears to be used as a tenseless SUBORDINATOR, meaning that it is a subordinating preverb that doesn't carry a sense of past tense, in which case it obviously cannot be associated with the past tense preverb *gii-*. The following example illustrates.

(83) Aanii-sh ***gaa***-zhichgeyaan, aanii-sh ezhi-ndawendman ***ji***-zhichgeyaan?

'What am I to do, what do you want me to do?' (AK11.17)

Aanii-sh *av* 'how then'; **gaa-zhichgeyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) which I do'; **aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **ezhi-ndawendman** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you (SG) thus want IN'; **ji-zhich-geyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) I will do.'

3.8.2.10 The Relative Order of Preverbs

We have seen a rich variety of preverbs that occur with verbs, including those of tense, mode, relation, direction, aspect, negation, manner, degree, evaluation, enumeration, and subordination. Given such an array, an obvious question arises as to what ordering relations exist among classes of preverbs. Since the classes of preverbs outlined here have quite different functions, it should not surprise us that members of different classes can co-occur, as we find in the following examples:

(84) Kina dash gegoo zhi-wzhiitaawag gonda Fair Company ***ge-zhi-mno-***yaawaad waa-bi-zhaajig.

'The Fair Company are doing everything possible for the convenience of those who come.' (AM16.5)

> **Kina** *av* 'every'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **zhi-wzhiitaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are thus preparing'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **ge-zhi-mno-yaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl will be contented'; **waa-bi-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) will come here.'

(85) Mii dash ekdod, "Jibwaa niizhgon'gak ***wii-bi-gchi-***nimkiikaa.

This was what he said: "Before two days have passed there will be a big thunderstorm." (AM10.16)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ekdod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg said'; **Jibwaa** *av* 'before'; **niizhgon'gak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) be two days'; **wii-bi-gchi-nimkiikaa** *vii ind 0s* 'there will be a great thunderstorm.'

Examination of a large number of texts shows that strings of three or more preverbs are not common. Most commonly, a tense preverb occurs with either a directional or relational preverb. The order of preverb classes is outlined in the following table.

Preverb Order					
Subordinator	Tense Mode	Directional	Relational	Aspectual	Manner Quality Number
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

The first four categories are different from the last two in that there are limited, well defined sets of elements in them, while the classes of aspect, manner and quality are more open, admitting new members relatively easily. There is also an overlap of meaning among

adjacent slots of the first four classes, in that members of categories to the right often take on meanings that are related to the category to the immediate left. For example, tense categories sometimes have a subordinating function as well as their primary role of signalling tense. We have seen too how some of the directional preverbs have taken on secondary tense meanings, and two of the relational preverbs, *zhi-* and *wnji-*, at least, signal directional notions as well as their purely relational ideas.

3.8.2.11 The Relative Frequency of Preverbs

To determine the relative frequency of the classes of preverbs in narrative discourse, I tabulated their occurrence in the eighteen narratives told by Alice King of Parry Island, and present the results in the table below. These tabulations show that over 75 percent of the preverbs occurring in these texts are tense/modal prefixes. The next largest group is that of directionals, constituting approximately 11 percent of the occurrences of preverbs in Mrs. King's stories, followed by relative preverbs with 6 percent. Interestingly, these frequency counts also generally reflect the linear ordering sequence of preverbs within the verb, in that the further to the left a class of preverbs is relative to the verb stem, the more frequently its members occur in narrative.

Preverb Frequencies in Stories of Alice King of Parry Island			
Count	Preverb	Class	Meaning
450	gii-	tense	past tense
73	ji-	tense/modal	future tense; modal
50	ga-/da-	tense	future tense
37	wii-	tense	future tense, 'want'
29	bi-	directional	'hither'
24	zhi-	relative	'thus'
21	ni-	directional	'in time, away'
18	wi-	directional	'go and…'
17	bbaa-	directional	'around'
14	gchi-	degree	'very, greatly'
10	wnji-	relative	'source'
9	bmi-	directional	'going along'
9	dzhi-	relative	'there'
6	daa-	modal	modal
6	dso-	relative	'so many'
5	anda-	aspectual	'seek to'
4	shkwaa-	aspectual	'after'

3	a-	subordinative	'when, which, where'
3	jibwaa-	aspectual	'before'

There were two tokens of *da-*, 'modal,' *de-*, 'sufficient,' *gii-*, 'modal,' *kawe-*, 'first,' *mdwe-*, 'audibly, out of sight,' *mji-*, 'evil, bad,' *niizho-*, 'two,' *ntaa-*, 'be good at, habitually,' *piichi-*, 'in process,' and *shki-*, 'new.' Several preverbs occurred only once, as well.

3.8.3 Pre-Adverbs

Adverbs can also have a limited number of pre-elements attached to them, usually specifying evaluation or degree. Common are *mno-*, 'good, well, sufficient,' and *gchi-*, 'very,' though others occasionally occur as well. Some examples of such usage are provided here.

(86) Mii dash ***mno-mnik*** gaa-bgoghigewaad gii-zaagdoodebtood aw Nenbozh.

'And then, when they had chopped ***a big enough*** opening, that Nenabush came running out on all fours.' (AM37.24)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **mno-mnik** *av* 'a good amount'; **gaa-bgoghigewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) when ANpl chopped a hole'; **gii-zaagdoodebtood** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg ran out crawling'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Nenbozh** *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush.'

(87) ***Gchi-gzheb*** nga-maajaa ji-wi-daaweyaan giw mskomnag miinwaa ji-yaamoonaan niw mkiznan."

'***Very early*** I'll go to sell the raspberries and buy you the shoes.' (AK3.12)

Gchi-gzheb *av* 'very early in morning'; **nga-maajaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I will leave'; **ji-wi-daaweyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will go and sell Y'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **mskomnag** *na 3pProx* 'raspberries'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **ji-yaamoonaan** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) I will get for you (sg)'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **mkiznan** *ni 0p* 'shoes.'

The RELATIVE ELEMENT *dso-*, 'so many times,' occurs with adverbs (these can be analyzed as quasi-nouns as well) specifying units of time:

(88) Niizhwaak ***dso-bboon*** gaa-ko-zhiwebak maanda.

'It was two hundred years ***ago*** that this happened.' (AK18.8)

Niizhwaak *nm* 'two hundred'; **dso-bboon** *av/ni* 'so many years'; **gaa-ko-zhiwebak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) such extent IN happened'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this.'

3.8.3.1 Pre-Adverbs and Initial Change

The (initial) changed forms of the relative preverbs *ko-* and *dso-* are sometimes used with adverbs and numbers, as in the following examples. Verbs associated with these forms are not required to show initial change.

(89) ***Endso-ggizheb*** dash zhaa maaba kiwenziinh wa-ggwejmaad wdooshknaweman aanii gaa-naabndamnid.

'***Every morning*** this old man went to ask his young man what he had seen in his vision.' (AM22.5)

Endso-ggizheb *av* 'every morning'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **zhaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg goes there'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **kiwenziinh** *na 3sProx* 'old man'; **wa-ggwejmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg goes and asks ANobv'; **wdooshknaweman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's young man/men'; **aanii** *av* 'how'; **gaa-naabndamnid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv thus has a vision.'

(90) ***...eko-niizhing*** maa bi-zhaad... | '***...the second time*** that he came there...'

...eko-niizhing *av/nm* 'the second time'; **maa** *av* 'here'; **bi-izhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) 'ANsg comes here.' (PI1.66)

4

Noun Inflection

4.1 Introduction

The grammatical categories relevant to the inflection of nouns are GENDER, NUMBER and OBVIATION. All nouns are third person, except perhaps VOCATIVES (discussed below). Nouns may be of animate or inanimate gender, and may be singular or plural in number. Animate nouns can be marked as OBVIATIVE; otherwise they are PROXIMATE. Inanimate nouns are not inflected for obviation, but verbs associated with them can optionally show obviative inflection.

In addition, nouns can be inflected with a LOCATIVE suffix, which is primarily used when the noun expresses a location, but also marks the objects of RELATIVE ROOTS and RELATIVE PREVERBS. Nouns can also be inflected to indicate the person, number, and optionally, obviation of POSSESSORS. Many possessed nouns have a distinct suffix that is said to derive a POSSESSED THEME, to which possessive inflections are then added.

Almost all nouns have DIMINUTIVE forms as well, formed by suffixation to a non-diminutive stem. In addition, there are nominal endings which indicate CONTEMPTIVE and PEJORATIVE attitudes on the part of the speaker.

Some nouns have distinct VOCATIVE forms, used in direct address. The plural vocative form uses a suffix found with verb inflected for the DUBITATIVE mode of the independent order. Nouns may also carry a PRETERIT suffix, related to the PRETERIT VERBAL MODE, which is optionally used when referring to the deceased, particularly kin relations, and with reference to social roles and possessions that are no longer in effect. A PRETERIT DUBITATIVE suffix also occurred on nouns traditionally, optionally used when making reference to persons and things in the past which are known only by inference or report.

Given that a noun can be marked to show so many different kinds of information, such as gender, number, obviation, location, possession, and so on, questions arise as to the nature and variation of the expression of these categories, and as to what system there is in their collective expression. My goal is to provide a reasonably simple conceptual system, in order to aid language teachers and learners. So the questions are fundamentally these— what

kinds of grammatical information are associated with nouns, how is such information coded on the noun, what variation occurs in the coding, and what structures and rules can be determined to underlie the coding system? For example, we can observe that the plural of *sab*, 'net,' is *sabiig*; the plural of *waagosh*, 'fox,' is *waagshag*, and the plural of *kik*, 'kettle,' is *kikoog*. Simple inspection shows that in each case, the plural appears to have a suffix ending in /g/, but that the vowel associated with this suffix varies between /ii/ (in *sabiig*), /a/ (in *waagshag*), and /oo/ (in *kikoog*). Given that the plural suffix has these different forms, how do we know which suffix form a given noun will have? For example, why is the plural of *kik*, *kikoog*, and not **kikiig*? When we examine the respective diminutive forms of these nouns, we find them to be *sabiins*, *waagshens*, and *kikoons*. Again, just as with the plural, the diminutive appears to be formed by adding a suffix to the basic noun, but there is variation in the form of this suffix. We notice, however, that *sab* has /ii/ in both its plural and its diminutive forms, and *kik* has /oo/ in the same forms. This suggests that the relationship between the form of these inflectional suffixes is subject to some sort of principle, and is *not* random. With careful study of the language, we may be able to aid the student with rules of the following sort: if the plural suffix is /-iig/, then the diminutive suffix will be /-iins/; if the plural suffix is /-oog/, then the diminutive will be /-oons/. The student is thus freed from having to memorize two distinct facts about every single word showing this kind of variation. By providing principles of this sort, we lessen the task of the learner. As with every aspect of language, though, we will almost always find a few exceptions to any rule that we might try to devise.

4.2 Noun Inflection Stem Classes[1]

Nishnaabemwin nouns can be marked to show the following kinds of information.

- Number (Plural)
- Obviation (Obviative)
- Diminutive
- Contemptive
- Pejorative
- Possessor
- Obviative Possessor
- Locative
- Vocative
- Preterit
- Preterit Dubitative

1. My analysis is heavily indebted to Nichols 1980.

The first rule of noun inflection is that there is often no way to tell simply by inspecting the simple proximate singular form of a noun, what its plural, obviative, diminutive, and other forms will be. For example, there is no way that one can know simply from the singulars of *jiimaan*, 'boat,' and *waawan*, 'egg,' that their plurals are *jiimaanan* and *waawanoon*, respectively; and there is no way to know from the singulars of *nini*, 'man' and *mooz*, 'moose,' that their plurals are *ninwag* and *moozoog*, respectively. However, the overall amount of variation in the noun plural suffix is rather restricted, with only a limited number of suffix forms occurring, most prominently «ag», «yag», «wag», «iig», «og», «oog» and «g» for animate nouns, and «an», «yan», «wan», «iin», «oon» and «n» for inanimate nouns. Examination of large numbers of nouns shows that most can be grouped into seven major classes on the basis of their behaviour with respect to the different inflectional categories introduced above. In the following table, I give both a technical and non-technical designation for each of these classes. The technical designation is based on MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL patterns, that is, relatively ABSTRACT STEM SHAPES of the nouns, and the non-technical designation, on a representative member of the class.

Noun Stem Classes			
nm.	Technical Designation	Non-Technical	Examples
I	Consonant-Final Stems	Waagosh Class	NA waagosh 'fox' NI jiimaan 'boat'
II	Long Vowel-Final Stems	Mnidoo Class	NA mnidoo 'spirit' NI zenbaa 'ribbon' (M)
III	Post-Vocalic W-Stems	Nini Class	NA nini 'man' NI ziibi 'river'
IVa	Post-Consonantal W-Stems Long Vowel Plural	Kik Class	NA kik 'kettle' NI mkak 'box'
IVb	Post Consonantal W-Stems Short Vowel Plural	Zhgaag Class	NA zhgaag 'skunk' (no inanimates)
V	Post-Consonantal Y-Stems	Sab Class	NA sab 'net' NI bwi 'paddle'
VI	Augment Stems	Nzid Class	NA nzhaghay 'my skin' NI nzid 'my foot'
VII	Participles	Bemaadzid Class	NA bemaadzid 'person' NI ezaawaabgoniig 'mustard plant'

My goal in presenting this table is to provide a means of specifying the inflectional behaviour of as many nouns as possible, by categorizing each as belonging to a particular class, and by laying out the behaviour of each class of nouns for all inflectional categories. For example, we could say of the noun *mkizin*, 'shoe,' that it belongs to Class I, or alternatively, that it is inflected in the same way that *jiimaan*, 'boat,' is, for plurality, locative, possession, and so on. By so doing, we provide the student with a simple means of quickly and easily assessing a given noun's behaviour for all inflectional categories. It is important to always remember, though, that there is much local variation, and that a given word may behave somewhat differently for different speakers. I have outlined some of these differences below, but cannot possibly hope to account for all of them.

CLASS I NOUNS (Like *waagosh*). Class I consists of nouns having singular forms ending in a consonant other than /g/ or /k/, outside of a very small number of exceptions, and a plural suffix consisting of /-ag/ for animates and /-an/ for inanimates. Almost all nouns with stems ending in /n/ belong to this class, which thus includes the majority of inanimate nouns. All DIMINUTIVE and PEJORATIVE nouns belong to this class as well, regardless of the class membership of their simple stems. This class is the largest and most morphologically transparent class, in the sense that the inflected forms straightforwardly resemble the singulars plus an additional, readily segmentable, "basic" suffix. It is also the class whose forms show the least amount of dialect variation. Some representative members of this class are *waagosh*, 'fox,' *pwaagan*, '(tobacco) pipe,' *dehmin*, 'strawberry,' *wiigwaam*, 'house,' and *mookmaan*, 'knife.'

CLASS II NOUNS (LIKE *mnidoo*). Class II consists of nouns having singulars ending in a long vowel, and plurals in /g/ (animate) and /n/ (inanimate). Examples of this class include *mnidoo*, 'spirit,' *ginii*, 'rose,' *Nishnaabe*, 'Indian,' and *zhoon'yaa*, 'money.' Note that there are very few inanimate nouns that end in long vowels, and of those that do, such as, *ginii*, 'rose,' and *zenbaa*, 'ribbon,' most show dialect variation in the presence of a CONTEMPTIVE/DIMINUTIVE suffix, that is, are *giniinh* and *zenbaanh* for many speakers, in which case they behave as contemptives, discussed in the following section.

CONTEMPTIVE NOUNS. Between Classes I and II are nouns that end in the suffix /V_1V_1nh/, associated with the CONTEMPTIVE (discussed below), whether the contemptive form of the noun is LEXICALIZED, that is, represents the semantically "neutral" form of the word, or is SECONDARY, in which case it represents a form of the stem that is distinguishable from a naturally occurring "neutral" stem in having a contemptive suffix that the neutral stem lacks, and in having contemptive semantic force. For example, in the cases of *kiwenziinh*, 'old man,' and *giigoonh*, 'fish,' the 'contemptive' form is the basic lexical form, and there are no words **giigoo* and **kiwenzii* that they are in contrast with; however, in the case of *daabaanenh*, 'car (contemptive),' the contemptive is SECONDARY, because there is a neutral, primary word *daabaan*, 'car,' that lacks the contemptive ending and contrasts with the form having the contemptive suffix. Many primary and secondary contemptive forms behave like stems ending in long vowels (Class II) with respect to their formation of DIMINUTIVES and LOCATIVES, but like Class I (simple consonant-final) stems with respect to the formation of other categories, such as PEJORATIVES, POSSESSIVES, and PRETERITS. There is variation in the plural suffix of both lexical and secondary contemptives, with some adding /-ag/ (animate) or /-an/ (inanimate), just as Class I nouns do, e.g., *kiwenziinyag*, 'old men,' and *giigoonyag*, 'fish (pl.).' Others add /ig/ and /in/, especially non-lexical contemptives, as in *daabaanenyig*, 'cars.'

CLASS III NOUNS (LIKE *nini*). Class III consists of nouns having singulars ending in a vowel such as /i/, /a/ or, rarely, /e/, and plurals in /wag/ for animates and /wan/ for inanimates. Most nouns in this class are animate nouns having singulars ending in /i/. Some representative members are *nini*, 'man,' *bzhiki*, 'cow,' *waawaashkeshi*, 'deer,' *zhaangweshi*, 'mink,' and *kwe*, 'woman.' Note that in some dialects some animate nouns that historically ended in /i/ have lost it in the singular, e.g., these dialects have *waawaashkesh*, 'deer,' and *zhaangwesh*, 'mink,' where more conservative dialects have *waawaashkeshi*, and *zhaangweshi*. Regardless of whether or not the final /i/ is present in the singular, these words are almost always inflected as Class III nouns in all dialects.

CLASS IV NOUNS (LIKE *kik* AND *zhgaag*). Class IV consists of two subclasses of nouns, one, labeled Class IVa, which has plural suffixes containing an /o/ or the sequence /wa/, and another, Class IVb, in which the plural suffix contains /oo/. Members of both subclasses most commonly have singulars ending in /k/ or /g/, and much less commonly, other final consonants, such as /d/, /n/, /z/, or /m/ for Class IVa nouns, as in *waagaakod*, 'axe,' *ziisbaakod*, 'sugar,' *waawan*, 'egg,' *waabooz*, 'rabbit,' and *niinim*, 'my sibling-in-law of the opposite sex.' Note too that a few nouns ending in /k/ belong to other classes, e.g., *giizhik*, 'cedar,' belongs to Class I. Most nouns in class IVa are either animate nouns, or inanimate nouns ending in or containing the elements /-aak/ or /-aatig/, both of which mean 'wooden (or woodlike) object.' Nouns in Class IVa are exclusively animate, consisting mostly of the names of creatures, e.g., *ngig*, 'otter,' *jiig*, 'fisher,' *mik*, 'beaver,' *gaag*, 'porcupine,' *zhgaag*, 'skunk,' *dikmeg*, 'whitefish,' *aandeg*, 'crow, raven,' *maang*, 'loon,' *signaak*, 'blackbird' (W, CL), and *bbig*, 'flea' (W). Examples of Class IVb include *gnebig*, 'snake,' *mtig*, 'tree, stick,' *zhibiihganaatig*, 'pencil, pen' and *waagaakdaatig*, 'axe handle.'

CLASS V NOUNS (LIKE *sab*). Class V consists of nouns having singulars ending in /i/, or consonants other than /w/, /k/, or /g/, and plurals ending in /-iig/ for animates and /-iin/ for inanimates. This is a relatively small class, consisting of many nouns with singulars ending in /b/, /j/ or /zh/, as well as most inanimate nouns ending in /i/. Members include *ki*, 'earth, land,' *bwi*, 'paddle,' *sabaab*, 'string, rope, cord,' *sab*, 'net,' *mtigmizh*, 'pin oak' (and all other tree and bush names ending in *-mizh*), *zhngob*, 'evergreen,' *niib*, 'elm,' *pin*, 'potato,' *zhgaagwanzh*, 'onion' (and all other plant and bush names ending in *-wanzh/-winzh*), *nninj*, 'my hand,' *nshkanzh*, 'my (finger)nail,' *nit*, 'fish spear,' and *sin*, 'stone, rock.'

CLASS VI NOUNS (LIKE *nzid*). Class VI consists of nouns that take a special augment /-aa/, most commonly when inflected as LOCATIVES, e.g., *nzidaang*, 'on my foot,' as opposed to *nzid*, 'my foot.' The augment also shows up in derivational contexts, such as in the verb of being *diyaawi*, 'be an ass' (VAI), with initial /diy-aa-/, 'rump,' and in the verb of possession *zidaa*, 'have a foot' (VAI), with initial /zid-aa-/, 'foot.' Inanimate nouns of this class usually have plurals in /-an/, and the few animates, in /-ag/. BODY PART TERMS constitute most of the members of the class, but a few INDEPENDENT nouns show this pattern as well. Some inflections for Class VI are identical to those of Class I, such as the plural. Members of Class VI include *mshkimod*, 'handbag,' *ndeshkan*, 'my horn,' *nmisad* (also *nmasad*), 'my stomach,' and *nnoogan*, 'my hip.' A lengthy list of body part terms is provided on page 106.

CLASS VII NOUNS (LIKE *bemaadzid*). Class VII consists of PARTICIPLES, that is, verbs used as nouns, such as *ekandood*, 'baseball fielder' (M) or *ekwaabdang*, 'baseball fielder' (W), which are both animate, and *e-zhaangseg*, 'jello' (W) and *endzhi-mzinaatesjigeng*, 'movie theater,' (M), which are both inanimate. Because they are primarily verbal in nature, participles lack many NOMINAL categories, such as POSSESSIVES, DIMINUTIVES, and CONTEMPTIVES, though they can be inflected for GENDER, NUMBER, and OBVIATION, as well as for other strictly verbal categories lacking on other kinds of nominals, such as TENSE and DIRECTION. The inflection of participles is treated in more detail in the appropriate sections on verbs. Note that all participles do not share the same inflectional properties, since a given participle will be inflected according to the pattern of its verbal subclass, whether VAI, VII, VTA or VTI, so we could technically set up a Class VII sub-type for each sub-class of verb. There is also variation in the extent to which forms derived from participles have become more nominal and less verbal.

4.3 Gender (Animate and Inanimate)

Most nouns in their isolated singular forms are not marked in any obvious way for their GENDER, and there is no way to determine strictly from the form (pronunciation or spelling) of a noun whether it is animate or inanimate. This is most clear with words such as *mtig*, which as an animate noun means 'tree' and as an inanimate, 'stick,' and *ndeshkan*, which when animate means 'my horn,' and when inanimate, 'my ice chisel.'[1] What system there is to Nishnaabemwin gender has more to do with meaning than form. With appropriate precautions, we can say that living things tend to be animate, and non-living, inanimate.

There is, however, a small set of nouns where vestiges of gender-indexed marking appear, reflecting historical relics of Proto-Algonquian word structure found in all dialects of Anishinaabemowin. In contemporary pronunciation these words all contain a single short vowel, which is their final segment, either /a/ (sometimes COALESCING with a preceding /w/ to form /o/), or /i/, as in the following examples:

Class	Item	Gloss	Final Vowel
na	nka	'Canada goose'	/a/
na	mkwa, mko	'bear'	/a/ (or /o/ from /w/+/a/)
ni	ki	'earth, ground'	/i/
ni	bwi	'paddle'	/i/
ni	mskwi	'blood'	/i/
ni	mshi	'piece of firewood' (M)	/i/

1. Participles, of course, are marked for their gender on the basis of the class of verb they represent and the inflections that occur on them.

These examples represent most of the few words in contemporary Nishnaabemwin that more or less straightforwardly retain some vestigial reference to Proto-Algonquian gender indexing, in which */a/ was associated with animate nouns and */i/ with inanimates. Of course, it is not true that all nouns that end in /i/ in modern Nishnaabemwin are inanimate, as can be seen from words such as *nini*, 'man,' *waawaashkeshi*, 'deer,' and *waawaatesi*, 'firefly.' And almost no modern nouns end in short /a/, other than the couple listed here, and the words *miikna*, 'road' (or *miikan*) and *oodena*, 'town' (or *oodenaw*), both of which are inanimate.

A few of the words in this set of nouns retaining the Proto-Algonquian gender indexing are somewhat irregular in their inflectional behaviour, and show variation among speakers. For example, *nka*, 'Canada goose,' has alternate plurals, either *nkoog* or *nkag*, and a LOCATIVE form, *nkang*; *mko* has a locative form *mkoong* for some speakers, with an unaccountable long vowel. There is undoubtedly considerable dialect variation in these forms as well.

4.4 Number (Singular and Plural)

Nouns may be SINGULAR or PLURAL in NUMBER. Plural nouns carry a suffix that is specific to their gender, ending in /n/ for inanimate nouns, and /g/ for animates. There is, however, variation in the surface forms of the plural suffix. In the following section we will look at this form for each noun class. The following chart lays out the surface segmentable form of the plural suffix for the different classes.

	Noun Plural Suffixes						
	I, VI	II	III	IVa	IVb	V	VII
Animate	-ag	-g	-wag	-oog	-wag -og	-iig	-ig
Inanimate	-an	-n	-wan	-oon	-	-iin	-in

ACCOUNTING FOR VARIANT FORMS. It is easy to account for all forms if we assume that the basic form of the plural is /-ag/ for animates and /-an/ for inanimates. Class II nouns end in long vowels, so they absorb the short vowel of the suffix. This fact can be accounted for with a rule of vowel deletion, specified as follows:

Suffix Vowel Deletion
$V_1+V_2 \rightarrow V_1$

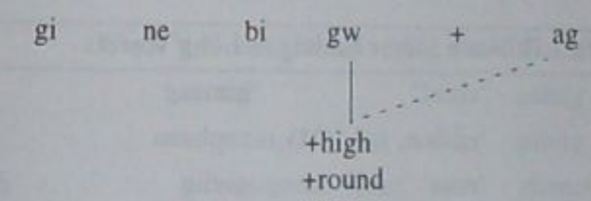
This rule states that when two vowels are juxtaposed by the addition of an affix, the second vowel is deleted. Usually V1 is a long vowel, which explains the deletion of V2, since preserving it would result in an illegal vowel sequence, in that only identical VV sequences are allowed.

Class III nouns have stems that end in /w/, which is deleted when final, but not when a plural suffix protects it. Class IVa stems end in /w/, but coalesce /w/ with the vowel of the suffix to produce a long vowel, /oo/. Class IVb differ in that there is either no coalescence, as in Class III, or the coalescence produces a short vowel, /o/. Class V stems end in a consonant plus /y/, the latter of which coalesces with the vowel of the suffix to produce /ii/. These phenomena can be captured with a set of coalescence rules:

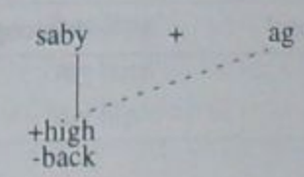
Post-Consonantal Glide + /a/ Coalescence
1a. Cw+a → o (optional)
1b. Cw+a → oo
2. Cy+a → ii

There does not appear to be any way to predict on the basis of underlying stem shape whether sub-rule 1a or 1b will apply in the case of stems ending in /Cw/, so, for example, we find *kikoog*, the plural of /akikw/, 'kettle, pot,' but *mikog* and *mikwag*, plurals of /amikw/, 'beaver.' The only difference between these two forms is the presence of /k/ in /akikw/ where /amikw/ has /m/, which does not provide any phonological motivation for the variation in the coalescence. Nichols 1980 points out that for Mille Lacs Lake Ojibwe most of the words with the short vowel variant (or /wa/ sequence) refer to the names of animals, so there may be some semantic basis for the subclasses.

The nature of these processes is quite straightforward. For example, the plural of *gnebig*, 'snake,' is *gnebgoog*, and this noun thus belongs to Class IVa. If we hypothesize that its basic stem shape is /gnebigw/, we can readily explain why the final /w/ is not heard in the singular, since it would be deleted by the rule of Short Vowel/Glide Deletion. However, when the plural suffix is added, certain of the phonological features of /w/ merge with the vowel /a/, resulting in a vowel that is [+high, +round], and long, which in Nishnaabemwin means /oo/.



A similar explanation can be offered for nouns that have their plurals in /iig/, such as *sab*, 'net,' which has the plural *sabiig*. In this case, the stem ends with a glide /y/ that is deleted in the singular form by the rule of Short Vowel/Glide Deletion, but which coalesces with the suffix in the plural, as illustrated in the following diagram.



In this case, /y/ has the phonological features [+high, -back], meaning that the tongue is moved forward and upward from its normal "rest" position. This is also how the vowel /i/ is pronounced, and when these features of /y/ are transferred to the following /a/, an /i/ is produced, which occupies the segmental slots of /y/ and /a/, producing /ii/.

Class VII nouns take allomorphic variants of the plural suffixes, /-ig/ and /-in/, respectively. Here we have no phonological means of specifying allomorphic forms, so we must simply stipulate the MORPHOLOGICAL contexts in which these allomorphs /-ig/ and /-in/ are to be used, for our purposes here, when the form is participial.

Plural Suffix Allomorphy
a. /-ag/ ~ /-ig/
b. /-an/ ~ /-in/

Examples of each class of nouns follow.

Class I: Basic Nouns, Diminutives, Pejoratives		
zhiishiib	'duck'	zhiishiibag
waagosh	'fox'	waagshag
giigoonh	'fish'	googoonyag
wesiinh	'(small) animal'	wesiinyag
mkoons	'bear cub'	mkoonsag
bzhikiins	'calf'	bzhikiinsag
jiimaan	'boat'	jiimaanan
waagaakdoons	'hatchet'	waagaakdoonsan

Class II: Noun Stems Ending in Long Vowels		
gimaa	'chief'	gimaag
zenbaa	'ribbon, silk' (M)	zenbaan
ginii	'rose'	giniig
Nimkii	'Thunderer'	Nimkiig
Nishnaabe	'Indian'	Nishnaabeg
mzise	'turkey'	mziseg
mnidoo	'spirit'	mnidoog
aamoo	'bee'	aamoog (dialectal)

Class III: Vowel Final Noun Stems with Plurals with /w/		
nini	'man'	ninwag
bzhiki	'cow'	bzhikwag
waawaashkeshi	'deer'	waawaashkeshwag
bne	'partridge'	bnewag
kwe	'woman'	kwewag

Class IVa: Nouns Stems Ending in /k/ or /g/, Plurals with /oo/		
kik	'kettle'	kikoog
gnebig	'snake'	gnebgoog
mtig	'tree'	mtigoog
mtig	'stick'	mtigoon
waawan	'egg'	waawnoon
waagaakod	'axe'	waagaakdoon
bkok	'arrow'	bkokoon

Class IVb Nouns: Stems Ending in /k, g/, Plurals with /o, wa/		
mik	'beaver'	mikog, mikwag
aandeg	'crow'	aandegog, aandegwag
maang	'loon'	maangog, maangwag
gaag	'porcupine'	gaagog, gaagwag
zhgaag	'skunk'	zhgaagog, zhgaagwag

Class V Nouns: Stems in Cy, Plurals in /ii/		
sab	'net'	sabiig
pin	'potato'	piniig
zhngob	'evergreen (tree)'	zhngobiig
sabaab	'string, rope'	sabaabiin
nniinj	'my hand'	nninjiin

Class VI Nouns Stems Taking Augment -aa		
mshkimod	'handbag'	mshkimdan
ndeshkan	'my horn'	ndeshknag
nnoogan	'my hip'	nnoognan

Class VII Participles		
ekwaabdang	'baseball fielder' (W)	ekwaabdangig
gidaagon bembizod	'snowmobile' (M)	gidaagon bembizjig
eyaabshkiiwed	'white person' (W, CL)	eyaabshkiiwejig
weniijaanid	'mother' (W, CL)	weniijaanjig
weyoosid	'a man's child' (W, CL)	weyoosjig
ezaawaabgoniig	'mustard weed' (Od)	ezaawaabgoniigin

4.4.1 Inherently Plural Nouns

Just as in English, a few nouns in Nishnaabemwin are inherently plural, that is, are basically thought of as consisting of a group of similar objects or a set of objects, and are almost always used in the plural. Some examples are *biiwekdamaagnan*, '(wood) shavings' (W); *bootsan*, 'boots' (from English boots, Od), and a plural participial noun, *e-baasgobjigemgakin*, 'spring-tooth harrows,' a farm implement. Inherent plurals are marked in the dictionary with the designations NAP and NIP, depending on their gender.

4.4.2 Mass Nouns

Most nouns specify individual, countable objects, such as *nini*, 'man,' *zhiishiib*, 'duck,' and *jiimaan*, 'boat.' Such nouns have both singular and plural forms, depending on whether reference is to one or more discrete individuals, for example, *bezhig nini*, 'one man,' *niizh ninwag*, 'two men, and so on. There are two subgroups of nouns, however, which do not generally occur in the plural: first, nouns referring to abstract things such as qualities, states, and general topics, for example, *bmaadziwin*, 'life,' *aazhdaadwin*, 'mutual revenge,' and *gaawendmowin*, 'jealousy'; second, nouns referring to substances, such as liquids or particulates, that are usually treated as a mass, for example, *nbiish*, 'water,' *doodooshaaboo*, 'milk,' *negaw*, 'sand,' *ziitaagan* (also *zhiiwtaagan*), 'salt' *waasgan(g)*, 'pepper,' *bkwezhgan*, 'bread,' *goon* 'snow,' and *mkom* (also *mkwam*), 'ice.' Such nouns are called MASS NOUNS, and are listed in the dictionary without plural forms, since the plurals are not normally used. Note that some Nishnaabemwin words that correspond to English mass nouns can be used with plurals, because they can refer to 'a piece of X,' or 'a portion of X,' such as *miijim*, 'food, a serving of food,' which has the plural *miijman* when referring to a serving. In English, portions of mass nouns can be referred to by means of special QUANTIFIERS with PARTITIVE constructions, such as a *drop* of water, a *grain* of salt, or a *slice* of bread. In Nishnaabemwin, by contrast, merely using the plural with a mass noun implies division into conventionalized units, such as pieces or servings. For example, the noun *zhoon'yaa*, 'money' (NI or NA, varying by dialect), is listed without plural in the dictionary, because it is a mass noun. However, this word commonly takes a plural when it has the meaning 'gold coin,' that is, represents a countable unit of money. The following example uses *zhoon'yaa* with both senses, and in the second, countable, sense, occurs with a plural suffix.

(1) Mii-sh endso-aabta-bboon mii gii-miinndwaa iw ***zhoon'yaa***, endso-ngo-bboon'gak gii-miinaawag iw bagoowyaan, mii-sh go eta ngoding gii-miinndwaa niw ***zhoon'yaan*** gchi-wgimaakwe mzinaazod.

'Then every six months they were given that ***money*** and every year they were given that cloth, but they were given those ***coins*** with the picture of the queen only once.' (AK10.8)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **endso-aabta-bboon** *ni* 'every half year'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-miinndwaa** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money'; **endso-ngo-bboon'gak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) every one year span'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given (y)'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bagoowyaan** *ni 0s* 'cloth'; **mii-sh** *av* 'but then'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **ngoding** *av* 'once'; **gii-miinndwaa** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **zhoon'yaan** *ni 0p* 'gold coin(s)'; **gchi-wgimaakwe** *na 3sProx* 'great queen (Queen Victoria)'; **mzinaazod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is pictured.'

Note that some nouns ending in *-win*, the most common ending for ABSTRACT NOUNS, are count nouns, such as *dbaajmowin*, 'story, narrative,' *bmoomaawsowin*, baby carrier' (W), and *bmibzowin*, 'trip.'

4.5 Noun Obviatives (Proximate and Obviative)

Only animate nouns have obviative inflectional forms. Obviation is used to distinguish third persons in clauses, but may also be used to emphasize a particular character as a point of reference in a narrative or narrative portion. The following example illustrates its most common usage. In this story, the character of Nenabush has been previously introduced, and the storyteller presents the action from his perspective, by making reference to him PROXIMATE. When additional characters, ducks, become involved in the story, the noun referring to them is marked with an OBVIATIVE suffix, producing *zhiishiiban*.

(2) Wgii-waabmaan dash niw ***zhiishiiban*** niibna bbaa-gomnid.

'There he saw many ducks swimming about.' (AM38.6)

> **Wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhiishiiban** *na 3obv* 'duck(s)'; **niibna** *av* 'many'; **bbaa-gomnid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv float about.'

The obviative form of a noun is always determinable from the plural, by simply changing the final /g/ to an /n/. The following chart lists both plural and obviative suffixes, for purposes of comparison.

	Animate Noun Plural and Obviative Suffixes					
	I, VI	II	III	IVa	IVb	V
Plural	-ag	-g	-wag	-oog	-wag -og	-iig
Obviative	-an	-n	-wan	-oon	-wan -on	-iin

Examples from each noun class follow, except PARTICIPLES, which form obviatives according to the patterns of verbs, and are discussed below.

Class I, VI Plural Obviative			
zhiishiib	'duck'	zhiishiibag	zhiishiiban
giigoonh	'fish'	giigoonyag	giigoonyan
ndeshkan	'my antler'	ndeshknag	ndeshknan
Class II			
mnidoo	'spirit'	mnidoog	mnidoon
aamoo	'bee'	aamoog	aamoon
Class III			
nini	'man'	ninwag	ninwan
kwe	'woman'	kwewag	kwewan
Class IVa			
kik	'kettle'	kikoog	kikoon
mtig	'tree'	mtigoog	mtigoon
Class IVb			
mik	'beaver'	mikog, mikwag	mikon, mikwan
gaag	'porcupine'	gaagog	gaagon
Class V			
sab	'net'	sabiig	sabiin
pin	'potato'	piniig	piniin

4.5.1 Obviative Forms of Names

Nouns representing personal names may be obviated, and some speakers appear to show preferences for particular obviative forms. The following data from a speaker of Wikwemikong dialect (MC) are illustrative.

Proximate	Obviative
Bert	Bertan
Al	Alan
Roger	Rogeran
Doug	Dougon
Jack	Jackon
Joe	Joewan
Julie	Juliinyin
Randy	Randiinyin
Rita	Ritaayin
Paula	Paulaayin

Names that end in consonants other than /g/ or /k/ take obviative suffix /-an/; those ending in /g/ or /k/ (velar consonants) take /-on/; those ending in /a/ lengthen the final vowel and suffix /-yin/. Perhaps most interesting are forms ending in /ii/, such as *Randy* and *Julie*. These extend the stem to make them identical to a contemptive (see discussion in next section), and then suffix the usual obviative after the contemptive, /-in/.

4.6 Noun Contemptives and Diminutives

Nouns can have endings that indicate their DIMINUTIVE or CONTEMPTIVE status. Diminutives specify small or physically immature members of the group identified by the noun, such as *jiimaanens*, 'small boat,' *mikoons*, 'beaver kit,' and *mkoons*, 'bear cub.' Contemptives reflect the speaker's attitude toward the object being referred to, and convey vaguely negative or depreciative attitudes, such as 'just an ordinary one,' 'of no great value,' or 'any old.' The following sentences illustrate the use of the contemptive:

(3) Gaa wii wi ***doopwaanh*** ndaa-zhi-dbahnziin wi.

'I shouldn't buy that ***crummy table*** (something seen at a yard sale).' (MC)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **doopwaanh** *ni contemp 0s* 'crummy table';
> **ndaa-zhi-dbahnziin** *vti ind neg 1s»0s* 'I shouldn't buy INsg'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that.'

(4) A: Wegnesh dnawa daabaan waa-nda-giishpnanad?
B: Bezhig go naa waya ***daabaanenh*** (or ***truckoonh***). Megwe-mtigwaaki ge-nakaazyaambaanh.

A: What kind of vehicle are you looking to buy?
B: Oh, just ***any old vehicle*** (or, ***any old truck***). I'm planning on using it in the bush. (MC)

> **Wegnesh** *pr inter 3/0* 'what'; **dnawa** *pr sim 3sProx* 'kind'; **daabaan** *na 3sProx* 'vehicle'; **waa-nda-giishpnanad** *vta ic conj 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) do you intend to buy ANsg'; **Bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'any AN'; **daabaanenh** *na contemp 3sProx* 'old vehicle'; **truckoonh** *na contemp 3sProx* 'old truck'; **Megwe-mtigwaaki** *ni 0s* 'in the woods'; **ge-nakaazyaambaanh** *vaio ic conj pret 1s* '(CCNJ) I would use (Y).'

(5) A: Wenesh waa-biinaajin?
B: Bezhig go naa ***niniinyin*** gaa-bmi-nkweshkwaajin.

A: Who's she bringing? (in reference to a friend's new male acquaintance)
B: Oh, ***just some guy*** (lit., man, with contemptive) that she met.

> **Wenesh** *pr inter 3* 'who'; **waa-biinaajin** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) will ANsg bring'; **Bezhig** *nm* 'a certain'; **niniinyin** *na contemp 3obv* 'nothing special man'; **gaa-bmi-nkweshkwaajin** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) ANsg met along the way.'

The use of the contemptive is extremely nuanced, and is undoubtedly indexed in natural usage to subtle parameters of social context. For example, Rhodes 1985:205 annotates *kan*, 'bone' (NI) with the usage note: *considered crass in some places*; and the corresponding contemptive form, *kanenh*, with the note: *more polite than 'kan' to some*. Here the contemptive appears to have an attenuative force.

The forms of the contemptive and diminutive suffixes for the various noun classes are as follows. A superscript L is used with suffixes that lengthen a preceding short vowel.

	Contemptives and Diminutives				
	I, VI	II	III	IV	V
Contemptives	-enh	-nh	$-V^{L}nh$	-oonh	-iinh
Diminutives	-ens	-ns	$-V^{L}ns$	-oons	-iins

The contemptive is spelled with a final «nh» in the singular, but shows a /y/ when non-final (i.e., when another suffix follows it), e.g., *gaazhgenyig*, 'lousy cats' (*gaazhag*, 'cat'). Presumably the underlying form is /-eny/, and when final, /n/ causes nasalization of

the preceding long vowel, and /y/ is then lost by the common rule of final short-vowel and glide deletion. In forms with additional suffixes, such as the plural, /y/ is preserved.

		Contemptive	Diminutive
Class I, VI			
daabaan	'car'	daabaanenh	daabaanens
gaazhag	'cat'	gaazhgenh	gaazhgens
ndeshkan	'my horn'	ndeshkaanh	ndeshkaans
nooshenh	'my grandchild'	—	nooshens
giigoonh	'fish'	—	giigoons
Class II			
ookwe	'maggot'	ookwenh	ookwens
ginii	'rose'	giniinh	giniins
Class III			
nini	'man'	niniinh	niniins
kwe	'woman'	kwenh	kwens
Class IV			
kik	'kettle'	kikoonh	kikoons
mik	'beaver'	mikoonh	mikoons
gaag	'porcupine'	gaagoonh	gaagoons
truck	'truck'	truckoonh	truckoons
Class V			
sin	'rock'	siniinh	siniins
sab	'net'	sabiinh	sabiins

There are some exceptions to the general patterns of contemptive and diminutive formation outlined in the table.[1]

1. Some stems ending in /sh/ add *-iinh* to form the contemptive, e.g., *zhmaagan*, 'soldier,' has a contemptive *zhmaagniinh*, and *zhaagnaash*, 'Englishman,' a contemptive *zhaagnaashiinh*. However, other forms such as *gookoosh*, 'pig,' and *maantaanish*, 'sheep,' form their contemptives in *-enh*.

2. Most nouns ending with the final elements *-igan*, *-win*, or *-iigin* drop the last two segments and add /aanh/, for the contemptive and /aans/ for the diminutive, as in the following:

1. These notes are mostly culled from Jones 1971.

		Contemptive	Diminutive
nbaagan	'bed'	nbaagaanh	nbaagaans
zhooshkwaadaagan	'skate'	zhooshkwaadaagaanh	zhooshkwaadaagaans
doopwin	'table'	doopwaanh	doopwaans
doopwiniigin	'tablecloth'	doopwiniigaanh	doopwiniigaans

3. Many other Class I or Class VI nouns ending in /an/ or /on/ have contemptives in /aanh/ and diminutives in /aans/.

		Contemptive	Diminutive
miigon	'feather'	miigwaanh	miigwaans
ndeshkan	'my horn'	ndeshkaanh	ndeshkaans
zhiigon	'grindstone'	zhiigaanh	zhiigaans
ndooskon	'my elbow'	ndooskaanh	ndooskaans

Note, however, *naagnens*, 'cup, drinking glass' (CL, W), alongside *naagaans*, 'cup, drinking glass, small dish' (Oj), differing only in the presence or absence of contraction, and both representing diminutives of *naagan*, 'dish, plate, bowl.'

4. Some forms that Rhodes 1985 lists as having diminutive meaning appear to be structurally contemptives. These include the diminutives of *ndaanis*, 'my daughter,' and *ngwis*, 'my son,' which are listed as *ndaan'senh* and *ngwisenh*, respectively; the diminutive of *bne*, 'partridge,' is listed by Rhodes as both *bnenh* and *bnens*.

EXCEPTIONAL DIMINUTIVES. Some diminutives are exceptional, such as *badnens*, the diminutive of *badnis*, 'button,' (W, CL), an old borrowing from English. Here, the neutral form of the word is based on the English plural, but the diminutive is based on the English singular. The plural and diminutive of *nimosh*, 'dog,' *nimoog* and *nimoons*, lack the pejorative of the singular for some speakers.

LEXICAL CONTEMPTIVES AND DIMINUTIVES. One of the most striking features of the vocabulary of Nishnaabemwin is the frequency that contemptive endings appear on basic (LEXICAL) noun forms, in other words, on noun stems that never occur without the contemptive suffix and which do not have salient contemptive force, but rather seem to be more diminutive or endearing in flavour. Examples include such common vocabulary as *binoojiinh*, 'child,' *kiwenziinh*, 'old man,' *mdimooyenh*, 'old woman,' *giigoonh*, 'fish,' *bneshiinh*, 'bird' (related to *bne*, 'partridge'), and *wesiinh*, '(small) animal.' Many KINSHIP TERMS appear to have these contemptive/diminutive suffixes, including *nmisenh*, 'my elder sister,' *nsayenh*, 'my older brother,' *nshiimenh*, 'my younger sibling,' *nmishoomenh*, 'my parallel uncle,' *nnooshenh*, 'my parallel aunt,' *nooshenh*, 'my grandchild;' *nzhishenh*, 'my (cross) uncle,' *niinmoshenh*, 'my cross-cousin of the opposite sex, my sweetheart.' Semantically, it is interesting that terms for the elderly, children, and siblings very often show LEXICALIZED contemptive/diminutives.

Other words occur with both contemptive and non-contemptive forms, but show patterned variation by community and sub-dialect in their listings in Rhodes 1985, such as *aamoo* (Oj), *aamoonh* (M) 'bee'; *aanzyaan* (Oj), *aanzyaanh* (CL) 'diaper'; *dende* (Od), *dendenh* (CL) 'bullfrog'; *ndiy* (Oj), *ndiyenh* (Od) 'my rear end'; *gwiingos* (M, CL), *gwiingsenh* (M) 'chipmunk'; *jiibik* (Od), *jiibkenh* (W) 'root'; *kakjiish* (Oj), *kakjiishenh* (W), 'woodchuck'; *pakne* (Oj), *paknenh* (Od) 'grasshopper'; *pichi* (Oj), *pichiinh* (W) 'robin'; *waagosh* (Oj), *waagshenh* (W, CL) 'fox'; *waasii* (CL), *waasiinh* (Oj) 'catfish'; *zgime* (Oj), *zgimenh* (Od) 'mosquito.'; *zhiishiib* (Oj), *zhiishiibenh* (Od) 'general word for ducks and teals.' A few kin terms too vary as to whether or not they have contemptive suffixes, such as *niidgik(oonh)*, 'my sister (female speaker),' and *niikaan(enh)*, 'my brother (male speaker),' once again, involving terms for close kin relations.

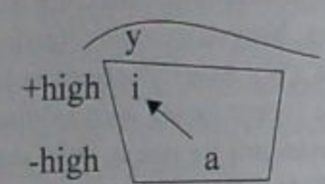
Though less common than the dialect variation in contemptives, the presence or absence of diminutives on "basic" terms too occasionally shows variation from one community to another, for example, the basic words *gaazhag*, 'cat' and *mzhiwe*, 'cottontail rabbit' vary dialectally with their diminutive forms *gaazhgens* and *mzhiwens*; *nang*, 'star' varies with the diminutive *nangoons*.

While there is thus considerable cross-dialect variation in the presence or absence of contemptive and diminutive suffixes on neutral nouns, in other cases these suffixes are used within a given dialect to make lexical distinctions, that is, to name different, related objects, such as *bbagwayaan*, 'shirt' vs. *bbagwayaanenh*, '[thin] cloth' (Od), *nmegos*, 'brown trout,' vs. *nmegshens*, 'rainbow trout' (W); *miin*, 'blueberry, huckleberry' (inan.) vs. *miinens* 'hawthorn berry' (anim.); *mnidoo* 'spirit, being with spiritual power,' vs. *mnidoons*, 'insect.' Related to the last word is *mnidoosh* for insect, bugs, and caterpillars, with its diminutive, *mnidooshens*, used to signify 'gnat' at (W); *mshkiki*, 'medicine, medicinal herb' versus *mshkikiins*, 'pill' (W, CL). The words *miimii*, 'pigeon, dove,' *miimiinh*, 'large flying insect' and *miimiins*, 'mayfly,' all show lexical specificity on Manitoulin Island. The diminutive of animate noun *bwi*, 'propeller,' *bwiins*, is used as the word for 'fan,' on Manitoulin Island, representing an obvious physical relationship, though in this case it is not size, but force or power that dictates which term is diminutive. One word for playing card, *mzinhigaans* (W, arch.), is derived from a general word for paper, *mzinhigan*. The diminutive of *jiis*, 'radish' *jiisens* means 'carrot' at Walpole. The diminutive of *bkwezhgan*, 'bread, slice of bread,' *bkwezhgaans*, means 'donut, sweet roll, cookie' in general Ojibwe, but is used as a word for wheat at Walpole Island. *Doodooshens*, the diminutive of *doodoosh*, 'breast' means 'pacifier' at Curve Lake. *Goonens*, the diminutive of *goon*, 'fallen snow, chunk of snow,' means 'snowflake' at Walpole. *Gyaashkshens*, the term for a common tern, is the diminutive of the general word for gulls and terns, *gyaashk*. *Mtigwaabiins*, diminutive of *mtigwaab*, 'bow (archery)' means 'ice fishing pole' at Curve Lake. Consider too *shkikmaan*, 'lead, piece of lead, lead weight,' vs. *shkikmaanens*, 'bullet' (M); *wiigwaam* 'house,' vs. *wiigwaamens*, 'outhouse, bathroom;' *waasgonechgan*, 'lamp, lantern,' (Oj) vs. *waasgonechgaans*, 'light bulb' (W, CL). The diminutives of *nninj* 'my hand,' and *nzid*, 'my foot,' *nninjiins* and *nzidens*, respectively, are used to refer to fingers and toes.

CONTEMPTIVE AND DIMINUTIVE PLURALS. The plural endings after the contemptive often have the forms *-ig* and *-in*, for animate and inanimate, respectively, and the animate obviative suffix is *-in*. The plurals of diminutives pattern as Class I nouns. The following forms for *daabaan*, 'car' (NA) are illustrative.

	Contemptive	Diminutive
singular	daabaanenh	daabaanens
plural	daabaanenyig	daabaanensag
obviative	daabaanenyin	daabaanensan

The forms of the plural suffixes used after contemptives can be understood as involving the raising of the vowel /a/ of the standard suffixes, /-ag/ and /-an/ due to assimilation to the frontness and height of the final /y/ of the contemptive suffix, which has the basic form /-eny/. Under normal circumstances, the /n/ nasalizes the preceding vowel, and in the singular, the final /y/ is lost by the rule of final short vowel/glide deletion. But in the plural, since /y/ is [+high], the articulation of the suffixal /a/ moves toward it, ultimately resulting in a high vowel articulation, as /i/. The following diagram, showing the vowel quadrilateral, illustrates the dynamics of this process.



There are still uncertainties regarding contemptives and diminutives. The diminutive suffix, for example, is virtually the only form in any Nishnaabemwin word in which a nasal precedes a fortis (hard) consonant in the same syllable. Furthermore, while it is clear that the vowel associated with the contemptive is long, it is not obvious that this vowel should have the underlying form /e/, since it varies between all possible long vowels, /e/, /aa/, /ii/, and /oo/.

4.7 Noun Pejoratives

In addition to contemptives, there is a stronger form with negative affect, called the PEJORATIVE. The pejorative expresses a negative attitude toward the person or object being referred to. The following examples illustrate some contexts in which it might be used:

(6) Gegeti gsha maaba *gaazhgenzhish*! Mii miinwaa naami-nbaagan gii-oo-miiziid.

'Oh this darn cat! It's gone and pooped[1] under the bed again!' (MC)

Gegeti *av* 'gee'; **gsha** *av* 'indeed'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gaazhgenzhish** *na pej 3sProx* 'darn cat'; **Mii** *av* 'now'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **naami-nbaagan** *ni 0s* 'under the bed'; **gii-oo-miiziid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went and pooped.'

(7) Gegeti gsha maaba *gaazhgenzhish*! Ggwetaani-minaadzi!

'Oh this darn cat! It's so terribly fussy (e.g., demands particular brand of cat-food).'

Gegeti *av* 'gee'; **gsha** *av* 'indeed'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gaazhgenzhish** *na pej 3sProx* 'darn cat'; **Ggwetaani-minaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is terribly fussy.' (MC)

Pejoratives are sometimes used affectionately in names, such as *Mkoonyish*, 'Silly Bear' (a first name, listed in Rhodes 1985:238), which seems to have basic stem /makw-a/, 'bear,' to which has been added both a contemptive and a pejorative.

The pejorative is formed by the addition of a suffix ending in /sh/, with variable vowel, according to the following patterns:

Pejorative Endings					
I	II	III	IV	V	VI
-ish	-sh	-wish	-osh	-iish	-aash -ish

For some speakers, Class VI nouns which end in /n/, such as *ndooskon*, 'my elbow,' do not add the augment /-aa/ prior to attaching the pejorative.

The following table provides examples of pejoratives for each noun class.

Class I		
zhiishiib	'duck'	zhiishiibish
gaazhag	'cat'	gaazhgish
giniinh	'rose' (M)	giniinyish
giigoonh	'fish'	giigoonyish

1. There is no English word that corresponds well to the Nishnaabemwin word *miiziiz*, because 'shit' is too vulgar, 'poop' is not really used in print, and 'deposited its feces' or 'excreted' too formal.

Class II		
aamoo	'bee'	aamoosh
ginii	'rose'	giniish
Class III		
nini	'man'	ninwish
kwe	'woman'	kwewish
Class IV		
kik	'kettle'	kikosh
bkok	'arrow'	bkokosh
mik	'beaver'	mikosh
gaag	'porcupine'	gaagosh
Class V		
sin	'rock'	siniish
nwi	'bullet'	nwiish
Class VI		
nwiibid	'my tooth'	nwiibdaash
nzid	'my foot'	nzidaash
ndooskon	'my elbow'	ndoosknish

The variants that occur with different classes of nouns suggests that the underlying form of the pejorative is /-ish/, which is added directly to Class I and Class III nouns, but loses its vowel when added to Class II nouns. With Class IV nouns it shows customary coalescence of /w+i/ to /o/, and with Class V, of /y+i/ to /ii/. Class VI nouns show variable presence of augment /-aa-/, which, if present, absorbs the /i/ of the pejorative suffix. The straightforward nature of the pejorative contrasts particularly with the behaviour of diminutives with Class III nouns, where stem-final /w/ is somehow deleted. So, for example, /w/ is present in *ninwish*, 'worthless man,' but absent in *niniins*, 'little man.'

The pejorative is added to the inanimate dubitative pronoun *wegdagwen*, 'whatever it be,' with humourous effect, producing an animate noun, *wegdagwenish*, 'a jerk, a nobody' (M, CL).

4.7.1 Relative Ordering of the Diminutive/Contemptive and the Pejorative

The diminutive suffix occurs directly after the noun stem, and before the POSSESSIVE MARKER (POSSESSIVE THEME SUFFIX, discussed below), while the pejorative may appear either before or after the possessive marker. Nouns can be both diminutive and pejorative, as in the form *ndakwezhenzhishim*, 'my naughty little girl,' based on the noun stem *kwezens*, 'girl.' Pejorative nouns are often also diminutive, especially in Manitoulin usage, even for

large objects, such as *zaadiinzhish*, 'darn (little) poplar (tree)' (from *zaad*, 'poplar'), *niniinzhish*, 'darn (little) man' (from *nini*, 'man'), and *waawaashkeshiinzhish*, 'darn (little) deer,' (from *waawaashkeshi*, 'deer'). This usage perhaps reflects a common metaphorical practice in which diminutive expressions are used to index a lack of esteem, as in English expressions such as 'you little rat.' Note that the final /s/ of the Nishnaabemwin diminutive weakens (LENITES) to /z/ when followed by the pejorative suffix, representing a common pattern in most dialects of Ojibwe. Usually the /z/ shows PALATALIZATION as well, becoming /zh/.

Neutral	Gloss	Pejorative
kwezens	'girl'	kwezhenzhish
gwiiwzens	'boy'	gwiiwzhenzhish

The following examples illustrate that /z/ and /s/ which are part of the stem and not part of a diminutive or quasi-diminutive suffix (such as the /z/ in *kwezens*) do not palatalize. For example, the /s/ of *sabiins*, 'little net,' does not become /zh/.

Neutral	Gloss	Pejorative
sabiins	'little net'	sabiinzhish
mzin'gaans	'little book'	mzin'gaanzhish
nzidens	'my little foot'	nzidenzhish

4.8 Noun Locatives

A LOCATIVE suffix is added to nouns when they specify a location, and also when they are the objects of RELATIVE PREVERBS and RELATIVE ROOTS. The following examples illustrate.

(8) ***Giishknakdoonying*** bkodbi. | 'He's sitting atop ***the tree stump***.' (MC)

> **Giishknakdoonying** *ni loc 0* 'on a tree stump'; **bkodbi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is sitting up.'

(9) ***Jiibkenying*** gii-bzogeshin. | 'He tripped ***on the root***.' (MC)

> **Jiibkenying** *ni loc 0* 'on root'; **gii-bzogeshin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg tripped.'

(10) ***Giigoong*** (or ***giigoonying***) piichi-ntaa-bgiza. | 'He can swim like ***a fish***.' (MC)

> **Giigoong** *na loc 3* '(like) a fish'; **giigoonying** *na loc 3* '(like) a fish'; **piichi-ntaa-bgiza** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANSG is good at swimming to such extent.'

(11) ***Mhiingning*** zhinaagzi gday. | 'Your dog looks like ***a wolf.***' (MC)

> **Mhiingning** *na loc 3* '(like) a wolf'; **zhinaagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg looks like'; **gday** *nad 2s(3sProx)* 'your dog.'

Regular plural and obviative suffixes are usually not present on locative forms, so there is standardly no additional marking on locative nouns for number or obviation. However, a suffix indicating grammatical features of NUMBER or OBVIATION of a POSSESSOR can be added, prior to the locative ending.

Locative Endings					
I	II	III	IV	V	VI
-ing	-ng	-V^{L}ng	-ong	-iing	-aang

The superscripted L associated with the Class III suffix indicates that stem-final /w/ is lost and the exposed final vowel lengthened, e.g., stem /aniniw/ (or /ininiw/), 'man,' has a locative *niniing*. Examples for each class follow.

Class I		
zhiishiib	'duck'	zhiishiibing
gaazhag	'cat'	gaazhging, gaazhgong (M)
jiimaan	'boat'	jiimaaning
Class II		
mnidoo	'spirit'	mnidoong
ginii	'rose'	giniing
Class III		
nini	'man'	niniing
kwe	'woman'	kweng
bgiw	'gum, pitch'	bgiing
Class IV		
kik	'kettle'	kikong, kikoong (M)
bkok	'arrow'	bkokong
mik	'beaver'	mikong
gaag	'porcupine'	gaagong
Class V		
sin	'rock'	siniing
nwi	'bullet'	nwiing

Class VI		
nzid	'my foot'	nzidaang
nnik	'my arm'	nnikaang
mshkimod	'handbag'	mshkimdaang
nnagway	'my sleeve'	nnagwaang
ndengway	'my face'	ndengyaang, ndengwaang

The basic form of the locative suffix is /-ing/, which surfaces directly when added to Class I noun stems. Class II stems absorb the /i/ of the suffix; Class III, as mentioned above, lose stem-final /w/ and lengthen the vowel; Class IV show standard coalescence of /w+i/ to /o/, and Class V, coalescence of /y+i/ to /ii/; Class VI stems show augment /-aa-/ before the locative, which absorbs the initial /i/ of the suffix.

Both LEXICAL and DERIVED CONTEMPTIVES vary in their locatives, depending on whether or not the final NASAL COMPLEX is treated as a consonant cluster and the suffix /-ing/ added to it, or the final nasal complex is ignored, and the STEM then treated as a class II long vowel final stem, giving rise to such variation as *giigoonying* and *giigoong*. Locative forms listed in Rhodes often show a preference for one or the other of these treatments, as can be seen from the following citations:

		Locative
bashkwaanaajiinh	'bat'	bashkwaanaajiing
bebaabgaanh	'pancake' (W)	bebaabgaanying
binoojiinh	'child'	binoojiing
e-zaawaanh	'melon' (W)	ezaawaanying
gebkadiinh	'comforter (blanket)' (W)	gebkadiinying
giigoonh	'fish'	giigoong
giishknakdoonh	'tree stump'	giishknakdoong
jiibkenh	'root' (W)	jiibkeng
jikenh	'tree stump' (W)	jikeng
ndiyenh	'my rearend'	ndiyeng
zegaabkaadenh	'market basket' (W)	zegaabkaadenying
ziibiiwenh	'stream, creek' (W)	ziibiiwenying

Note that in class III, the final vowel of the singular is lengthened if it is not already long, and the derived stem is treated just as Class II 'long vowel-final' stems are (for example, *nini*, 'man,' vs. *niniing*, 'on the man'). A couple of words of class III having a final /w/ in the singular, such as *bgiw*, 'gum, pitch,' lose the /w/ and lengthen the vowel.

Class VI nouns, most of which are body part terms, take an augment, /-aa/, before the locative suffix. For nouns that end in /-ay/, this element is either obligatorily or optionally deleted prior to adding the augment, as in *nzhagay*, 'my skin,' but *nzhagaang*, 'on my skin,' where it is obligatory, and *ndengway*, 'my face,' which Rhodes lists as having two locative forms, *ndengyaang*, which retains the /-ay/ element before /-aa/ (but loses the /w/), and *ndengwaang*, which lacks it. Occasionally, words show variation as to whether or not they take the augment, as in *ndenniw*, 'my tongue,' which has both *ndenniwaang* and *ndenniwing* as locative forms. The same is true of *ndiniigan*, 'my shoulder blade' (Od) with locatives *ndiniignaang* and *ndiniigning*. In at least one case, variation between the presence and absence of /aa/ augment is exploited for semantic purposes, in the locatives at CL associated with *ntawag*, 'my ear,' which Rhodes records as *ntawganaang*, 'on my ear,' and *ntawganing*, 'in my ear,' perhaps under the influence of the semantic specificity offered by the English prepositions in comparison to the traditional locative.

Some nouns have irregular locative forms, such as *oodewin*, 'town,' which has a locative form *oodenaang*, identical to the regular locative form of the Class VI noun with the same meaning, *oodenaw*. Rhodes lists the locatives for *shkwaandem*, 'door,' as both regular *shkwaandeming* and irregular *shkwaandeng*. One motivation for the latter form is that locative nouns grade structurally and semantically into locative adverbs, which often have reduced forms compared to equivalent locative nouns. The locative of *aazhwaakwaa*, 'the back settlement on Walpole Island' is identical to the base form. The locative of *msan*, 'piece of firewood,' (archaic) is *mshing*, showing the historical alternation of /S/.

4.9 Noun Possession

Both animate and inanimate nouns can be inflected for grammatically relevant properties of a possessor. Prefixes indicate the person of the possessor, and suffixes the number and obviation status of the possessor and number and obviation of the POSSESSUM, that is, the one(s) or thing(s) possessed. The following tables show possessive inflection for both animate and inanimate nouns. The suffix /-im/ is explained in 4.9.3, Possessed Noun Theme Suffix, beginning on page 200.

Possession of Singular Animate Possessum, gwiiwzens, 'boy'				
1s	ngwiiwzensim	'my boy'	my	n _ (im)
2s	ggwiiwzensim	'your boy'	your	g _ (im)
3s	wgwiiwzensman	'ANsg's boy(s)'	ANsg's	w _ (*im*)an
1p	ngwiiwzensminaan	'our (excl.) boy'	our (excl.)	n _ (*im*)*inaan*
21	ggwiiwzensminaan	'our (incl.) boy'	our (incl.)	g _ (*im*)*inaan*
2p	ggwiiwzensmiwaa	'your boy'	your (pl.)	g _ (*im*)*iwaa*
3p	wgwiiwzensmiwaan	'their boy(s)'	their	w _ (*im*)*iwaan*

Possession of Plural Animate Possessum, gwiiwzens, 'boy'				
1s	ngwiiwzensmag	'my boys'	my	n _ (*im*)ag
2s	ggwiiwzensmag	'your boys'	your	g _ (*im*)ag
3s	wgwiiwzensman	'ANsg's boy(s)'	ANsg's	w _ (*im*)an
1p	ngwiiwzensminaanig	'our (excl.) boys'	our (excl.)	n _ (*im*)*inaanig*
21	ggwiiwzensminaanig	'our (incl.) boys'	our (incl.)	g _ (*im*)*inaanig*
2p	ggwiiwzensmiwaag	'your boys'	your (pl.)	g _ (*im*)*iwaag*
3p	wgwiiwzensmiwaan	'their boy(s)'	their	w _ (*im*)*iwaan*

Possession of Animate Obviative Possessum, gwiiwzensman, 'boy (obv.)'				
1s	ngwiiwzensman	'my boy(s)'	my obv.	n _ (*im*)an
2s	ggwiiwzensman	'your boy(s)'	your obv.	g _ (*im*)an
3s	wgwiiwzensman	'ANsg's boy(s)'	ANsg's obv.	w _ (*im*)an
3'	wgwiiwzensmini	'ANobv's boy(s)'	ANobv's obv.	w _ (im)*ini*
1p	ngwiiwzensminaanin	'our (excl.) boy(s)'	our ex. obv.	n _ (*im*)*inaanin*
21	ggwiiwzensminaanin	'our (incl.) boy(s)'	our incl. obv.	g _ (*im*)*inaanin*
2p	ggwiiwzensmiwaan	'your boy(s)'	your pl. obv	g _ (*im*)*iwaan*
3p	wgwiiwzensmiwaan	'their boy(s)'	their	w _ (*im*)*iwaan*

Possession of Singular Inanimate Possessum, jiimaan, 'boat'				
1s	njiimaan(im)	'my boat'	my	n _ (im)
2s	gjiimaan(im)	'your boat'	your	g _ (im)
3s	wjiimaan(im)	'ANsg's boat'	ANsg's	w _ (im)
1p	njiimaan(*im*)*inaan*	'our (excl.) boat'	our (excl.)	n _ (*im*)*inaan*
21	gjiimaan(*im*)*inaan*	'our (incl.) boat'	our (incl.)	g _ (*im*)*inaan*
2p	gjiimaan(*im*)*iwaa*	'your boat'	your (pl.)	g _ (*im*)*iwaa*
3p	wjiimaan(*im*)*iwaa*	'their boat'	their	w _ (*im*)*iwaan*

Possession of Plural Inanimate Possessum, jiimaanan, 'boats'				
1s	njiimaan(*im*)an	'my boats'	my	n _ (*im*)an
2s	gjiimaan(*im*)an	'your boats'	your	g _ (*im*)an
3s	wjiimaan(*im*)an	'ANsg's boats'	ANsg's	w _ (*im*)an
1p	njiimaan(*im*)*inaanin*	'our (excl.) boats'	our (excl.)	n _ (*im*)*inaanin*
21	gjiimaan(*im*)*inaanin*	'our (incl.) boats'	our (incl.)	g _ (*im*)*inaanin*
2p	gjiimaan(*im*)*iwaan*	'your boats'	your (pl.)	g _ (*im*)*iwaan*
3p	wjiimaan(*im*)*iwaan*	'their boats'	their	w _ (*im*)*iwaan*

Suffix vowels identified with italics are those which may or may not be pronounced, depending on which vowels SYNCOPE applies to. For example, the *i* of *-inaan*, the first person plural possessor suffix, shows up variably in the following words:

ndoogmaamnaan	'our (excl.) chief'
nzhiishiibminaan	'our (excl.) duck'

Analysis of the possessive forms reveals the following basic template:

Prefix	Stem	Suf_1	Suf_2	Suf_3	Suf_4
Person Prefix	Noun Stem	Aug	Possession Marker	Possessor Plural	Possessum Plural/Obviation
ni 1 gi 2 (o) 3	—	[aa] (VI)	*Vm*	*Vnaan first person plural* *Vwaa second/third plural*	Vg *animate plural* Vn *inanimate plural* Vn *animate obviative*
			V= *i, o*, ii	V = *i, o*	V= a, i, o, ii, oo

The template shows one prefix position and four suffix positions. The prefixes indicate the person of the possessor, first (1), second (2), or third (3). The first suffix position, labeled Suf_1, is occupied by an augment, or stem extension, that occurs only with class VI nouns. The second suffix position contains a possession marker (also called a POSSESSION THEME SUFFIX); the third contains two plural suffixes, one for first person plurals, and one for non-first person plurals. The last position represents the regular plural/obviation suffix position. I will deal with each of these categories in the notes which follow.

4.9.1 Indefinite (Unspecified) Possessors

Historically, as recorded in Bloomfield (1958:24), Odawa had an INDEFINITE POSSESSOR prefix /i-/. This possessor prefix is used as a kind of structural placeholder in cases where the possessor of a normally inalienable body part is either not known or is irrelevant, as in, say, a drawing of a disembodied body part, or a cut of meat offered as a gift from a hunter. Such examples certainly occur in Nishnaabemwin, as in the following sentences, but since syncope always deletes the initial vowel, it is not possible anymore to determine the quality of the prefix vowel.

(12) Waabang sa nga-mnazaan maanda ***kaad***.

'Tomorrow I'm going to cook up this ***leg*** (of game animal).' (MC)

Waabang *av* 'tomorrow'; **nga-mnazaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I will cook INsg'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **kaad** *nid 0s* 'leg.'

(13) Bezhig ***wiibid*** ngii-naajtoon. | 'I lost a ***tooth***.' (MC)

Bezhig *nm* 'one'; **wiibid** *nid 0s* 'tooth'; **ngii-naajtoon** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I lost INsg.'

(14) ***Jaanzh*** mzinbiihan! | 'Draw a ***nose***!' (MC)

Jaanzh *nid 0s* 'a nose'; **mzinbiihan** *vti imp 2s»0* 'draw IN.'

(15) Ngii-zhibiihaan ***toowag***. | 'I have made a drawing of a(n) (human) ***ear***.'

Ngii-zhibiihaan *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I drew INsg'; **toowag** *nid 0s* 'an ear.' (AM39.376)

This prefix seems largely restricted to occurrence with body part terms. In the case of dependent kinship terms, indefinite possessor forms are expressed by verbal derivatives, such as *woosi*, 'have a father,' used in participial form, *weyoosijig*, 'those who have a(n unspecified) father,' i.e., a given man's children. The form *niijaani*, 'have a child,' can be used in its participial form, *weniijaanid* (alternatively *e-niijaanid*), to refer to an unspecified parent, especially a mother.

4.9.2 The Form of the Person Prefixes

The PERSON PREFIXES show variation according to the form of the stem that they are attached to. Prefixes attached to stems beginning with a vowel have a linking element /d/, while those that are attached to stems beginning with consonants do not, for example, *emkwaan*, 'spoon,' has as its first person possessor form, *ndemkwaan*, 'my spoon.'

In Chapter 2 (p. 62 and following) I discussed at length a process which has resulted in a new, extended set of person prefixes, such that there are now several distinct forms for each prefix. These forms are as follows:

First Person	ndi-	nda-	ndoo-
Second Person	gdi-	gda-	gdoo-
Third Person	wdi-	wda-	wdoo-

Because the extended person prefixes have the form of a complete METRICAL FOOT, and to distinguish them from words in which the prefix extension is an integral part of the word, they are sometimes written with a hyphen, as if they were prenouns, as in *ndoo-mkizin*, 'my shoe.' They are also commonly used with borrowed words, where they are also usually separated from the stem with a hyphen as well, as in *ndoo-contract*, 'my contract.' Such usage suggests that for some speakers these extended prefix forms are becoming the "default" or

basic forms.

4.9.2.1 Person Prefixes and Vowel-Initial Dependent Noun Stems

Person prefixes attached to DEPENDENT NOUNS do not insert a /d/ before long vowel-initial stems. All such stems begin with a long vowel, usually /ii/, but sometimes /oo/. Before STEM-INITIAL /ii/, the form of the third person prefix is /w/, and before stems beginning with /oo/, the third person prefix is absorbed completely, as it is in other dialects of Anishinaabemowin. The following table provides examples of these vowel-initial dependent forms, inflected for first, second, and third person possessors.

Inflection for Vowel-Initial Dependent Stems				
/ii/-Initial Stems				
'tooth'	-iibid	niibid	giibid	wiibid
'brain'	-iindib	niindib	giindib	wiindib
'body'	-iiyaw	niiyaw	giiyaw	wiiyaw
'brother'	-iijkwem	niijkiwem	giijkiwem	wiijkiweman
'brother-in-law'	-iinim	niinim	giinim	wiinman
'fellow…'	-iiji	niiji-	giiji-	wiiji-
/oo/-Initial Stems				
'father'	-oos	noos	goos	oosan
'grandmother'	-ookmis	nookmis	gookmis	ookmisan
'grandchild'	-ooshenh	nooshenh	gooshenh	ooshenyan

PREFIX REANALYSIS. From time to time, these vowel-initial dependent stems get REANALYZED, so that one or the other of the prefixed forms begins to serve as the basic stem form. So, for example, some speakers say *nwiibid* for 'my tooth,' or *nwiiji-Nishnaabe* 'my fellow Indian' (from a stem having the historical form /iiji-/), or *ngookmis* or *nnookmis* for 'my grandmother' (from historical /ookomis/) showing that any of the three person prefixes may be absorbed into the basic stem, though perhaps absorption of the third person prefix is a bit more common.

Other forms with an incorporated third person prefix include *niidgik*, 'my sister (female speaking),' also *nwiidgik* (W), *niiyaw*, 'my body,' also *nwiiyaw* (W), and *niitaawis*, 'my cousin' (new system), also *nwiitaawis* (M).

4.9.3 Possessed Noun Theme Suffix

Many nouns show an additional suffix in their possessed forms, having the form /-Vm/ with variable vowel, added directly after the noun stem. For example, the possessed form of

kik, 'kettle,' for some speakers is *ndakkom*. This complex of noun stem and possessive suffix is sometimes called a POSSESSED THEME. There appears to be much variation among speakers and dialects as to which words take this possessive suffix. I have indicated its optional status in the tables above by putting it in parentheses, as *(im)*. The quality of the vowel associated with this suffix varies, depending on the class of the noun it is attached to, according to the following specifications.

Possessed Theme Suffix					
I	II	III	IV	V	VI
-*i*m	-m	-V^{L}m	-*o*m	-iim	-aam

The superscript L in the Class III suffix indicates that stem-final /w/ is deleted and the final (short) vowel lengthened.

Some examples of nouns with this possessive suffix follow, using first person singular possessor forms ('my…'):

		'my…'
bneshiinh	'bird'	nbineshiim
zhiishiib	'duck'	nzhiishiibim
kwe	'woman'	ndikwem, ndakwem
nini	'man'	ndinniim, ndanniim
bzhiki	'cow'	nbizhkiim, nbazhkiim
mskwi	'blood'	nmiskwiim
oodena	'town'	ndoodenaam
kik	'kettle, pot'	ndakkom
pin	'potato'	ndoopniim

As mentioned already, there is considerable variation as to which noun stems take the possessive suffix. Rhodes 1985 occasionally lists variable forms for words, such as the words meaning 'my dad,' which may be either *nbaabaa* and *nbaabaam*, and 'my mother,' which may be either *nmamaanh* or *nmaamaam*, varying by community. In other cases, both forms are listed, such as for *kik*, 'kettle, pot,' where both *ndakik* and *ndakkom* are given. In other cases, a single form is given, such as *ndaagam*, 'my snowshoe,' and *ngiboosnenh*, 'my trousers' (W), which lack the possessive suffix, and *nmitgom*, 'my piece of wood,' which has it. Some variation is evidently at the community level, such as *njiibay*, 'my corpse,' at CL, versus *njiibaam*, 'my soul, spirit, ghost,' for general southern Ojibwe. In this case, the general pattern treats this word as belonging to Class VI, while at CL, it is a regular Class I noun. Note that both groups have a locative, *jiibying*, which lacks the augment of Class VI

nouns, again treating it as a Class I noun. In general, Nishnaabemwin probably follows or followed other varieties of Anishinaabemowin, where the suffix tends to be used less after stems that end in /n/ or /m/. For example, Bloomfield (1958:41) noted that for Andrew Medler (of Walpole Island) nouns that end in /n/ or /m/ tended not to take the possessor suffix, and provides a list of other words which also did not take it, including *kik*, 'kettle,' *nit*, 'fish spear,' *bwi*, 'paddle,' *semaa*, 'tobacco,' *gboosnenh*, 'trousers,' *mshkimod*, 'bag,' *mtigwaab*, 'bow,' and *bkok*, 'arrow,' as well as almost all dependent nouns. Bloomfield notes two exceptions to this rule at Walpole Island, though, *nmiignim*, 'my feather' (from noun stem *miigon*), and *ndaknim*, 'my bone' (from noun stem *kan*, 'bone'). Historically, the stems most likely to take the possessive suffix are those that end in vowels, because the consonant (/m/) of the possessive suffix provides a final consonant for the stem, facilitating the attachment of other suffixes. All of these exceptional nouns appear to represent items of great cultural antiquity, and close personal possession. A striking feature of such words in Anishinaabemowin generally is how frequently they pattern together in their behaviour.

In contemporary Nishnaabemwin the possessive theme suffix takes on especial importance as a marker of a noun having singular third person possessor, because, as we have seen, SYNCOPE may otherwise delete all direct evidence that the noun is possessed, namely the person prefix /o/, as in *jiimaan*, which may mean either 'boat' or 'ANsg's boat,' because the person prefix /o/ of the possessed form is always deleted by syncope. Elsewhere I have suggested that such possessed forms can be spelled with STRUCTURAL-W, that is, with a «w» in the place of the syncopated /o/, *wjiimaan*. This solution only works for written forms, of course. One adjustment that contemporary speakers are making to the ambiguities caused by syncope is to make much greater use of the possessive theme suffix, which shows the noun to be possessed even if the person prefix is syncopated, as in *jiimaanim*, 'ANsg's boat.' Such usage is growing rapidly, as speakers seek to regularize a system set adrift by syncope.

LEXICALIZED POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES. A few dependent nouns appear to have the possessive suffix built into the basic word, such as *nmishoomis*, 'my grandfather,' and *nookomis*, 'my grandmother,' where in both cases there appears to be material added after the suffix. In other dependent nouns, the suffix appears at the end, as in *ngitziim*, 'my parent,' and *ndahiim*, 'my possession.'

4.9.3.1 Suppletive Possessive Themes

A very few nouns have SUPPLETIVE possessive themes, meaning that the basic noun stem used in possessed forms is not the same as that used when the noun is used without a possessor. The most noteworthy are *nday*, 'my dog, my pet,' which is the possessed stem for *nimosh* or *nimookaajiinh* (M), 'dog,' *nniijaanis*, 'my child,' which is for some speakers a possessed form of *bnoojiinh*, 'child' (alongside *ndabnoojiinh*), and *nnaabem*, 'my husband,' the possessed form of *nini*, 'man,' though in this case too, a non-suppletive form, *ndinniim*, occurs as well. On Walpole Island, the form *ndayhaam* (NA) is used for 'my animal,' which literally means 'my animate possession,' whereas the independent words for animal are *wesiinh* for small, usually wild, animals, and *ookaan*, for farm animals.

4.9.4 Obviative Possessors

There are optional forms used on nouns possessed by OBVIATIVE POSSESSORS. The following table lays out the forms of this suffix for the different noun classes:

Obviative Possessor Suffix					
I	II	III	IV	V	VI
-ini	-ni	-V^{l}ni	-oni	-iini	-aani

A couple of examples of usage:

(16) Memdage go zaazbaakdokejin aw Wjibwe, mii iw pii giw Naadweswag widi gii-bi-zhaawaad maanpii nikekmig gii-bi-mkamaawaad niw zaazbaakdokenjin iw sa ***wziizbaakdomni.***

'Especially when the Ojibwe were making sugar, that was when those Hurons would come over to this side of the water to rob the sugar makers of ***their sugar.***' (AM32.1)

> **Memdage** *av* 'especially'; **zaazbaakdokejin** *vai ic conj 3sProx iter* '(CCNJ) whenever ANsg makes sugar'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Wjibwe** *na 3sProx* 'Ojibwe'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av/ni* 'time'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Naadweswag** *na 3pProx* 'Iroquois (PL)'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **gii-bi-zhaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl came hither'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **nikekmig** *av* 'side of the border'; **gii-bi-mkamaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl came to rob ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zaazbaakdokenjin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* 'CNJ who ANobv make sugar'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **sa** *av* 'indeed'; **wziizbaakdomni** *ni 3obv(0)* 'ANobv's sugar.'

(17) Mii dash aazhgo mdaaswi gii-nsaawaad, mii dash iw gii-wdaapnamwaad iw ***wdeni.***

'And when they had killed about ten [N.B. turtles], they took out ***their hearts.***'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aazhgo** *av* 'now indeed'; **gii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl killed ANobv'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-wdaapnamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl took out IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wdeni** *ni 3obv(0)* 'ANobv's heart(s).' (AK5.3)

An example where an OBVIATIVE POSSESSOR SUFFIX fails to occur:

(18) Wgii-maajiidwaan wiidigemaagnan ***wmaznahgan***. | 'He took ***his wife's book*** away.'

> **Wgii-maajiidwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg took Y from ANobv'; **wiidgemaagnan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S spouse'; **wmaznahgan** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANSG'S book.' (AM39.321)

4.9.5 Plural Possessor Suffixes

There are only two distinct suffixes to indicate the plurality of the possessor, having the following form:

Plural Possessor Suffixes	
-naan	first person plural possessor
-waa	non-first person plural possessor

Vowels are added to consonant-final stems, prior to these suffixes, as follows:

Vowels Occurring Before Plural Possessor Suffixes					
I	II	III	IV	V	VI
i	—	*i*[1]	o	ii	aa

1. Seem always to take possessive theme /-im/, so act like Class I forms.

As with other suffixes, depending on the vowel configuration of the stem to which the linking vowel is added, it may or may not actually be pronounced (and spelled). Here are some examples showing forms with and without link vowels:

Link V	Stem	Possessed Form	Gloss
i	/onaagan/	ndoonaagnjnaanin	'our (excl.) dishes'
i	/makizin/	nmakzinnaanin	'our (excl.) shoes'
i	/makizin/	ndoo-mkizninaanin	'our (excl.) shoes'
o	/mitigw/	nmitgonaan	'our (excl.) tree'
o	/mitigw/	nmitgomnaan	'our (excl.) tree'

Note, too, that the PLURAL and OBVIATIVE POSSESSUM suffixes have /i/ instead of /a/ after the first person plural possessor suffix, /-naan/. After the non-first person plural possessor suffix, /-waa/, the initial short vowel of the possessum suffixes is absorbed.

Possessum Suffixes after Possessor Plural Suffixes		
	after -naan	after -waa
inanimate plural	-in	-n
animate plural	-ig	-g
animate obviative	-in	-n

4.9.6 Locatives with Possessors and Obviative Possessors

Locative endings can be added to possessed forms, but occupy the same slot as the possessum number and obviation suffixes, so locative forms cannot indicate these grammatical distinctions. However, the obviative possessor suffix does occur with locatives.

Possession of Locative Possessum, jiimaan, 'boat'				
1s	njiimaaning	'in my boat(s)'	my	n _ (*im*)ing
2s	gjiimaaning	'in your boat(s)'	your (sg.)	g _ (*im*)ing
3s	wjiimaaning	'in ANsg's boat(s)'	ANsg's	w _ (*im*)ing
1p	njiimaannaaning	'in our (excl.) boat(s)'	our (excl.)	n _ (*im*)*inaaning*
21	gjiimaannaaning	'in our (incl.) boat(s)'	our (incl.)	g _ (*im*)*inaaning*
2p	gjiimaanwaang	'in your (pl.) boat(s)'	your (pl.)	g _ (*im*)*iwaang*
3p	wjiimaanwaang	'in their boat(s)'	their	w _ (*im*)*iwaang*

(19) Gye go wzhibiihgaazwag maa ***wdengyiwaang*** iw wii-gkendaagzid aw mekdeked.

'And they were painted ***on their faces*** with the marking by which a person who fasted was known.' (AM23.4)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **wzhibiihgaazwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were painted'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wdengyiwaang** *ni 3pProx(0) loc* 'on ANpl's face(s)'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wii-gkendaagzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANSG will be known'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mekdeked** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) who ANsg fasts.'

4.10 Noun Vocatives

Traditionally Anishinaabemowin had special forms for direct address, called VOCATIVES, and some of these survive in modern Nishnaabemwin. Vocatives seem to frequently involve a shortening of a TERM OF REFERENCE, often by deleting the last syllable or the last consonant. Rhodes lists several of vocatives in the dictionary, exemplified by the following:

	Term of Reference	Vocative Singular
'my brother'	niijkiwem	niijkiwenh!
'my grandfather'	nmishoomis	nmishoo!
'my grandmother'	nookmis	nookoo!
'my grandmother' (W)	ngookmis	ngookoo!
'my father'	noos	noose!
'my grandchild'	nooshenh	noosiz!
'my dad' (CL)	ndedem	ndede!
'my mother' (CL)	ndoodoom	ndoodoo!
'chick' (of chickens, turkeys)	biidiins	biidii!

VOCATIVE PLURALS. The vocative plural form is used in contexts of formal address. It is formed by addition of the suffix /-*i*dog/ (or -*i*dig), resembling the DUBITATIVE suffix used on verbs in the independent order to express uncertainty, as in *wiisnidig*, 'perhaps ANsg's eating.' As an example of vocative plurals, Andrew Medler used the following forms in a playfully formal speech detailing plans for an upcoming fair to be held on Walpole Island:

(20) ***Mandaagkwedog*** gye ***mandaagninwidog!*** | 'Ladies and Gentlemen!' (AM11.1)

> **Mandaagkwedog** *na voc 2p* 'ladies'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **mandaagninwidog** *na voc 2p* 'gentlemen.'

Based on these forms, it appears that vocative plurals pattern in the same way as pejoratives with respect to noun classes, that is, according to the following patterns:

Vocative Plural Suffix				
I	II	III	IV	V
-*i*dog	-dog	-*wi*dog	-*o*dog	-iidog
-*i*dig	-dig	-*wi*dig	-*o*dig	-iidig

4.11 Noun Preterits

A PRETERIT ending can be added to nouns to express relations that are no longer in effect, such as ownership or relationship, the latter due to the passing away of the relative. The preterit ending is /-ba*n*/. The form of the linking vowel preceding the preterit ending varies by noun class, as follows:

Preterit Suffix					
I	II	III	IV	V	VI
-*i*ba*n*	-ba*n*	-*wi*ba*n*	-*o*ba*n*	-iiba*n*	-aaba*n*

Baraga's grammar of Ottawa gives the following possessive forms for animate and inanimate possessed preterits (Baraga 1850:67-68), spelled as in the original:

Preterit Possessed Forms for Makak, 'Box' (Baraga Spelling)			
1s	'my'	nin makakoban	nin makakobanin
2s	'your' (sg.)	ki makakoban	ki makakobanin
3s	'ANsg's'	o makakoban	o makkobanin
1p	'our (excl.)'	nin makkonaban	nin makakonabanin
21	'our (incl.)'	ki makakonaban	ki makkonabanin
2p	'your (pl.)'	ki makakowaban	ki makakowabanin
3p	'their'	o makakowaban	o makakowabanin

Preterit Possessed Forms for Akik, 'Kettle, Pot' (Baraga Spelling)			
1s	'my'	nind akikoban	nind akikobanig
2s	'your' (sg.)	kid akikoban	kid akikobanig
3s	'ANsg's'	o dakikobanin	
1p	'our (excl.)'	nind akikonaban	nind akikonabanig
21	'our (incl.)'	kid akikonaban	kid akikonabanig
2p	'your (pl.)'	kid akikowaban	kid akikowabanig
3p	'their'	o dakikowabanin	

If we modernize the spelling of these forms, add vowel length indications, and then apply syncope to the resulting forms, we arrive at the following paradigms.

Preterit Possessed Forms for mkak, 'box'			
1s	'my'	nmakkoba*n*	nmakkobniin
2s	'your' (sg.)	gmakkoba*n*	gmakkobniin
3s	'ANsg's'	wmakkoba*n*	wmakkobniin
1p	'our (excl.)'	nmakkonaaba*n*	nmakkonaabniin
21	'our (incl.)'	gmakkonaaba*n*	gmakkonaabniin
2p	'your (pl.)'	gmakkowaaba*n*	gmakkowaabniin
3p	'their'	wmakkowaaba*n*	wmakkowaabniin

Preterit Possessed Forms for Kik, 'Kettle, Pot'			
1s	'my'	ndakkoba*n*	ndakkobniig
2s	'your' (sg.)	gdakkoba*n*	gdakkobniig
3s	'ANsg's'	wdakkobniin	
1p	'our (excl.)'	ndakkonaaba*n*	ndakkonaabniig
21	'our (incl.)'	gdakkonaaba*n*	gdakkonaabniig
2p	'your (pl.)'	gdakkowaaba*n*	gdakkowaabniig
3p	'their'	wdakkowaabniin	

(21) Baamaa pii dash mii iw gii-giishnanaawaad niw waabgan-pwaagnan, mii go naa iw gaa-naajmotwid aw ***nmishoomsiban.***

'But later on they bought those clay pipes, just as ***my late grandfather*** told me.'

Baamaa *av* 'later'; **pii** *av* 'then'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-giishnanaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl bought ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **waabgan-pwaagnan** *na 3obv* 'clay pipe(s)'; **mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-naajmotwid** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANsg related to me'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomsiban** *na pret 3sProx* 'my deceased grandfather.' (AK16.7)

(22) Gchi-mewnzha, pii gii-binoojiinshwiyaan, ngii-baa-wiijiiwaa ***ndi-mishoomisimban*** baa-ndo-daaweyaang gaawiikaajanan.

'Long ago, when I was a child, I used to go around with ***my late grandfather*** when he went about selling porcupine-quillwork. (LM)

Gchi-mewnzha *av* 'very long ago'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **gii-binoojiinshiwyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I was a child'; **ngii-baa-wiijiiwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I went around with ANsg'; **ndi-mishoomisimban** *nad pret 1s(3sProx)* 'my late grandfather'; **baa-ndo-daaweyaang** *vaio conj 1p»x* '(CONJ) we went about selling'; **gaawiikaajganan** *ni 0p?* 'quillwork pieces.'

OBVIATION OF PRETERIT NOUNS. As with any other animate nouns, PRETERIT NOUNS can be marked for OBVIATION, as in the following example, which has a preterit obviative form of the dependent noun /-oos/, 'father.'

(23) Mii dash maaba bezhig nishnaabe Johnny Angus (Sr.) gii-zhinkaazo, mii niw "Ojibwens" ***oosbaniin***, shkinawe go naa maanda iw pii aawgoban.

'So then there was a man named Johnny Angus (Sr.), he's the one ***whose deceased father*** was named Ojibwens; he was evidently a young man at this time.' (RN)

Mii *av* 'and so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **bezhig** *nm* 'a certain'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **gii-zhinkaazo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was named'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **Ojibwens** *na 3sProx* 'Ojibwens' (little Ojibwe); **oosbaniin** *nad pret 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's deceased father'; **shkinawe** *na 3sProx* 'young man'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **aawgoban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg allegedly was.'

LEXICALIZATION OF PRETERIT. The preterit can occasionally be LEXICALIZED, as in *oodenaaban*, meaning 'ghost town,' at both M and CL. Compare *oodena*, 'town.'

4.12 Noun Preterit Dubitatives

Historically, PRETERIT DUBITATIVE forms for nouns also existed. These forms were used, according to Baraga (1850:71), in 'terms denoting relationship when they speak of deceased persons *whom they never saw*' (emphasis in original). Baraga suggests that the formation of such forms is on the basis of the following: *The invariable rule for the formation of the traditional in this imperfect tense is, to put the syllable go before the letter b in the terminations of the imperfect tense.* The forms Baraga cites are as follows:

Preterits and Preterit Dubitatives of Nouns in Baraga 1850:71			
Preterit	Gloss	Preterit Dubitative	Gloss
nóssiban	'my deceased father'	nóssigoban	'my deceased father whom I never saw'
kókomissinaban	'our deceased grandmother'	kókomissinagoban	'our deceased grandmother whom we never saw'
nind ógimaminaban	'our deceased chief'	nind ógimaminagoban	'our deceased chief whom we never saw'

These forms are evidently not used today, though they certainly were used in the past, and are found in other dialects of Anishinaabemowin. I include them here in the interests of thoroughness, and in the possibility that they are still used somewhere, or that historical materials which use them may become available.

4.13 The Ordering of Nominal Suffixes

The following template lays out the relative ordering of suffixes. The symbol V stands for a short vowel, V^L for a long vowel, or the lengthening of a final short vowel.

Pref	Stem	Diminutive Contemptive	Poss. Theme	Pejor.	Poss. Plural / Obviation	Mode	Possessum Plural / Obviation
n- g- w-	—	-V^{L}ns -V^{L}nh	-aa/$V^{(L)}$m	-*V*sh	-*V*naan -*V*waa -*V*ni	-*V*ban	-Vg -ig -iig -Vn -in -iin -Vn -in -iin
							Locative
							-(V)ng
						Vocative Plural	
						-*V*dig/-*V*dog	

4.14 Participles

Participles are verbs used in the function of nouns. They can be of any verbal subclass, including VAI, VAIO, VII, VTA, or VTI, and show full inflection for every verbal inflectional category except the iterative. Participles are often used in Nishnaabemwin to express nominal concepts, that is, to identify people and things on the basis of their behaviour or of some quality they have. In many cases, participles have become lexicalized, that is, have taken on a particular meaning, and represent the primary way of expressing a nominal concept. This is especially true of items of technology, and of roles played by humans. Some examples: *baatewaagmiseg*, 'beer' ni (plural, *baatewaagmisegin*), *endzhi-mzinaatesjigeng*, 'movie theater' ni (plural, *endzhi-mzinaatesjigengin*), and *debaabndang*, 'plate umpire,' na (plural: *debaabndangig*).

4.15 Summary Table of Noun Inflections

The tables on the following page summarize the noun classes outlined in this chapter and the forms that inflectional endings take with each of them. The "Pg" (page) column in the second chart refers to the pages in this chapter where each topic is presented.

4.16 Additional Reading

The most detailed and rigourous account of Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) noun inflection can be found in Nichols 1980.

I	zhiishiib	'duck'	na
	jiimaan	'boat'	ni
II	Nishnaabe	'Indian'	na
III	nini	'man'	na
IVa	mtig	'tree'	na
	zhibiihganaatig	'pencil'	ni
IVb	zhgaag	'skunk'	na
V	sab	'net'	na
	sin	'stone'	ni
	bwi	'paddle'	ni
VI	nzid	'my foot'	ni

	Pg.	I	II	III	IVa	IVb	V	VI
Animate Plural	178	-ag	-g	-wag	-oog	-wag -og	-iig	-ag
Inanimate Plural	178	-an	-n	-wan	-oon	—	-iin	-an
Animate Obviative	183	-an	-n	-wan	-oon	-wan -on	-iin	-an
Contemptive	185	-enh	-nh	-V^{L}nh	-oonh	-oonh	-iinh	-enh
Diminutive	185	-ens	-ns	-V^{L}ns	-oons	-oons	-iins	-ens
Pejorative	190	-ish	-sh	-wish	-osh	-osh	-iish	-aash -ish
Locative	193	-ing	-ng	-V^{L}ng	-ong	-ong	-iing	-aang
Possessive Suffix	196	-*i*m	-m	-V^{L}m	-*o*m	-*o*m	-iim	-aam
Obviative Possessor	203	-ini	-ni	-V^{L}ni	-oni	-oni	-iini	-aani
Vocative Plural	205	-*i*dig	-dig	-w*i*dig	-*o*dig	-*o*dig	-iidig	
Preterit	206	-*i*ba*n*	-ba*n*	-w*i*ba*n*	-*o*ba*n*	-*o*ba*n*	-iiba*n*	-aaba*n*

4.17 Text Fragment: Email Correspondence

«Aanii,

Geget go znagat, naa? Aapji go nnistataan. Mii go bjiinak genii shkonwezyaanh wiiba wii-shkwaagzat maaba October. Biingeyaatkamik! (Oy vey!) Maanda mshi gkend-ziwaanh ezhi-gnibsek maanda "time."

Giishpin nongo megwaa ebmisek wii-bi-giigdayin, waabang (Spin'ganwang (Thurs.)) shkwaa-9:00 biinish ngoji 2:00-shi-aapta (maanpii nikeyiing endso-dbagnek) nga-yaa oodi skoon'gamgoong ndoo-office-ing. Niibaa-dbik nongo nda-kewenziinyim nakii. Aabdek dash epiichi-giizhgak nbaa; ndaa-paa'aa dash giishpin maanpii nji-mmidwewedoonyaanh maanda keyboard. Jiibaatgo-giizhgak, 10:00-shi-aapta biinish naawkwek-shi-aapta nda-knoomaage, gnamaa dash naa miinwaa 1:00-shi-aapta biinish 2:00-shi-aapta ndaa-yaa ndoo-office-ing. (Nbishgendaan ko wi pii oo-ke-coffe-keyaang ngoji, weyiip shkwaa-kinoomaageyaanh.)

Niibna go aanwi wenjishngin examples gmiinin?

MAC»

Hi,

It really is difficult, isn't it? I understand it very well. I came to the sudden realization just now that October's going to be coming to an end soon. Oh my! It's amazing that I don't know yet know how quickly this thing, time, goes by. If you want to call this current week, tomorrow after 9 until half past 2 (the time in this time zone), I'll be in my office there at school. My old man works the night shift tonight. So he has to sleep during the day; so I wake him up if I click away at this keyboard here at this spot. On Fridays, I teach from half-past 1 until half-past 2. (I like at that time for us first to go out for coffee after I finish teaching.)

I'm giving you lots of really good examples, I hope?

MAC

5

Animate Intransitive Verb Inflection

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will examine the inflection of ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (VAI) verbs. Nishnaabemwin has a rich variety of such verbs, including verbs of action, motion, aspect, state, quality, quantity, making, possession, and being, among many others. The following verbs are illustrative of these different notional categories.

boodwe	'make (a) fire'
dkaji	'catch a cold'
biindnakse	'fall into a hollow tree'
oodetoo	'go to town'
bgonegahge	'chop a hole [in a tree]'
mshkikiiwniniiwi	'be a doctor'
nshkaadzi	'be angry'
webtaa	'begin'
giizhtaa	'finish'
gaachiinyi	'be small'
koozi	'be such a height'
waagaakdaatgoke	'make axehandles'
dkonkeshkoozo	'be caught by the arm'
niizhootwage	'have two ears'
yaa	'be (in a place)'
wdabhagiiswaani	'use (Y) as a clock'
naabndam	'have a vision'

5.2 Different Ways of Assessing Transitivity

In order to understand the morphological and syntactic classification of animate intransitive (VAI) verbs, we must distinguish between the derivational and inflectional morphological traits of a verb.[1] Addressing derivational morphology first, we observe that most Nishnaabemwin verb stems have a FINAL element, a basic component of the word stem, which determines the verb's class and subclass, as suggested by the following forms.

Stem	Gloss	Final	Class
daadbood-oo=	'saw IN and separate it'	-bood	VTI
daadbooN=	'saw AN and separate it	-booN	VTA
mnwend-am=	'enjoy IN'	-end-am	VTI
mnwenim=	'enjoy AN'	-enim	VTA
bmaashi	'sail by'	-aashi	VAI
bmaasin	'sail by'	-aasin	VII
mnogi	'grow well'	-(i)gi	VAI
mnogin	'grow well'	-(i)gin	VII

Thus, one can often determine from a stem's derivational structure what sub-class of verbs it belongs to. For example, any verb stem that has a stem ending in /bood-oo/ is transitive inanimate (VTI), and corresponds to a transitive animate (VTA) verb stem ending in /-booN/, and a corresponding detransitive animate intransitive (VAI) ending in /-booj-ige/; any verb that ends in /-aashi/ is an animate intransitive (VAI), and has a corresponding inanimate intransitive verb (VII) in /-aasin/, and so on. So one means of classifying a verb is on the basis of its derivational structure, that is, on the basis of what final it has.

Verbs also differ in their inflectional behaviour, in two distinct ways. First, transitive verbs have a suffix not found on intransitive verbs, called a THEME SUFFIX. For example, the transitive animate verb form *nwaabmaag*, 'I see ANpl,' has the theme suffix /-aa/, and the transitive inanimate verb *waabndmaan*, 'that/if I see IN,' has the theme suffix /-am/. Theme suffixes function to specify role relations between actors and goals, in other words, they are present when the verb has more than one semantic role to assign.[2] The presence of a theme suffix is thus a morphological indicator that a verb is transitive, and since there are distinct theme suffixes for VTA and VTI verbs, we can also easily classify a verb on the basis of the theme suffix it has.

A second aspect of inflection concerns the form of inflectional suffixes denoting grammatical properties of actors and goals, such as their features of person, number, and obviation. These suffixes differ somewhat for transitive and intransitive verbs. A small sampling

1. The concepts of derivation and inflection are also discussed in Chapter 2.12, Derivational and Inflectional Morphology, beginning on page 98.
2. Verbs and their semantic roles are treated at length in Chapter 13.

of such inflectional differences is illustrated in the following table.

Form	Class	Gloss	Plural Actor Suffix
nwaabmaanaanig	VTA	'**we** (excl.) see them (an.)'	-naan
ndoo-nakiimi*n*	VAI	'**we** (excl.) are working'	-mi*n*
gwaabmaawaag	VTA	'**you** (pl.) see them (anim.)'	-waa
gwaabndaanaawaan	VTI	'**you** (pl.) see them (inan.)'	-naawaa
gboozim	VAI	'**you** (pl.) get on board'	-m

The suffixes marking first person plural are usually different for transitive (VTA) and intransitive (VAI) verbs, /-naany/ for transitive and /-min/ for intransitive; the suffixes for second person plural are also different, /-naawaa/ or /-waa/ for transitive verbs and /-m/ for intransitive. Each subclass of verbs (VTA, VTI, VAI, VII) has specific prefix and suffix combinations associated with it, so we can say, for example, that a given combination shows animate intransitive patterns, perhaps by having independent order plural suffixes /-mi(n)/ and /-m/. Because of this, we can often easily classify verbs on the basis of their inflection.

Several linguistic studies of Ojibwe verbs have observed that VTI verbs share many inflectional features with VAI's, for example, conjunct inflection is almost identical for the two types, and in the independent order, VTI's inflect very similarly to VAIO verbs, though, of course, they cannot be inflected for animate goals. Furthermore, one can argue that VTI theme signs are actually VAI finals, since there are occasional VAI verbs that end appear to end in FINALS /-am/ and /-oo/, e.g., *boonam*, 'lay an egg,' and verbs of running, such as *bmibtoo*, 'run along.' Indisputably, there is a large class of PSEUDO-INTRANSITIVES (see below, section 5.12, Pseudo-Intransitive Verbs, beginning on page 248) verbs which end in VTI1 theme /-am/, but are inflected as intransitives, even in the independent order, e.g., *mnwendam*, 'be content, be glad.' And there are derivational VAI's that can take goals, the VAIO verbs. Observations such as these has led Glyne Piggott (see esp. Piggott 1979, 1989) to assert that all VTI's are intransitive verbs derived from corresponding VTA's.[1] However one is to analyze the transitivity of VTI's, it is clear that VTA's more consistently mark goal arguments than do VTI's, and are thus inflectionally "more" transitive than VTI's. And there is obvious derivational gradation between VTI's and VAI's. This type of behaviour makes sense semantically, since inanimates are inherently much more likely to function as patients (goals), and there is thus less need to explicitly index them as goals. Animates, however, tend to fill semantic roles associated with the actor macrorole, and so their occurrence as goals is more "marked," and linguistically, is more likely to be explicitly indexed inflectionally. Also, there is a general tendency across languages to downplay the details of less important participants, such as inanimates.

A verb may also be classified as transitive or intransitive on the basis of its syntactic behaviour, that is, whether or not a noun (phrase) or pronoun representing a goal can appear

1. These notes are distillations of the exposition in O'Meara 1990.

with it in its clause (minimal sentence). For example, the following sentences clearly have verbs with both actors and goals, since both are present in the clauses containing the verbs:

(1) ***Wshki-nbagsagoon*** wminpawaawaan ***giw gaagog***.

'***The porcupines*** like to eat ***new lumber***.' (AK1.9)

> **Wshki-nbagsagoon** *na 3obv* 'new lumber'; **wminpawaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl like the taste of ANobv'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gaagog** *na 3pProx* 'porcupines.'

(2) Wjiigdahaan ***iw wiigwaam aw kwe***.

'***That woman*** is sweeping out ***that house***.' (AM39.398)

> **Wjiigdahaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg sweeps out INsg'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wiigwaam** *ni 0s* 'house'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman.'

In the first example, the verb *wminpawaawaan*, 'ANpl like the taste of ANobv,' has an actor role filled by *giw gaagog*, 'those porcupines,' and a goal role filled by *wshki-nbagsagoon*, 'new lumber'; in the second example, the verb *wjiigdahaan*, 'ANsg sweeps INsg out,' has an actor role filled by *aw kwe*, 'that woman,' and a goal role filled by *iw wiigwaam*, 'that house.' In these cases, too, there is a clear alignment of the verbs' derivational structures with their syntactic behaviour, since both of these verbs have transitive finals. When we consider the following sentence, however, we find a somewhat different alignment of morphology and syntax:

(3) ***Gii-bootaagewag*** giw kwewag niw mdaamnan iw wii-bkwezhgankewaad.

'The women ***ground up*** the corn when they were going to make bread.' (AK2.4)

> **Gii-bootaagewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl ground (Y)'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **mdaamnan** *na 3obv* 'corn'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wii-bkwezhgankewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl will make bread.'

Here the verb *bootaage*, 'grind,' does not have a transitive final, nor does it have a theme suffix, nor does it make any inflectional reference to a goal, and yet, syntactically, there is an explicitly stated goal, *niw mdaamnan*, 'that corn (obv.),' in the sentence— the corn is rather obviously the object that the women are grinding. So in this case, the verb is derivationally and inflectionally intransitive, but syntactically it is transitive. Now, of some interest is the fact that many speakers of Nishnaabemwin add inflections for the properties of goals to verbs of this sort, which Rhodes (1985) labels as VAIO's. For example, instead of *gii-bootaagewag*, in (3) above, many Nishnaabemwin speakers would have *wgii-bootaagenaawaan* as the inflected form of this verb. Rhodes (1991) distinguishes these

VAIO goals from goals associated with VTA and VTI verbs on the basis of their inflectional behaviour, designating the latter as PRIMARY OBJECTS and the goals of VAIO's as SECONDARY OBJECTS. The goals of VAIO's pattern identically to the secondary objects of DITRANSITIVE verbs, according to Rhodes.

If we consider the second half of sentence (3), we arrive at one more way to think about transitivity. Notice that the English translation of this sentence has two explicitly transitive constructions linked together, first *grind up the corn*, and second, *make bread*. In the English translation, the concept of 'bread' is expressed by a separate noun, which functions as a direct object. In Nishnaabemwin, however, this concept is expressed by the noun for bread, *bkwezhgan*, appearing *inside* of the verb. The verb has a VAI derivational FINAL, /-ke/, has inflectional marking indicating that it is intransitive, and there is no separate, free-standing noun to suggest that the verb is syntactically transitive. Yet in terms of its meaning, that is, semantically, the verb seems transitive, but appears to have its goal incorporated within the verb itself. There are many verbs in Nishnaabemwin which show this type of alignment, in which something like a goal appears inside the verb, but the verb is treated grammatically as an intransitive. For example, by far the most common way to talk about the anatomy of living things is with verbs of the following sort:

zaawzide	'have brown feet'
niizhootwage	'have two ears'
waawyemoowe	'have round droppings'

These verbs are all intransitive in terms of their derivational and inflectional properties. They do not take explicit syntactic goals, either. But semantically, they appear somewhat transitive, though not quite in the same way that more prototypical transitive verbs such as *nshi*, 'kill AN' do. For example, we can paraphrase the first two verbs above in English with phrases such as 'be brown-footed' and 'be two-eared,' that is, with expressions that in English, at least, are decidedly syntactically intransitive. We cannot, however, do this with the last example, since **be round-droppinged* does not work in English. And we can note as well that the English equivalents of these Nishnaabemwin concepts are also less transitive than other verbs in that the English verbs cannot be PASSIVIZED, as in, for example, **Brown feet are had by this dog*, or **Two ears are had by this rabbit*. But the point of this discussion is that languages certainly have categories such as transitive and intransitive which are very useful in understanding their grammatical behaviour, but different kinds of tests, such as inflectional, derivational, syntactic, and semantic, will not always produce results that are in complete agreement with each other, and often we must apply many tests to tease out the properties of words and expressions. For this reason, care must be taken when making statements about concepts such as transitivity. See 3.4.1, Transitivity and Animacy, beginning on page 130, for additional discussion.

5.3 VAI Subclasses

This brief presentation of a verb's identity and transitivity in terms of its derivational, inflectional, syntactic and semantic traits serves as a prelude to the introduction of animate intransitive (VAI) verbs. There are three main sub-classes of VAI verbs, based on their morphological and syntactic properties:

(1) Regular animate intransitives (VAI), representing by far the largest class, which are derivationally and inflectionally intransitive, for example, *boodwe*, 'make fire,' *niimi*, 'dance,' and *dgoshin*, 'arrive.'

(2) Optional 'object' (goal) animate intransitive verbs (VAIO), that is, those which can be inflected for third person goals in the independent order and in participles and thus, while intransitive in their basic stem-derivational form, nonetheless can have certain inflections that are transitive. Examples: *daawe*, 'sell Y,' and *aakzi*, 'have a pain in Y [some part of the body].' VAIO verbs differ from VTA and VTI verbs, however, in that they do not have theme suffixes, and in their capacity to have goals of either gender, animate or inanimate, while VTA and VTI verbs require goals of the specific, appropriate gender. VAIO verbs also differ from VTA verbs in that they allow only third person goals (but note that they resemble VTI's in this regard).

(3) PSEUDO-INTRANSITIVE (PS-VAI) verbs, which end with a stem element that resembles the theme sign /-am/ of some transitive inanimate (VTI) verbs. Examples: *mnwendam*, 'be glad,' and *debwetam*, 'believe [what one has heard].' Other than this feature of having an element resembling a VTI theme-suffix, these verbs are inflectionally intransitive, though some of them can take clausal complements (see Chapter 13.3, beginning on page 665). They are chiefly like VTI in the behaviour of their terminal element, /-am/, which behaves phonologically similarly to the VTI theme. Additional notes on these verbs can be found in Chapter 8.2, Pseudo-Intransitive (Objectless TI) Verbs, beginning on page 309.

The following table lays out the derivational and inflectional behaviour of the three different subtypes of VAI verbs.

		Derivation	Inflection
Regular VAI	VAI	VAI	intransitive
VAI with Object	VAIO	VAI	transitive intransitive
Pseudo-Intransitive	PS-VAI	VTI-like	intransitive

INHERENTLY PLURAL (VAIP) VERBS. Rhodes 1985 lists a few VAI verbs, labeled VAIP, as obligatorily plural, for example, *niizhwewaan'gizwaad*, 'be in two sets, be two families' and *niizhoobhidwaad*, 'be a group of two running together.' All that distinguishes these verbs is that they have meanings that are inherently plural. They do not represent a structural sub-class.

5.4 Regular Animate Intransitive Verb (VAI) Inflection

The basic person, number and obviation categories for VAI verbs are coded as 1s, 2s, 3s, 3', 1p, 21, 2p, 3p, and X, representing nine distinct inflectional possibilities for each VAI category. These categories are outlined as follows.

1s	first person singular
2s	second person singular
3s	animate third person singular, proximate
3'	animate third person obviative[1]
X	unspecified actor (general activity)
1p	first person plural exclusive
21	first person plural inclusive
2p	second person plural
3p	animate third person plural, proximate

1. Some analysts designate animate obviatives as fourth person, so 4 might also be used to designate them.

Given these categories we can compute, in rough terms, the number of inflections for a typical VAI verb. For the INDEPENDENT and CONJUNCT ORDERS, there are theoretically nine person/number/obviation categories, four MODES (and ITERATIVES in the conjunct), two POLARITIES, three TENSES, and two functions (VERBAL and PARTICIPIAL in the conjunct), creating 882 inflectional combinations. For the IMPERATIVE ORDER, there are three person/number combinations, and three modes, creating theoretically nine inflectional combinations, making a total of roughly 890 forms for the animate intransitive verb. Of course, the number of inflections will increase dramatically if we consider DIRECTIONAL, RELATIVE, and MODAL PREVERBS to represent inflectional elements, and if we consider CHANGED CONJUNCT forms as inflectionally distinct from PLAIN CONJUNCTS.

Although there is a great number of inflectional combinations, the prefixes and suffixes used to signal these grammatical combinations, and the patterns of prefix and suffix structuring, are quite limited. In the following sections we will examine the constituency and structuring of the three inflectional orders.

5.4.1 VAI Independent, Conjunct, and Imperative Templates

An examination of general patterns in the inflected forms of regular animate intransitive verbs shows, as we expect, that there is much structure to the inflectional system. In the following sections, I present the basic inflectional templates of regular VAI verbs in the three inflectional orders, independent, conjunct, and imperative.

INDEPENDENT ORDER TEMPLATE. The following table lays out the basic template and

constituency of prefix and suffix slots for the independent order.

Person	Stem	Negative	First, Second Person Plural	Mode	Third Person Plural/Obviative
ni- 1 gi- 2	VAI	-sii	-mi*n* 1-plural[1] -m 2-plural	— indicative -(naa)ba*n*[2] preterit	-ag 3 plural -an 3 obviative
			Third Person	-(naa)dig[3] dubitative	
			-w 3 -m X	-goba*n* pret. dub.	

1. An italic *n* indicates a segment that in Odawa is typically not pronounced when word-final.
2. The underlying form is arguably /-bany/. See discussion elsewhere.
3. The underlying form is arguably /-digw/ or /-dogw/, though /w/ in dubitatives is sometimes ambiguous.

There is only one prefix slot, for first and second person prefixes. Immediately after the stem is a slot for the negative suffix, followed by a slot for either first and second person plural suffixes, or a third person suffix, which we have designated as /-w/. Although it is a suffix, this /-w/ functions similarly to the first and second person prefixes. An UNSPECIFIED (GENERALIZED) ACTOR suffix /-m/ also occurs in this slot. The next slot contains suffixes for three marked MODES, PRETERIT, DUBITATIVE and PRETERIT DUBITATIVE, here without any indication of variant forms associated with particular person/number combinations. Forms lacking any modal marking are usually identified as being INDICATIVE (also called NEUTRAL) mode. Next follows the slot for third person (nominal) plural and obviative suffixes. The chart demonstrates that while there are many distinct independent order animate intransitive forms, they share a common template, and that the fillers of each template slot are quite limited in number.

The morphemes within a given suffix slot sometimes interact with those in the following slot, producing variant forms, or they may show variation on the basis of the particular person category that the verb is inflected for. For example, the markers for preterit and dubitative are /-naabany/[1] and /-naadigw/, respectively, for all first and second person singular independent order forms, and /-aabany/ and /-aadigw/ for first and second person plural forms; the form of the third person plurals and obviatives are /iig/ and /iin/, respectively, after the preterit suffix /ban/, and /enag/ and /enan/ after the dubitative, /digw/, though these suffixes may also be analyzed as redundantly specifying the dubitative by means of the element /en/, since such an element shows up in conjunct dubitatives as well. General Anishinaabemowin inflection very often treats first and second persons differently from third persons.

VARIATION IN PERSON PREFIXES. Historically, the forms of PERSON PREFIXES varied according to whether they were attached to stems that began with consonants or vowels: for

1. There are, of course, several ways to analyze these strings of segments into morphemes. My approach here is superficial, not intended to provide systemic justification for a particular analysis.

example, the second person prefix was *gid-* before vowels and *gi-* elsewhere. Many contemporary speakers of Nishnaabemwin have reanalyzed the historical forms, and use an array of person prefix forms. Because of this, the person prefixes can have any of the following forms:

First Person	n	nd	ndi-	nda-	ndoo-
Second Person	g	gd	gdi-	gda-	gdoo-
Third Person	_	d	di-	da-	doo-

These forms are discussed in detail in Chapter 2 (Section 2.6.4.1, page 62). Rather than list all of these possible prefix forms for each relevant inflection, I have elected to use the simplest forms in the CONJUGATION TABLES (PARADIGMS) presented below. So, for example, the inflectional specification of an animate intransitive verb, NEUTRAL MODE, POSITIVE POLARITY, FIRST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE is «n _ mi*n*», in which the prefix «n» stands for any of the first person prefixes listed above.

Conjunct Order Template. The template for the VAI conjunct order is very similar to that of the independent, though there is no prefix slot, and the suffix position immediately following that of the negative contains morphologically indivisible elements that simultaneously encode both person and number for first and second person singular and plural, but not third persons. The third person suffix is /-d/ after a vowel, and /-g/ when added directly to a nasal stem. The allomorph /-g/ also occurs in negative forms, e.g., *maajaasig*, '(that) ANsg didn't leave.' In the negative, the 3p form is /-gwaa/, with a third person plural number marker, /-waa/, following the third person marker /-g/, constituting the opposite ordering of that found in positive forms, /-waa-d/.

The following table lays out the basic system, but does not account for all of the allomorphy found in the different modes—for example, the PRETERIT MODE marker is *-baanh* after the first person singular suffix *-yaan*, which itself adjusts to the preterit, yielding /-yaambaanh/, as in *maajaayaambaanh*, '(that) I had left.' There are several such wrinkles in particulars, which can be gleaned by inspecting the paradigms.

Stem	Neg.	Pers/Num/Obv		Mode	
VAI	-si(w)	-[y]aanh	1s	—	indicative
Initial Change		-[y]in	2s	-ban	preterit
i > e		-d/-g	3s	-en	dubitative
a > e		-[y]aang	1p	-ban-en	preterit dubitative
o > (w)e		-[y]ing	21		
ii > aa		-[y]eg	2p		
e > ye[1]		-waa-d	3p [pos.]		
oo > waa		-g-waa	3p [neg.]		
aa > yaa		-[i]ni-d	3'		
		-[a]m-g	X		

1. Historically, the initial change forms of /e/ and /aa/ were /aye/ and /ayaa/, respectively, but in Nishnaabemwin, Syncope always deletes the initial short vowel, and since no prefixes occur with initial change, the short vowels never appear.

The negative suffix often shows /w/ before first and second person forms, but not third person, as in *maajaaswaan*, '(if) I don't leave,' versus *maajaasig*, '(if) ANsg doesn't leave.' The person/number suffixes show /y/ after vowel-final stems, e.g., *maajaayaanh*, '(if) I leave,' compared to *dgoshnaanh*, '(if) I arrive,' which lacks /y/; the obviative and indefinite actor suffixes have [i] after stems that end in a consonant, as in *dgoshninid*, '(if) ANobv arrive(s),' though undoubtedly /a/ occurs as well. Note also that the preterit dubitative mode suffix complex consists of both the preterit and dubitative suffixes.

The unspecified actor form appears to show a third person suffix following the /-m/ specifically indexing an unspecified actor. This /m/ is pronounced as [ŋ] before the suffix /-g/.

IMPERATIVE ORDER TEMPLATE. The IMPERATIVE order has three MODES, an IMMEDIATE, a DELAYED, and a PROHIBITIVE. The delayed, as its name suggests, is used with deferred commands, such as *bi-zhaakan*, 'come over later!,' and thus corresponds notionally to a future tense. Of the time delay associated with the delayed imperative, Mary Ann Corbiere (p.c.) notes:

> The time delay can vary, as long as it's not immediate, maybe at least a day, but not necessarily. If someone calls in the morning and I have to dash off on an important errand, I might say, «Baamaa naagshik bi-gnoosh-shiikan», 'Don't call me until this evening.' Of course, it's a more typical usage to say, «Aasnaa aabdek bi-nbwaachwe-kan pii miinwaa bbaa-yaayin», 'Be sure to visit next time you're around/in town.'

The imperative order is incompatible with past tense, and so there are no past tense forms. The prohibitive is used to make negative commands, that is, commands to *not* do something. Because commands are necessarily limited to second person actors, the number of VAI imperative forms is much smaller than those for the independent and conjunct, but the system is the least orderly of all, at least in its details. A basic template can be surmised,

in which a marker of mode or POLARITY follows the stem, followed by inflections which simultaneously index both person and number, as with the conjunct. The first person plural inclusive structures rather differently from the purely second person forms, in having a negative element /-sii/ in the prohibitive, added to the immediate form directly after the stem, reminiscent of the negative of the independent order. The second person singular and plural forms seem to more transparently involve a mode marker, /-ka/ for the delayed and /-ke/ for the prohibitive, to which person/number suffixes are attached, though it is only the second person singular that does so in a completely straightforward way.

Stem	Mode/Polarity	Person/Number	
VAI	_ Immediate	-n	2s
		-k or -g	2p
		-daa	21
	-ka Delayed	-n	2s
		-g	2p
	-ke Prohibitive	-n	2s
		-gon	2p
	-sii 21	-daa	21

5.5 Phonologically-Defined Stem Subtypes of Regular VAI Verbs

There are three PHONOLOGICALLY definable subtypes of regular VAI verbs, based on the final segment of their stems, which we label as follows. Each of these subtypes is addressed in detail in the notes which follow.

Stem Subtype	Examples	Glosses
Long Vowel Final	maajaa	'start off, leave'
	boodwe	'make a fire'
	googii	'dive'
	bmibtoo	'run along'
Short Vowel Final	wiisini	'eat'
	damno	'play'
Nasal Final	dgoshin	'arrive'
	godham	'paddle upstream'

5.5.1 Long-Vowel Final VAI Verbs

VAI verbs with stems ending in long vowels are the most straightforward type in their inflectional behaviour, and I will treat them as basic, at least for purposes of presentation. By this I mean that paradigm charts will most often be of long-vowel final stems, and the inflectional behaviour of the other two subclasses of regular VAI verbs will be noted only when it differs from that of long-vowel final stems.

5.5.2 Short-Vowel Final VAI Verbs

The final short vowel of these stems does not appear in the first and second person singular forms of the independent order, positive polarity, that is, when no suffix follows, as can be seen from the following examples:

	biibaagi 'shout'	wiidookaazo 'be helpful'
1s	nbiibaag_	nwiidookaaz_
2s	gbiibaag_	gwiidookaaz_
3s	biibaagi	wiidookaazo

The vowel in question is deleted by a phonological rule. We have already seen one phonological rule of vowel deletion, having to do with the deletion of unstressed vowels, which we call syncope. Syncope, however, never applies to the last short vowel of a word. The deletion of the final vowels shown in the forms above is thus not due to syncope. Rather, this deletion reflects a much older rule than syncope, one that is found in all dialects of Anishinaabemowin, including those which lack the rule of syncope. I will call this rule, for now, FINAL SHORT-VOWEL AND GLIDE DELETION to distinguish it from syncope. It applies to glides as well as short vowels. The rule can be provisionally stated in simple terms as follows.

Final Short-Vowel and Glide Deletion
Final short vowel and glides are deleted.

Final short-vowel deletion precedes syncope, which acts upon its output.

One question that arises is why final short vowel deletion applies in first and second person singular forms, but not in the third person singular form, since all three appear to end with a short vowel. This question can be answered straightforwardly if we adopt a somewhat abstract analysis. Consider the following forms of the verb *wiisni*, 'eat.'

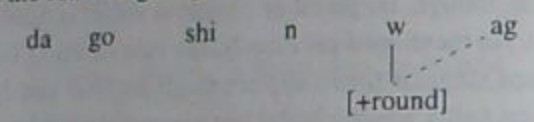
wiisni	'ANsg eats'
wiisni*wag*	'ANpl eat'
wiisni*wan*	'ANobv eat(s)'

The plural form appears to have a suffix sequence /-wag/ and the obviative form a suffix /-wan/. These suffixes look rather similar to the plural and obviative endings found on nouns, for example, *waagshag*, 'foxes,' and *waagshan*, 'fox(es) (obv.).' If we analyze /-ag/ as an animate plural suffix and /-an/ as the animate obviative suffix, we are still left with the /w/ of the verb suffixes to deal with. This /-w/ has been analyzed as representing a third person suffix, functioning rather similarly to the first and second person prefixes, /ni-/ and /gi-/. To this suffix are added the suffixes of the plural /-ag/, and the obviative /-an/. In the case of the proximate singular, though, no plural or obviative suffix is added, but the third person suffix /-w/, is present. As mentioned previously, the rule deleting final short vowels of the first and second person singular forms applies to glides (/w/ and /y/) as well, and it thus deletes the third person suffix when it is the last segment in the word. The diagram on the following page illustrates the operation of this rule in a second person singular form and a third person singular. Given these structures, it becomes clear why the short vowel is deleted in the first and second person singular forms, but not the third person singular— in the latter there is a suffix /-w/, which is deleted by the Vowel/Glide deletion rule, but which protects the final short vowel from deletion; in the case of the first and second person singulars, the short vowels are not protected by any suffix, and so are subject to deletion. The reason that /w/ shows up in the third person plural and obviative forms is that the suffixes which follow the /w/, /-ag/, animate plural and /-an/, animate obviative, protect it from deletion, since deletion only applies to short vowels and glides that are *final* in a word.

Basic Form, 'dance'		n	ii	m	i	
'you (sg.) dance'	gi+	n	ii	m	i	
Final Short Vowel/Glide Deletion	gi	n	ii	m	_	
'ANsg dances'		n	ii	m	i	+w
Final Short Vowel/Glide Deletion		n	ii	m	i	_

Once one recognizes the presence of a rule of final short vowel/glide deletion, many aspects of morphology become more transparent in their workings. For example, we can use this rule to explain the variation between the singular and plural forms of such nouns as *nini*, 'man' (plural, *ninwag*) and *kwe*, 'woman,' (plural *kwewag*), by suggesting that the basic stems of these words are /niniw/ and /kwew/, respectively, and that their final /w/'s are deleted by rule in their proximate singular forms. In the plurals and obviatives, however, the final /w/ of the noun stem is protected from deletion by the presence of a suffix.

We can also appeal to the structures outlined above to explain the form of a nasal-final animate intransitive stem (discussed in the next section) inflected for third person plural or obviative, as in, *dgoshnoog*, 'ANpl are arriving' and *dgoshnoon*, 'ANobv is/are arriving.' Why do these words have suffixes with /oo/? The answer is that the /oo/ arises from COALESCENCE of the third person suffix /-w/, with the short vowels of the /-ag/ plural and /-an/ obviative suffixes, as in the following diagram:



The glide /w/, recall, involves lip-rounding, which we indicate with a phonological feature, [+round]. Between an /n/ and the /g/ of the plural suffix or the /n/ of the obviative suffix (i.e., when /w/ follows a consonant), it spreads its feature [+round] onto the adjacent vowel, /a/, making it [+round] as well. The vowel is effectively changed from an /a/ (which is [-round]) to an /o/ (which is [+round]). At the same time, the /w/ itself is absorbed into the vowel, creating a vowel two segments long, /w+a/, in other words, a long vowel. So the pronunciation becomes *dgoshnoog*, with a long vowel in the last syllable. In order to assert such an explanation of these forms, though, we must hypothesize the existence of a /w/ after the verb stem /dgoshin/, which is readily available if we recognize the presence of a third person suffix, /-w/.

5.5.3 Nasal-Final VAI Stems

Nasal-final verbs, that is, those with stems ending in /n/ and /m/, represent the only regular animate intransitive verbs that end in consonants. This group includes the PSEUDO-INTRANSITIVES, such as *minwendam*, 'be glad, be content.' When suffixes are attached, stems ending in nasals behave differently than vowel-final verbs in several distinct ways. Some of the more important and systematic differences are outlined here.

1. Nasal-final stems often show a LINK VOWEL, varying by dialect and individual speaker as either /a/, /i/, or /o/, before suffixes that begin with nasal consonants. Compare *boodwen*, 'make a fire!' versus *dgoshnin*, 'arrive!,' and *nboodwemin*, 'we (excl.) are building a fire,' versus *ndagoshnamin*, 'we (excl.) are arriving.'

2. Vowel-initial suffixes of the conjunct order show a glide /y/ before vowel-final stems, but not nasal-final stems. So, for example, *boodweyaanh*, 'if/when I build a fire,' but *dgoshnaanh*, 'if/when I leave.' Often this glide consonant is only very weakly articulated in contemporary speech.

3. Nasal-final stems attach the negative suffix directly to the stem, with no link vowel, and the initial /s/ of the negative suffix lenites (softens, weakens) to its voiced correspondent, /z/. So, for example, while the negative of *boodwe*, 'ANsg builds a fire,' is *boodwesii*, it is *dgoshinzii* for *dgoshin*, 'ANsg arrives.'

4. As mentioned previously, the morphological suffix complexes /w+ag/, and /w+an/ of the independent order, neutral mode, animate third person plural and obviative, respectively, coalesce to /oog/ and /oon/ with nasal-final stems. Compare *boodwewag*, 'they are making a fire' and *boodwewan wgwisan*, 'ANsg's son is making a fire,' versus *dgoshnoog*, 'they are arriving' and *dgoshnoon wgwisan*, 'ANsg's son is arriving.'

5. The form of the conjunct order third person suffix is /g/ when added directly to nasal-final stems, but /d/ in all other inflections except certain conjunct negatives. Compare *boodwed*, 'if/when ANsg builds a fire,' versus *dgoshing*, 'if/when ANsg arrives,' but *dgoshninid*, 'if/when ANsg (obv.) arrives,' which has third person suffix /d/, because of the obviative suffix intervening between the stem and the person marker.

The cumulative effect of the differences outlined here results in nasal-final paradigms that are different enough from vowel-final to justify the explicit listing of nasal-final stem inflectional forms alongside vowel-final paradigms, which I have done in the paradigm tables below.

5.6 Notes on Mode Suffixes

The following notes address some of the morphological adjustments that occur with various MODE suffixes in all animate intransitive verb types.

1. The nominal suffixes (plural and obviative) have the forms /-iig/ and /-iin/ directly after the preterit, e.g., *maajaabniig*, 'they had left,' and *maajaabniin oosan*, 'ANsg's father (obv.) had left.' These forms are often analyzed as representing a coalescence of the vowel of the suffix with a final glide on the preterit, which is argued to have the form /-bany/. The presence of /ii/ in the nominal suffixes is then due to a process identical to that which produces these variants in words such as *sab*, 'net,' (with stem /(a)saby/), which has plural *sabiig*. In some dialects of Anishinaabemowin, the preterit mode forms for animate plurals and animate obviatives are /baneg/ and /banen/, respectively, which can be analyzed variously. Such forms may also be used by some speakers of Nishnaabemwin.

2. The preterit suffix /-bany/ attaches directly to stems ending in the third person conjunct suffix /-d/, and the combination of /d+b/ produces a [p], spelled «p». Compare *ngamyamban*, '(if/when) you (sg.) had sung,' (from VAI verb stem *ngamo*, 'sing') versus *ngampan*, '(if/when) ANsg had sung' (/nagamo+d+bany/) and *ngamwaapan*, '(that) ANpl had sung' (/nagamo+waa+d+bany/).

3. The form of the preterit suffix /-bany/ is /-baan(h)/ after the first person singular conjunct suffix, and the final /n/ of /-aan/ changes to /m/, for example, *ngamoyaambaanh*, 'if I had sung' (/nagamo+aan+bany/)

4. The preterit and dubitative suffixes have extended forms with /naa/ in the first and second person independent order inflections, for example, *ndaakzinaaba(n)*, 'I had been sick' (*aakzi*, 'be sick') versus *aakziban*, 'ANsg had been sick,' and *ndaakzinaadig*, 'I must be sick,' versus preterit *aakzidig*, 'ANsg must be sick.' A corresponding extension /aa/ occurs with first and second person plural inflections, for example, *ndaakzimnaadig*, 'we (excl.) must be sick.'

NON-THIRD PERSON INDEPENDENT PRETERIT DUBITATIVES. Many speakers do not use the historical independent order preterit dubitative forms for non-third person subjects, but instead use the equivalent conjunct forms in their place. I have indicated such forms in the independent order paradigm with the parenthetic note *"(shift to conjunct)"*.

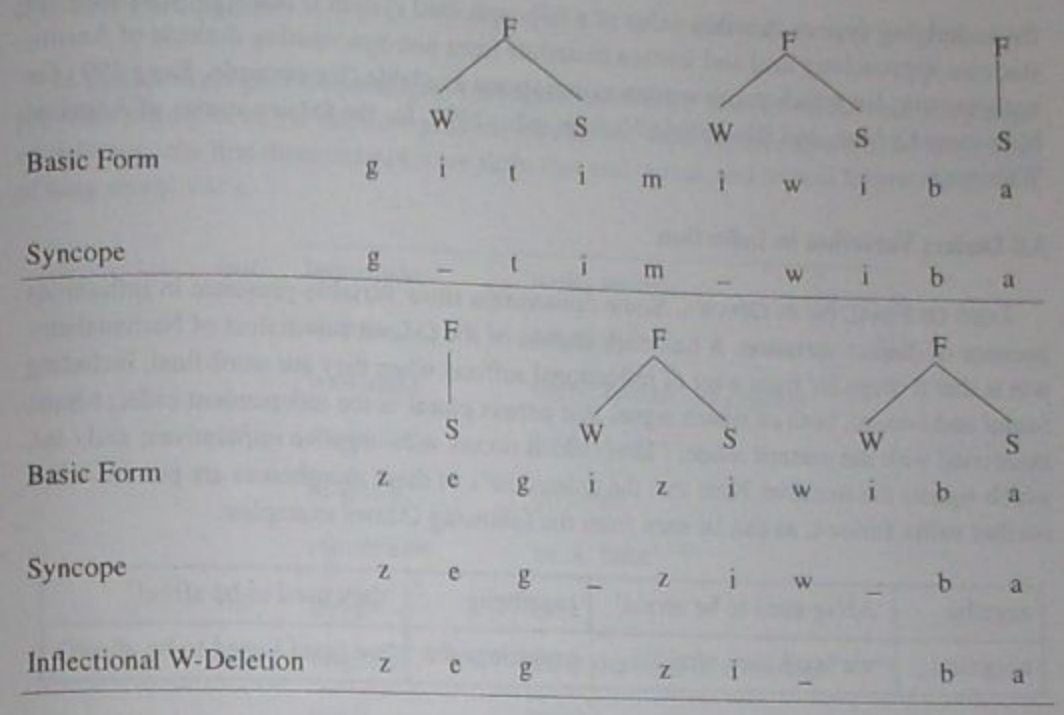
5.7 Syncope and the Presentation of Paradigms

The person/number/obviation codes introduced above (p. 219) and in Chapter 3 (pp. 122-123), and also listed in the table of abbreviations at the front of the grammar) are used throughout the paradigm tables of verbs presented below. For each inflectional category, an inflected word form is given, along with a separate specification of the prefixes and suffixes for that form, for both vowel-final and nasal-final stems.

SYNCOPE AND INFLECTION. Syncope presents a problem in the presentation of inflectional tables, because many suffix complexes contain short vowels which are variably present depending on the phonological composition of the stem. For example, the following two forms are both third person singular, positive, independent order, preterit mode:

gtimwiba 'ANsg used to be lazy' | zegziba 'ANsg used to be afraid'

The stem forms of the verbs are /gitimi/ and /zegizi/, respectively, both of which are short-vowel final stems, and are inflected for identical categories above (proximate third person singular preterit positive, independent order). The suffix complexes for the two forms are quite different, though, /wiba/ in the first example, and /ba/ in the second. This discrepancy is not morphological, but partly phonological, due to syncope and the effects that follow from it. The following diagrams show the phonological derivations of these words.



The presence or absence of /i/ in the pronounced forms of these two verbs is thus explainable on the basis of syncope. An additional rule is needed, which I call Inflectional W-Deletion. This rule deletes /w/ in the suffix complex whenever the vowel that *follows* it is deleted by Syncope, leaving it in a pre-consonantal position. This rule applies only to /w/ in third person inflections, and not to /w/'s that are a basic part of the word, as can be seen from forms such as *nboodewzi*, 'ANsg is depressed, lonely' (from stem /niboodewizi/) where /w/ is retained even though a vowel following it (/i/) has been syncopated. The rule can be characterized as follows:

Inflectional /-w/ Deletion
The third person independent order suffix /-w/ is deleted when it is left adjacent to a consonant due to the syncopation of an intervening vowel.

Given the variation that can occur in the form of suffixes due to syncope and related rules, a practical problem arises in the specification of inflectional suffixes in paradigm tables. My less than perfect solution is to provide a *full* specification of the suffixes, with all short vowels represented, but to identify syncopating vowels with italics. All suffixal short vowels not in final syllables will be so represented. This means that to build a pronounceable form from the inflectional paradigm tables, the suffix will have to be attached to the basic form of the verb, and Syncope then applied. The alternative is to produce massive tables of pronounced inflectional forms, which would still fail to show the basic nature of

the underlying system. Another value of a fully specified system is that it proves handy for students approaching oral and written materials from non-syncopating dialects of Anishinaabemowin, for which many written materials are available (for example, Kegg 1991 for Minnesota Ojibwe, and Bloomfield/Nichols, eds., 1991, for the Odawa stories of Angeline Williams).

5.8 Dialect Variation in Inflection

LOSS OF FINAL /N/ IN ODAWA. Some consonants show variable presence in inflections because of dialect variation. A hallmark feature of the Odawa sub-dialect of Nishnaabemwin is that it drops /n/ from a set of inflectional suffixes when they are word-final, including /-min/ and /-naan/, both of which signal first person plural in the independent order; /-ban/, associated with the preterit mode; /-ken/, which occurs with negative imperatives; and /-in/, which signals the iterative. Note that the deleted /n/'s of these morphemes are present when another suffix follows, as can be seen from the following Odawa examples:

zegziba_	'ANsg used to be afraid'	zegzibniig	'they used to be afraid'
nzegzimi_	'we (excl.) are afraid'	nzegzimnaaba	'we (excl.) used to be afraid'

To avoid listing all of the relevant forms twice, once for Odawa and once for other sub-dialects of Nishnaabemwin, I have elected to indicate these variable /n/'s in the inflectional charts in italics. It must then be understood that italicized /n/ in the paradigms which follow represents dialect variation, while italicized short vowels represent candidates for syncope, giving rise to phonologically-induced variation in the form of suffixes shared by all sub-dialects of Nishnaabemwin.

INDEPENDENT DUBITATIVE /-DOG/ VS. /-DIG/. The form of the DUBITATIVE MODE suffix in the independent order varies dialectally between /-dog/ and /-dig/, as in *boodwedog*, 'ANsg must be making a fire,' versus *boodwedig*. I have to chosen to use /-dig/ in the paradigm tables.

Example Paradigms. To illustrate paradigmatic patterns, in some cases I list example paradigms of specific verbs, all of which were kindly and patiently provided by Mary Ann Corbiere of Wikwemikong, Ontario. In such cases I do not list dialect variants, since the forms cited are specifically those of Ms. Corbiere.

5.9 Additional Reading

An excellent morphological analysis of the inflection of non-VTA verbs can be found in Rogers 1975a. VTA verbs are treated in Rogers 1975b.

5.10 VAI Paradigms

In this section I provide paradigms for regular VAI verbs. The list on the following page provides examples of the different possible regular VAI stem types, organized by their final sounds, e.g., the first three examples are verbs that end in /aa/, and so will follow the pattern of long vowel VAI's.

/aa/	bmaadgaa	'wade, swim'
	zhiitaa	'get ready'
	wewiibtaa	'hurry; hasten; act quickly'
/e/	naajmiijme	'fetch food'
	ni-giiwe	'go home'
	mnozekwe	'cook, bake'
/ii/	googii	'dive'
	niigaanii	'be at the head of a file/line'
	nokii	'work'
/oo/	biindgebatoo	'run inside'
	oodetoo	'go to town'
/i/	migi	'bark'
	zhoomiingweni	'smile'
	gwekkweni	'turn one's head'
/o/	baabiiwo	'wait'
	gziingwewo	'wash/wipe one's face'
	dnizo	'cook there'
/m/	zoonggwaam	'sleep deeply'
	zaamngwaam	'oversleep; sleep in'
/n/	aanjshin	'lie elsewhere'
	zhngishin	'lie down'

5.10.1 VAI, Independent Order, Positive

		boodwe 'make a fire'	Vowel Final	Nasal Final /n, m/
Independent Indicative Positive	1s	nboodwe	n _	n _
	2s	gboodwe	g _	g _
	3s	boodwe	_	_
	3'	boodwewan	_ wan	_ oon
	X	boodwem	_ m	_ am
	1p	nboodwemi*n*	n _ mi*n*	n _ *a*mi*n*
	21	gboodwemi*n*	g _ mi*n*	g _ *a*mi*n*
	2p	gboodwem	g _ m	g _ *a*m
	3p	boodwewag	_ wag	_ oog
Independent Preterit Positive	1s	nboodwenaaba*n*	n _ naaba*n*	n _ *a*naaba*n*
	2s	gboodwenaaba*n*	g _ naaba*n*	g _ *a*naaba*n*
	3s	boodweba*n*	_ *wi*ba*n*	_ *awi*ba*n*
	3'	boodwebniin	_ *wi*ba*n*iin	_ *awi*ba*n*iin
	X	boodwemba*n*	_ *ma*ba*n*	_ *ama*ba*n*
	1p	nboodwemnaaba*n*	n _ mi*n*aaba*n*	n _ *ami*n*aaba*n*
	21	gboodweminaaba*n*	g _ mi*n*aaba*n*	g _ *ami*n*aaba*n*
	2p	gboodwemwaaba*n*	g _ mwaaba*n*	g _ *a*mwaaba*n*
	3p	boodwebniig	_ *wi*ba*n*iig	_ *awi*ba*n*iig
Independent Dubitative Positive	1s	nboodwenaadig	n _ naadig	n _ *a*naadig
	2s	gboodwenaadig	g _ naadig	g _ *a*naadig
	3s	boodwedig	_ *wi*dig	_ *awi*dig[1]
	3'	boodwedgenan	_ *wi*d*i*genan	_ *awi*d*i*genan
	X	boodwemdig	_ mi*d*ig	_ *ami*dig
	1p	nboodwemnaadig	n _ mi*n*aadig	n _ *ami*naadig
	21	gboodwemnaadig	g _ mi*n*aadig	g _ *ami*naadig
	2p	gboodwemwaadig	g _ waadig	g _ *a*waadig
	3p	boodwedgenag	_ *wi*d*i*genag	_ *awi*d*i*genag
Independent Preterit Dubitative Positive	1s	(shift to conjunct)		
	2s	(shift to conjunct)		
	3s	boodwegba*n*	_ go*b*a*n*	_ *a*go*b*a*n*
	3'	boodwen'goba*n*	_ ni*g*o*b*a*n*	_ *i*ni*g*o*b*a*n*
	X	boodwemgoba*n*	_ mi*g*o*b*a*n*	_ *ami*g*o*b*a*n*
	1p	(shift to conjunct)		
	21	(shift to conjunct)		
	2p	(shift to conjunct)		
	3p	boodwewaagba*n*	_ waago*b*a*n*	_ *a*waago*b*a*n*

1. Some speakers have /-aadig/ after a NASAL STEM, as in *zhngishnaadig*, 'ANsg is evidently lying down.'

5.10.1.1 VAI Independent Order Positive, Nasal-Final Stem Examples

Paradigm examples of two verbs with stems ending in nasals are given below, *gwekshin*, 'turn over,' and *dgoshin*, 'arrive,' in order to show the variation in suffix forms that occurs due to SYNCOPE and INFLECTIONAL-W DELETION.

			gwekshin, 'turn over'	dgoshin, 'arrive'
Independent Indicative Positive	1s	n _	ngwekshin	ndagshin
	2s	g _	ggwekshin	gdagshin
	3s	_	gwekshin	dgoshin
	3'	_ oon	gwekshinoon	dgoshnoon
	X	_ am	gwekshinam	dgoshnam
	1p	n _ *a*mi*n*	ngwekshinmi	ndagoshnami
	21	g _ *a*mi*n*	ggwekshinmi	gdagoshnami
	2p	g _ *a*m	ggwekshinam	gdagoshnam
	3p	_ oog	gwekshinoog	dgoshnoog
Independent Preterit Positive	1s	n _ *a*naaba*n*	ngwekshinnaaba	ndagoshnanaaba
	2s	g _ *a*naaba*n*	ggwekshinnaaba	gdagoshnanaaba
	3s	_ *awi*ba*n*	gwekshinwiba	dgoshnaba
	3'	_ *awi*ba*n*iin	gwekshinwibniin	dgoshnabniin
	X	_ *ama*ba*n*	gwekshinmaba	dgoshnamba
	1p	n _ *ami*naaba*n*	ngwekshinminaaba	ndagoshnamnaaba
	21	g _ *ami*naaba*n*	ggwekshinminaaba	gdagoshnamnaaba
	2p	g _ *a*mwaaba*n*	ggwekshinmwaaba	gdagoshnamwaaba
	3p	_ *awi*ba*n*iig	gwekshinwibniig	dgoshnabniig
Independent Dubitative Positive	1s	n _ *a*naadig	ngwekshinnaadig	ndagshinnaadig
	2s	g _ *a*naadig	ggwekshinnaadig	gdagshinnaadig
	3s	_ *awi*dig	gwekshinwidig	dgoshnaadig
	3'	_ *awi*d*i*genan	gwekshinwidgenan	dgoshnaadgenan
	X	_ *ami*dig	gwekshinmidig	dgoshnamdig
	1p	n _ *ami*naadig	ngwekshinminaadig	ndagshinminaadig
	21	g _ *ami*naadig	ggwekshinminaadig	gdagshinminaadig
	2p	g _ *a*waadig	ggwekshinwaadig	gdagshinwaadig
	3p	_ *awi*d*i*genag	gwekshinwidgenag	dgoshnadgenag
Independent Preterit Dubitative Positive	3s	_ *a*go*b*a*n*	gwekshin'goba	dgoshnagba
	3'	_ *i*ni*g*o*b*a*n*	gwekshinnigba	dgoshnin'goba
	X	_ *ami*g*o*b*a*n*	gwekshinmigba	dgoshnamgoba
	3p	_ *a*waago*b*a*n*	gwekshinwaagba	dgoshnawaagoba

5.10.2 VAI, Independent Order, Negative

		boodwe, 'make fire'	Vowel Final Stems	Nasal Final Stems
Independent	1s	nboodwesii*n*	n _ sii*n*	n _ zii*n*
Indicative	2s	gboodwesii*n*	g _ sii*n*	g _ zii*n*
Negative	3s	boodwesii*n*	_ sii*n*	_ zii*n*
	3'	boodwesiiwan	_ siiwan	_ ziiwan
	X	boodwesiim	_ siim	_ ziim
	1p	nboodwesiimi*n*	n _ siimi*n*	n _ ziimi*n*
	21	gboodwesiimi*n*	g _ siimi*n*	g _ ziimi*n*
	2p	gboodwesiim	g _ siim	g _ ziim
	3p	boodwesiiwag	_ siiwag	_ ziiwag
Independent	1s	nboodwesiinaaba*n*	n _ siinaaba*n*	n _ ziinaaba*n*
Preterit	2s	gboodwesiinaaba*n*	g _ siinaaba*n*	g _ ziinaaba*n*
Negative	3s	boodwesiiba*n*	_ siiba*n*	_ ziiba*n*
	3'	boodwesiibniin	_ siib*a*niin	_ ziib*a*niin
	X	boodwesiimba*n*	_ siim*i*ba*n*	_ ziim*i*ba*n*
	1p	nboodwesiimnaaba*n*	n _ siim*i*naaba*n*	n _ ziim*i*naaba*n*
	21	gboodwesiimnaaba*n*	g _ siim*i*naaba*n*	g _ ziim*i*naaba*n*
	2p	gboodwesiimwaaba*n*	g _ siimwaaba*n*	g _ ziimwaaba*n*
	3p	boodwesiibniig	_ siib*a*niig	_ ziib*a*niig
Independent	1s	nboodwesiinaadig	n _ siinaadig	n _ ziinaadig
Dubitative	2s	gboodwesiinaadig	g _ siinaadig	g _ ziinaadig
Negative	3s	boodwesiidig	_ siidig	_ ziidig
	3'	boodwesiidgenan	_ siid*i*genan	_ ziid*i*genan
	X	boodwesiimdig	_ siim*i*dig	_ ziim*i*dig
	1p	nboodwesiimnaadig	n _ siim*i*naadig	n _ ziim*i*naadig
	21	gboodwesiimnaadig	g _ siim*i*naadig	g _ ziim*i*naadig
	2p	gboodwesiimwaadig	g _ siiwaadig	g _ ziiwaadig
	3p	boodwesiidgenag	_ siid*i*genag	_ ziid*i*genag
Independent	1s	(shift to conjunct)		
Preterit	2s	(shift to conjunct)		
Dubitative	3s	boodwesiigba*n*	_ siig*o*ba*n*	_ ziig*o*ba*n*
Negative	3'	boodwesiingoba*n*	_ siin*i*goba*n*	_ ziin*i*goba*n*
	X	boodwesiimgoba*n*	_ siim*i*goba*n*	_ ziim*i*goba*n*
	1p	(shift to conjunct)		
	21	(shift to conjunct)		
	2p	(shift to conjunct)		
	3p	boodwesiiwaagba*n*	_ siiwaag*o*ba*n*	_ ziiwaag*o*ba*n*

5.10.2.1 VAI Independent Order Alternative Dubitative Mode, Positive & Negative

Independent	1s	nboodwemdog	n _ m*i*dog
Dubitative	2s	gboodwemdog	g _ m*i*dog
Positive	3s	boodwewdog	_ w*i*dog
	3'	boodwewdogenan	_ w*i*dogenan
	X	boodwemdog	_ m*i*dog
	1p	nboodwemnaadog	n _ m*i*naadog
	21	gboodwemnaadog	g _ m*i*naadog
	2p	gboodwemwaadog	g _ waadog
	3p	boodwewdogenag	_ w*i*dogenag
Independent	1s	nboodwesiimdog	n _ siim*i*dog
Dubitative	2s	gboodwesiimdog	g _ siim*i*dog
Negative	3s	boodwesiiwdog	_ siiw*i*dog
	3'	boodwesiiwdogenan	_ siiw*i*d*i*genan
	X	boodwesiimdog	_ siim*i*dig
	1p	nboodwesiimnaadog	n _ siim*i*naadog
	21	gboodwesiimnaadog	g _ siim*i*naadog
	2p	gboodwesiimwaadog	g _ siiwaadog
	3p	boodwesiiwdogenag	_ siiw*i*d*o*genag

5.10.2.2 VAI Independent Order Alternative Pret. Dub. Mode, Positive & Negative

Independent	1s	boodwewaambaan*h*	_ waambaan*h*
Preterit	2s	boodwewmba*n*	_ w*a*mba*n*
Dubitative	3s	boodwegba*n*	_ g*o*ba*n*
Positive	3'	?boodwengoba*n*	_ n*i*goba*n*
	X	?boodwemgoba*n*	_ m*i*goba*n*
	1p	boodwewaangba*n*	_ waang*i*ba*n*
	21	boodwewngoba*n*	_ w*a*ngoba*n*
	2p	boodwewegba*n*	_ wegoba*n*
	3p	boodwegwaaba*n*	_ gwaaba*n*
Independent	1s	boodweswaambaanh	_ s*i*waambaanh
Preterit	2s	boodweswamban	_ s*i*w*a*mban
Dubitative	3s	boodwesgoban	_ s*i*goban
Negative	3'	?	?
	X	?	?
	1p	boodweswaangiban	_ s*i*waangiban
	21	boodweswangban	_ s*i*wangiban
	2p	boodweswegban	_ s*i*wegoban
	3p	boodwesgwaaban	_ s*i*gwaaban

5.10.3 VAI Conjunct Order, Positive[1]

		boodwe, 'make fire'	V-Final Stem	Nasal-Final Stem
Conjunct	1s	boodweyaan*h*	_ yaan*h*	_ aan*h*
Indicative	2s	boodweyin	_ yin, yan	_ an
Positive	3s	boodwed	_ d	_ g
	3'	boodwenid	_ nid	_ nid
	X	boodweng	_ ng	_ ng
	1p	boodweyaang	_ yaang	_ aang
	21	boodweying	_ ying, yang	_ ang
	2p	boodweyeg	_ yeg	_ eg
	3p	boodwewaad	_ waad	_ *a*waad
Conjunct	1s	boodweyaambaan*h*	_ yaambaan*h*	_ aambaan*h*
Preterit	2s	boodweyamba*n*	_ yamba*n*	_ amba*n*
Positive	3s	boodwepa*n*	_ pa*n*	_ g*i*ba*n*
	3'	boodwenpa*n*	_ n*i*pa*n*	_ in*i*pa*n*
	X	boodwengba*n*	_ ng*i*ba*n*	_ ing*i*ba*n*
	1p	boodweyaangba*n*	_ yaang*i*ba*n*	_ aang*i*ba*n*
	21	boodweyngba*n*	_ y*a*ng*i*ba*n*	_ *a*ngiba*n*
	2p	boodweyegba*n*	_ yego*b*a*n*	_ ego*b*a*n*
	3p	boodwewaapa*n*	_ waapa*n*	_ *a*waapa*n*
Conjunct	1s	e-boodwewaane*n*	_ waane*n*	_ *a*waane*n*
Dubitative	2s	e-boodwewane*n*	_ wane*n*	_ *a*wane*n*
Positive	3s	e-boodwegwen*h*	_ gwen*h*	_ *a*gwen*h*
	3'	e-boodwen'gwen*h*	_ n*i*gwen*h*	_ in*i*gwen*h*
(with initial	X	e-boodwengwen*h*	_ ngwen*h*	_ ingwen*h* ?
change)	1p	e-boodwewaange*n*	_ waange*n*	_ *a*waange*n*
	21	e-boodwe*w*ngwe*n*	_ w*a*ngwe*n*	_ *a*w*a*ngwe*n*
	2p	e-boodwewegwen*h*	_ wegwe*n*	_ *a*wegwe*n*
	3p	e-boodwewaagwen*h*	_ waagwen*h*	_ *a*waagwen*h*
Conjunct	1s	boodwewaambaane*n*	_ waambaane*n*	_ *a*waambaane*n*
Preterit	2s	boodwewmbane*n*	_ wambane*n*	_ ambane*n*
Dubitative	3s	boodwegbane*n*	_ gob*a*ne*n*	_ *a*gob*a*ne*n*
Positive	3'	boodwen'gobane*n*	_ n*i*gobane*n*	_ in*i*gobane*n*
	X	boodwengbane*n*	_ ngobane*n*	_ *a*ngobane*n* ?
	1p	boodwewaangbane*n*	_ waang*i*bane*n*	_ *a*waang*i*bane*n*
	21	boodwewngobane*n*	_ w*a*ngobane*n*	_ *a*w*a*ngobane*n*
	2p	boodwewegbane*n*	_ wego*b*ane*n*	_ *a*wego*b*ane*n*
	3p	boodwewaagbane*n*	_ waago*b*ane*n*	_ *a*waago*b*ane*n*

1. The preverb *e-* in dubitative forms indexes a shift to changed conjunct inflection.

5.10.4 VAI, Conjunct Order, Negative

		boodwe, 'make fire'	Vowel-Final Stems	Nasal-Final Stems
Conjunct	1s	boodweswaan*h*	_ s*i*waan*h*	_ z*i*waan*h*
Neutral	2s	boodweswan	_ s*i*wan	_ z*i*wan
Negative	3s	boodwesig	_ sig	_ zig
	3'	boodwesnig boodwesnid	_ s*i*nig _ s*i*nid	_ z*i*nig _ z*i*nid
	X	boodwesing	_ sing	_ zing
	1p	boodweswaang	_ s*i*waang	_ z*i*waang
	21	boodweswang	_ s*i*wang	_ z*i*wang
	2p	boodwesweg	_ s*i*weg	_ z*i*weg
	3p	boodwesgwaa	_ s*i*gwaa	_ z*i*gwaa
Conjunct	1s	boodwes(ii)waambaan*h*	_ s*i*(i)waambaan*h*	_ z*i*(i)waambaan*h*
Preterit	2s	boodwes(ii)wamba*n*	_ s*i*(i)w*a*mba*n*	_ z*i*(i)w*a*mba*n*
Negative	3s	boodwesiipa*n*	_ siipa*n*	_ ziipa*n*
	3'	boodwesiinpa*n*	_ siin*i*pa*n*	_ ziin*i*pa*n*
	X	boodwesiingba*n*	_ siing*i*ba*n*	_ ziing*i*ba*n*
	1p	boodwes(ii)waangba*n*	_ s*i*(i)waang*i*ba*n*	_ z*i*(i)waang*i*ba*n*
	21	boodwes(ii)wangba*n*	_ s*i*(i)w*a*ngiba*n*	_ z*i*(i)w*a*ngiba*n*
	2p	boodwes(ii)wegba*n*	_ s*i*(i)wego*b*a*n*	_ z*i*(i)wegba*n*
	3p	boodwes(ii)waapa*n*	_ s*i*(i)waapa*n*	_ z*i*waapa*n*
Conjunct	1s	e-boodwes(ii)waane*n*	_ s*i*(i)waane*n*	_ z*i*(i)waane*n*
Dubitative	2s	e-boodwes(ii)wane*n*	_ s*i*(i)w*a*ne*n*	_ z*i*(i)w*a*ne*n*
Negative	3s	e-boodwes(ii)gwen*h*	_ s*i*(i)gwen*h*	_ z*i*(i)gwen*h*
	3'	e-boodwes(ii)nigwen*h*	_ s*i*(i)n*i*gwen*h*	_ z*i*(i)n*i*gwen*h*
	X	e-boodwes(ii)ngwen*h*	_ s*i*(i)ngwen*h*	_ z*i*(i)ngwen*h*
	1p	e-boodwes(ii)waange*n*	_ s*i*(i)waange*n*	_ z*i*(i)waange*n*
	21	e-boodwes(ii)wangwe*n*	_ s*i*(i)wangwe*n*	_ z*i*(i)wangwe*n*
	2p	e-boodwes(ii)wegwe*n*	_ s*i*(i)wegwe*n*	_ z*i*(i)wegwe*n*
	3p	e-boodwes(ii)waagwen*h*	_ s*i*(i)waagwen*h*	_ z*i*(i)waagwen*h*
Conjunct	1s	boodwes(ii)waambaane	_ s*i*(i)waambaane*n*	_ z*i*(i)waambaane*n*
Preterit	2s	boodwes(ii)wmbane	_ s*i*(i)w*a*mb*a*ne*n*	_ z*i*(i)w*a*mb*a*ne*n*
Dubitative	3s	boodwes(ii)gobne	_ s*i*(i)gob*a*ne*n*	_ z*i*(i)gob*a*ne*n*
Negative	3'	boodwes(ii)ngbane	_ s*i*(i)n*i*gob*a*ne*n*	_ z*i*(i)n*i*gob*a*ne*n*
	X	boodwes(ii)ngibne	_ s*i*(i)ng*i*b*a*ne*n*	_ z*i*(i)ng*i*b*a*ne*n*
	1p	boodwes(ii)waangbane	_ s*i*(i)waang*i*bane*n*	_ z*i*(i)waang*i*bane*n*
	21	boodwes(ii)wangbann	_ s*i*(i)w*a*ngob*a*ne*n*	_ z*i*(i)w*a*ngob*a*ne*n*
	2p	boodwes(ii)wegbane	_ s*i*(i)wego*b*ane*n*	_ z*i*(i)wego*b*ane*n*
	3p	boodwes(ii)waagbane	_ s*i*(i)waago*b*ane*n*	_ z*i*(i)waago*b*ane*n*

5.10.5 VAI Imperative Order, Immediate, Delayed, and Prohibitive

N.B. (L) indicates a suffix before which a stem-final short vowel optionally lengthens.

			Vowel Final Stems	Nasal Final Stems
Imperative	2s	boodwen	_ n	_ an
Immediate	2p	boodweg	_ g	_ og
Positive	21	boodwedaa	_ daa	_ adaa
Imperative	2s	boodwekan	_ (L)kan	_ ookan
Delayed	2p	boodwekeg	_ (L)keg	_ ookeg
Positive				
Imperative	2s	boodweke*n*	_ ke*n*	_ ge*n*
Prohibitive	2p	boodwekego*n*	_ kego*n*	_ gego*n*
	21	boodwesiidaa	_ siidaa	_ ziidaa, _ asiidaa

There is variation as to whether vowels lengthen in the lengthening environments specfied above. Some examples: *nmadbikan*, 'sit down later!' (said to one); *nmadbikeg*, 'sit down later!' (said to two); *wiisniikan*, 'eat later!' (said to one); *wiisnikeg*, 'eat later!' (said to two); *naanaagadwendmookan*, 'think things over later!' (said to one); *naanaagadwendmookeg*, 'think things over later!' (said to two).

5.10.6 VAI, Iteratives, Positive and Negative

		boodwe, 'make fire'	Vowel-Final Stems	Nasal-Final Stems
Iterative	1s	bwaadwewaani*n*	_ waani*n*	_ aani*n*
Positive	2s	bwaadwew*a*ni*n*	_ w*a*ni*n*	_ *a*ni*n*
	3s	bwaadweji*n*	_ ji*n*	_ ?gi*n*
	3'	bwaadwen*í*ji*n*	_ n*í*ji*n*	_ ?n*í*ji*n*
	X	bwaadwengi*n*	_ ngi*n*	_ ?ngi*n*
	1p	bwaadwewaangi*n*	_ waangi*n*	_ aangi*n*
	21	bwaadwew*a*ngo*n*	_ w*a*ngo*n*	_ *a*ngo*n*
	2p	bwaadwewegon	_ wego*n*	_ ego*n*
	3p	bwaadwewaajin	_ waaji*n*	_ *o*waaji*n*
Iterative	1s	bwaadweswaani*n*	_ *s*iwaani*n*	_ *z*iwaani*n*
Negative	2s	bwaadwesw*a*ni*n*	_ *s*iw*a*ni*n*	_ *z*iw*a*ni*n*
	3s	bwaadwesgo*n*	_ *s*igo*n*	_ *z*igo*n*
			_ *s*i*i*n	_ *z*i*i*n
	3'	bwaadwesn*i*go*n*	_ *s*in*i*go*n*	_ *z*in*i*go*n*
	X	bwaadwesngi*n*	_ *s*ingi*n*	_ *z*ingi*n*
	1p	bwaadweswaangi*n*	_ *s*iwaangi*n*	_ *z*iwaangi*n*
	21	bwaadwesw*a*ngo*n*	_ *s*iw*a*ngo*n*	_ *z*iw*a*ngo*n*
	2p	bwaadweswegon	_ *s*iwego*n*	_ *z*iwego*n*
	3p	bwaadwesgwaanin	_ ?*s*igwaani*n*	_ ?*z*igwaani*n*

5.10.7 VAI Participles, Positive

		boodwe 'make fire'	Vowel-Final Stems	Nasal-Final Stems
Participle	1s	bwaadweyaan*h*	_ yaan*h*	_ aan*h*
Neutral	2s	bwaadweyan	_ yan	_ an
Positive	3s	bwaadwed	_ d	_ g
	3'	bwaadwen'jin	_ n*i*jin	_ *in*ijin
	X	bwaadweng	_ ng	_ *in*g
	1p	bwaadweyaang	_ yaang	_ aang
	21	bwaadweyang	_ yang	_ ang
	2p	bwaadweyeg	_ yeg	_ eg
	3p	bwaadwejig	_ jig	_ gig
Participle	1s	bwaadweyaambaan*h*	_ yaambaan*h*	_ aambaan*h*
Preterit	2s	bwaadweyamba*n*	_ yamba*n*	_ amba*n*
Positive	3s	bwaadwepa*n*	_ pa*n*	_ g*i*ba*n* ?
	3'	bwaadwenpaniin	_ n*ipa*niin ?	_ *inipa*niin ?
	X	bwaadwengba*n*	_ ng*i*ba*n*	_ *ingi*ba*n* ?
	1p	bwaadweyaangba*n*	_ yaangba*n*	_ aangba*n*
	21	bwaadweyngba*n*	_ y*a*ngiba*n*	_ *a*ngiba*n*
	2p	bwaadweyegba*n*	_ yegba*n*	_ egba*n*
	3p	bwaadwepniig	_ p*a*niig	_ g*iba*niig
Participle	1s	bwaadwewaanen	_ waanen	_ *o*waanen
Dubitative	2s	bwaadwewanen	_ wanen	_ *o*wanen
Positive	3s	bwaadwegwen	_ gwen	_ *o*gwen
	3'	bwaadwengwen	_ n*i*gwen	_ *ini*gwen
	X	bwaadwengwen	_ n*i*gwen ?	_ *ini*gwen
	1p	bwaadwewaangen	_ waangen	_ *o*waangen
	21	bwaadwewangen	_ wangen	_ *o*wangen
	2p	bwaadwewegwen	_ wegwen	_ *o*wegwen
	3p	bwaadwegwenag	_ gwenag ?	_ *o*gwenag ?
Participle	1s	bwaadwewaambaanen	_ waambaanen	_ aambaanen
Preterit	2s	bwaadwewmbanen	_ w*a*mb*a*nen	_ *a*mb*a*nen
Dubitative	3s	bwaadwegbanen	_ g*o*b*a*nen	_ *o*g*o*b*a*nen
Positive	3'	bwaadwen'gobanen	_ n*i*g*o*banen ?	_ *ini*g*o*banen ?
	X	bwaadwengbanen	_ ng*o*banen	_ *in*g*o*banen ?
	1p	bwaadwewaangbanen	_ waangbanen	_ *o*waangbanen
	21	bwaadwewngobanen	_ w*a*ngob*a*nen	_ *o*w*a*ngob*a*nen
	2p	bwaadwewegbanen	_ wegbanen	_ *o*wegbanen
	3p	bwaadwegbanenag	_ g*o*banenag ?	_ *o*g*o*banenag ?

5.10.8 VAI Participles, Negative

		boodwe 'make fire'	V-Final Stems	N-Final Stems
Participle	1s	bwaadweswaan*h*	_ s*i*waan*h*	_ z*i*waan*h*
Neutral	2s	bwaadweswan	_ s*i*wan	_ z*i*wan
Negative	3s	bwaadwesig	_ sig	_ zig
	3'	bwaadwesnigon	_ *s*i*n*igo*n*	_ *z*i*n*igo*n*
		bwaadwesnijin	_ *s*i*n*ij*in*	_ *z*i*n*ij*in*
	X	bwaadwesing	_ sing	_ zing
	1p	bwaadweswaang	_ s*i*waang	_ z*i*waang
	21	bwaadweswang	_ s*i*wang	_ z*i*wang
	2p	bwaadwesweg	_ s*i*weg	_ z*i*weg
	3p	bwaadwesgog	_ *s*igog	_ *s*igog
Participle	1s	bwaadweswaambaan*h*	_ s*i*waambaan*h*	_ z*i*waambaan*h*
Preterit	2s	bwaadweswamba*n*	_ s*i*w*a*mba*n*	_ z*i*w*a*mba*n*
Negative	3s	bwaadwesgiba*n*	_ s*i*g*i*ba*n*	_ z*i*g*i*ba*n*
		bwaadwespa*n*	_ s*i*pa*n*	_ z*i*pa*n*
	3'	bwaadwesnigbaniin	_ *s*i*n*ig*i*ba*n*iin	_ *z*i*n*ig*i*ba*n*iin
			_ *s*i*n*ipa*n*iin	_ *z*i*n*ipa*n*iin
	X	bwaadwesngiba*n*	_ s*i*ngi*b*a*n*	_ z*i*ngi*b*a*n*
	1p	bwaadweswaangba*n*	_ s*i*waangba*n*	_ z*i*waangba*n*
	21	bwaadwewngiba*n*	_ s*i*w*a*ngiba*n*	_ z*i*w*a*ngiba*n*
	2p	bwaadweswegba*n*	_ s*i*wegba*n*	_ z*i*wegba*n*
	3p	bwaadwesgibniig	_ *s*i*g*i*ba*niig	_ *z*i*g*i*ba*niig
Participle	1s	bwaadweswaanen	_ s*i*waanen	_ z*i*waanen
Dubitative	2s	bwaadweswanen	_ s*i*w*a*nen	_ z*i*w*a*nen
Negative	3s	bwaadwes*ii*gwen	_ s*ii*gwen	_ z*ii*gwen
	3'	bwaadwesnigwen	_ *s*i*n*igwenan	_ *s*i*n*igwenan
	X	bwaadwesngwen	_ s*i*ngwen	_ z*i*ngwen
	1p	bwaadweswaangwen	_ s*i*waangwen	_ z*i*waangwen
	21	bwaadweswangwen	_ s*i*wangwen	_ z*i*wangwen
	2p	bwaadweswegwen	_ s*i*wegwen	_ z*i*wegwen
	3p	bwaadwesgwenag	_ s*i*gwenag	_ z*i*gwenag
Participle	1s	bwaadweswaambaanen	_ s*i*waambaanen	_ z*i*waambaanen
Preterit	2s	bwaadweswambanen	_ s*i*w*a*mb*a*nen	_ z*i*w*a*mb*a*nen
Dubitative	3s	bwaadwes*ii*gobnen	_ s*ii*g*o*b*a*nen	_ z*ii*g*o*b*a*nen
Negative	3'	bwaadwesnigbanen	_ s*i*n*i*g*o*b*a*nen	_ z*i*n*i*g*o*b*a*nen
	X	bwaadwesngibnen	_ s*i*ng*i*b*a*nen	_ z*i*ng*i*b*a*nen
	1p	bwaadweswaangbanen	_ s*i*waang*i*banen	_ z*i*waang*i*banen
	21	bwaadweswangbanen	_ s*i*w*a*ng*o*b*a*nen	_ z*i*w*a*ng*o*b*a*nen
	2p	bwaadweswegbanen	_ s*i*wegbanen	_ z*i*wegbanen
	3p	bwaadweswaagbanen	_ s*i*g*o*banenag	_ z*i*g*o*banenag

5.11 VAIO Verbs

Some animate intransitive verbs can optionally take third person goals, animate or inanimate, and are inflected in the independent and imperative orders, and in certain participles, to show nominal properties (gender sensitive NUMBER and OBVIATION) of their goals. These verbs are identified as VAIO (VAI + object) verbs in Rhodes 1985.

A list of the most common of these verbs, provided by Richard Rhodes, follows.

aakzid 'have a pain in s.t. [a part of the body]'
baakaabiigniged 'open s.t. [a shelter]'
bgidniged 'give s.t. to charity'
biidaadzod 'bring s.t. for oneself'
bkinaaged 'win s.t. as a prize'
bnaajtaaged 'ruin s.t. belonging to someone'
boodwed 'use s.t. as fuel'
bwed 'roast s.t.'
bzaanwid 'spend s.t. at a bazaar'
daawed 'trade s.t., sell s.t.'
daawnged 'borrow s.t.'
damnod 'play with s.t.'
dibgiiswaanid 'use s.t. for a watch'
dnid 'possess s.t.'
doopod 'eat from s.t.'
ggiikwed 'preach s.t. [sermon] to people'
gindmaaged 'read s.t. to someone'
gmoodid 'steal s.t.'
gozhed 'drape oneself with s.t.'
gwid 'wear s.t.'
gzhaadmaaged 'look after s.t. belonging to someone'
jaagsed 'run out of s.t.'
kakzhe-bwed 'roast s.t. in the coals'
maajiidaaged 'take s.t. belonging to someone'
miigwed 'give s.t. away'
miiksed 'find oneself with s.t.'
mjidwed 'have s.t. sent'
mkandwed 'snatch s.t. from someone'
mnikwed 'drink s.t.
msawnamaaged 'covet s.t. belonging to someone'
ndawzid 'try and get s.t.'
ndinmaaged 'provide s.t.'
ndodmaaged 'ask for s.t. belonging to someone'
niindaahwed 'send s.t. to someone'
njihwed 'fight someone for s.t.'
njin'ziwed 'fight someone for s.t.'
njin'zod 'fight someone for s.t.'
nokaazod 'use s.t'
ntamaaged 'kill s.t. belonging to someone'
nwapod 'take s.t. along to eat'
nwapwaankodaadzod 'prepare s.t. as provisions for a trip'
pabid 'sit on s.t.'
pakwed 'use s.t. as roofing material'
pikweshmod 'lay one's head on s.t.'
pishmod 'lie on s.t.'
shamaawsod 'feed s.t. to one's children'
waabndaaged 'see s.t. belonging to someone'
wihwed 'lend s.t. out'
wniiked 'forget s.t. somewhere'
zhaagoozkamaaged 'beat others to s.t.'

5.11.1 VAIO, Independent Order, Positive

			3s, 0s		3p		0p	
Independent	1s	»	n _	nan, (3s) _n (0s)	n _	nag	n _	nan
Indicative	2s	»	g _	nan, (3s) _n (0s)	g _	nag	g _	nan
Positive	3s	»	w _	nan (3'), _n (0s)	—		w _	nan
	1p	»	n _	naa*n*	n _	naanig	n _	naanin
	21	»	g _	naa*n*	g _	naanig	g _	naanin
	2p	»	g _	naawaa	g _	naawaag	g _	naawaan
	3p	»	w _	naawaan (3')	—		w _	naawaan
Independent	1s	»	n _	naaba*n*	n _	naaba*n*iig	n _	naaba*n*iin
Preterit	2s	»	g _	naaba*n*	n _	naaba*n*iig	n _	naaba*n*iin
Positive	3s	»	w _	naaba*n*iin (3')	—		w _	naaba*n*iin
	1p	»	n _	m*i*naaba*n*	n _	m*i*naaba*n*iig	n _	m*i*naaba*n*iin
	21	»	g _	m*i*naaba*n*	g _	m*i*naaba*n*iig	g _	m*i*naaba*n*iin
	2p	»	g _	naawaaba*n*	g _	naawaaba*n*iig	g _	naawaaba*n*iin
	3p	»	w _	naawaaba*n*iin (3')	—		w _	naawaaba*n*iin
Independent	1s	»	n _	naadig	n _	naad*i*genag	n _	naad*i*genan
Dubitative	2s	»	g _	naadig	g _	naad*i*genag	g _	naad*i*genan
Positive	3s	»	w _	naad*i*genan (3')				
	1p	»	n _	m*i*naadig	n _	m*i*naad*i*genag	n _	m*i*naad*i*genan
	21	»	g _	m*i*naadig	g _	m*i*naad*i*genag	g _	m*i*naad*i*genan
	2p	»	g _	naawaadig	g _	naawaad*i*genag	g _	naawaad*i*genan
	3p	»	w _	naawaad*i*genan (3')				

5.11.1.1 VAIO, Example Inflection, miigwe, 'give Y away'

			3s, 0s	3p	0p
Independent	1s	»	nmiigwenan, nmiigwen	nmiigwenag	nmiigwenan
Indicative	2s	»	gmiigwenan, gmiigwen	gmiigwenag	gmiigwenan
Positive	3s	»	wmiigwenan, wmiigwen	—	wmiigwenan
	1p	»	nmiigwenaa	nmiigwenaanig	nmiigwenaanin
	21	»	gmiigwenaa	gmiigwenaanig	gmiigwenaanin
	2p	»	gmiigwenaawaa	gmiigwenaawaag	gmiigwenaawaan
	3p	»	wmiigwenaawaan (3')	—	wmiigwenaawaan
Independent	1s	»	nmiigwenaaba	nmiigwenaabniig	nmiigwenaabniin
Preterit	2s	»	gmiigwenaaba	nmiigwenaabniig	nmiigwenaabniin
Positive	3s	»	wmiigwenaabniin (3')	—	wmiigwenaabniin
	1p	»	nmiigwemnaaban	nmiigwemnaabniig	nmiigwemnaabniin
	21	»	gmiigwemnaaba	gmiigwemnaabniig	gmiigwemnaabniin
	2p	»	gmiigwenaawaaba	gmiigwenaawaabniig	gmiigwenaawaabniin
	3p	»	wmiigwenaawaabniin (3')	—	wmiigwenaawaabniin
Independent	1s	»	nmiigwenaadig	nmiigwenaadgenag	nmiigwenaadgenan
Dubitative	2s	»	gmiigwenaadig	gmiigwenaadgenag	gmiigwenaadgenan
Positive	3s	»	wmiigwenaadgenan (3')		
	1p	»	nmiigwemnaadig	nmiigwemnaadgenag	nmiigwemnaadgenan
	21	»	gmiigwemnaadig	gmiigwemnaadgenag	gmiigwemnaadgenan
	2p	»	gmiigwenaawaadig	gmiigwenaawaadgenag	gmiigwenaawaadgenan
	3p	»	wmiigwenaawaadgenan (3')		

5.11.2 VAIO, Independent Order, Negative

			3s, 0s	3p	0p
Independent	1s	»	n _ siin (0s) _ siinan (3s)	n _ siinag	n _ siinan
Indicative	2s	»	g _ siin (0s) _ siinan (3s)	g _ siinag	g _ siinan
Negative	3s	»	w _ siinan (3')	—	w _ siinan
	1p	»	n _ siinaa*n*	n _ siinaanig	n _ siinaanin
	21	»	g _ siinaa*n*	g _ siinaanig	g _ siinaanin
	2p	»	g _ siinaawaa	g _ siinaawaag	g _ siinaawaan
	3p	»	w _ siinaawaan (3')	—	w _ siinaawaan

5.11.3 VAIO, Goal Focus Participles, Positive, daawe, 'sell Y'

			3p Object	0p Object	Suffix Complex
Participle	1s	»	daaweyaanig	daaweyaanin	_ yaanig
Indicative	2s	»	daaweynig	daaweynin	_ y*a*nig
Positive	3s	»	daawejin	daawejin	_ jin
	1p	»	daaweyaangig	daaweyaangin	_ yaangig
	21	»	daaweyngog	daaweyngon	_ y*a*ngog
	2p	»	daaweyegog	daaweyegon	_ yegog
	3p	»	daawewaajin	daawewaajin	_ waajin
Participle	1s	»	daaweyaambaaniig	daaweyaambaaniin	_ yaambaaniig
Preterit	2s	»	daaweymbaniig	daaweymbaniin	_ y*a*mbaniig
Positive	3s	»	daawepniin	daawepniin	_ p*a*niin
	1p	»	daaweyaangbaniig	daaweyaangbaniin	_ yaang*/*baniig
	21	»	daaweyngobniig	daaweyngobniin	_ y*a*ngob*a*niig
	2p	»	daaweyegbaniig	daaweyegbaniin	_ yegob*a*niig
	3p	»	daawewaapniin	daawewaapniin	_ waap*a*niin
Participle	1s	»	?	?	
Dubitative	2s	»	?	?	
Positive	3s	»	daawegwenan	daawegwenan	_ gwenan
	1p	»	daaweyaangwenag	daaweyaangwenan	_ yaangwenag
	21	»	daaweyngwenag	daaweyngwenan	_ y*a*ngwenag
	2p	»	daaweyegwenag	daaweyegwenan	_ yegwenag
	3p	»	daawewaagwenan	daawewaagwenan	_ waagwenan

Note that /y/ made pre-consonantal by virtue of syncope is often not pronounced.

5.11.4 VAIO, Goal Focus Participles, Negative

			3s, 0s	3p	0p
Participle	1s	»			
Indicative	2s	»			
Positive	3s	»			
	1p	»			
	21	»			
	2p	»			
	3p	»			
Participle	1s	»			
Preterit	2s	»			
Positive	3s	»			
	1p	»			
	21	»			
	2p	»			
	3p	»			
Participle	1s	»			
Dubitative	2s	»			
Positive	3s	»			
	1p	»			
	21	»			
	2p	»			
	3p	»			

5.11.5 VAIO, Imperative Order

VAIO imperative forms are identical to those of regular VAI verbs, except for FIRST PERSON PLURAL INCLUSIVE forms with plural OBJECTS (GOALS), where endings sensitive to gender are added, /-nig/ for ANIMATE PLURALS, and /-nin/ for INANIMATE PLURALS.

Immediate	2s	»	3s/p, 0s/p	daawen	_n
Mode	2p	»	3s/p, 0s/p	daaweg, daawek	_g, _k
	21	»	3s, 0s	daawedaa	_daa
	21	»	3p	daawedaanig	_daanig
	21	»	0p	daawedaanin	_daanin
Delayed	2s	»	3s/p, 0s/p	daawekan	_kan
Mode	2p	»	3s/p, 0s/p	daawekeg	_keg
Prohibitive	2s	»	3s/p, 0s/p	daaweke*n*	_ke*n*
Mode	2p	»	3s/p, 0s/p	daawekego*n*	_kego*n*
	21	»	3s, 0s	daawesiidaa	_siidaa
	21	»	3p	daawesiidaanig	_siidaanig
	21	»	0p	daawesiidaanin	_siidaanin

5.12 Pseudo-Intransitive Verbs

PSEUDO-INTRANSITIVE VAI VERBS have an element /am/, which corresponds structurally to the /am/ THEME SUFFIX of Class I VTI verbs. However, pseudo-intransitive verbs do not take NOMINAL GOALS, though they can have CLAUSAL COMPLEMENTS. Many of these verbs have identical VTI equivalents, however, which are inflected for inanimate goals, for example, corresponding to the PS-VAI verb *debwetam*, 'believe [what one has heard],' there is a VTI verb *debwetang*, 'believe IN' The largest class of these verbs refers to states of the mind, or mental processes. The list below exemplifies some pseudo-intransitive verbs.

INFLECTIONAL PROPERTIES OF PSEUDO-INTRANSITIVES. In the CONJUNCT and IMPERATIVE ORDERS, pseudo-intransitives are inflected in the same way as VAI verbs. The inflectional suffixes used in the independent also align these verbs with VAI'S, in that all plural forms are intransitive (/-min/, first person, /-m(w)/, second person, and /-wag/, third person), and there is no agreement with any goal. In the independent order, they often show two distinct inflectional patterns, depending on whether or not a LINK VOWEL, perhaps /a/ for most contemporary speakers, is added to the stem prior to the attachment of suffixes in the positive forms. When suffixes beginning with a nasal (/n/ or /m/) are added directly to the stem, with no link vowel, the final /m/ of the stem is deleted and the preceding /a/ is LENGTHENED, as in *ngichi-nendaami*, 'we (excl.) are in good spirits' (from /nV-gichi-inendam-min/) just as with transitive inanimate (VTI) verbs. However, if a link vowel is added, no deletion and COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING occurs, as in *ngichi-nendmami* (from /nV-gichi-inendam-a-min/). This pattern is the same as that of VAI verbs. Because the independent order negative suffix complex always begins with an /s/, a link vowel is evidently not added.

Pseudo-Intransitive verbs are not identified in any way in Rhodes 1985, being classed simply as VAI verbs. The following is a representative list of such verbs.

aan'shiitam 'give up, stop trying'
aanmendam 'be exasperated' (Ot)
aanmwewdam 'make a big fuss' (M)
baabiigaagndam ' scream'
baashkoham 'crash, roll' (Thunderers)
bgosendam 'wish, hope, pray'
boonam 'lay an egg'
bzindam 'listen, be obedient'
debwetam 'believe [what one hears]'
debwewdam 'be heard in the distance'
doodam 'do something [to Y]
ggaanztam 'rebel, disobey' (M, CL)
giikaawdam 'scream in anger'
giisaadendam 'be sorry, feel repentant'
gzaabndam 'seek a vision, divine'
maamiikwendam 'be appreciative'
maamkaadendam 'be astonished'
maanaadendam 'be unhappy'
mmeskwendam 'wish, hope' (M)
mnwendam 'be content, be glad' (Ot)
mookiitam 'attack, make an assault'
moonendam 'imagine, suspect'
mshkawendam 'be determined'
naabandam 'dream, have a vision'
naawham 'sink into water or sand' (M)
ndawewdam 'shout for some reason'
nishkwewendam 'be disturbed' (M)
nitam 'hear something in a certain way'
njijiitam 'set out from a certain place'
nkwetam 'answer'
noondam 'hear (about something)'
zegkoham 'be afraid of thunder'

5.12.1 VAI Pseudo-Intransitive, Independent Order, Positive, gchi-nendam, 'be glad'

		Without Link Vowel (VTI-like Pattern)	With Link Vowel /a/ (VAI-like Pattern)
Independent	1s	ngichi-nendam	
Indicative	2s	ggichi-nendam	
Positive	3s	gchi-nendam	
	3'	gchi-nendmoon	
	X	gchi-nendaam	gchi-nendmam
	1p	ngichi-nendaami*n*	ngichi-nendmami*n*
	21	ggichi-nendaami*n*	ggichi-nendmami*n*
	2p	ggichi-nendaam	ggichi-nendmam
	3p	gchi-nendmoog	
Independent	1s	ngichi-nendaanaaba*n*	ngichi-nendmanaaba*n*
Preterit	2s	ggichi-nendaanaaba*n*	ggichi-nendmanaaba*n*
Positive	3s		gchi-nendmaba*n*
	3'		gchi-nendmabniin
	X	gchi-nendaamba*n*	gchi-nendmamba*n*
	1p	ngichi-nendaamnaaba*n*	ngichi-nendmamnaaba*n*
	21	ggichi-nendaamnaaba*n*	ggichi-nendmamnaaba*n*
	2p	ggichi-nendaamwaaba*n*	ggichi-nendmamwaaba*n*
	3p	?	gchi-nendmabniig
Independent	1s	?	ngichi-nendmanaadig
Dubitative	2s	?	ggichi-nendmanaadig
Positive	3s	?	gchi-nendmadig
	3'	?	gchi-nendmadgenan
	X	gchi-nendaamdig	gchi-nendmamdig
	1p	ngichi-nendaamnaadig	ngichi-nendmamnaadig
	21	ggichi-nendaamnaadig	ggichi-nendmamnaadig
	2p	ggichi-nendaamwaadig	ggichi-nendmamwaadig
	3p	?	nendmadgenag
Independent	3s	?	gchi-nendmagba*n*
Preterit	3'	?	?
Dubitative	X	?	gchi-nendmamgoba*n*
Positive	3p	?	gchi-nendmagbaniig

5.12.2 VAI Pseudo-Intransitive, Independent Order, Negative, gchi-nendam, 'be glad'

Independent Indicative Positive	1s	ngichi-nendnzii
	2s	ggichi-nendnzii
	3s	gchi-nendnzii
	3'	gchi-nendnziiwan
	X	gchi-nendnziim
	1p	ngichi-nendnziimi*n*
	21	ggichi-nendnziimi*n*
	2p	ggichi-nendnziim
	3p	gchi-nendnziiwag
Independent Preterit Positive	1s	ngichi-nendnziinaaba*n*
	2s	ggichi-nendnziinaaba*n*
	3s	gchi-nendnziiba*n*
	3'	gchi-nendnziibniin
	X	gchi-nendnziimba*n*
	1p	ngichi-nendnziimnaaba*n*
	21	ggichi-nendnziimnaaba*n*
	2p	ggichi-nendnziimwaaba*n*
	3p	gchi-nendnziibniig
Independent Dubitative Positive	1s	ngichi-nendnziinaadig
	2s	ggichi-nendnziinaadig
	3s	gchi-nendnziidig
	3'	gchi-nendnziidgenan
	X	gchi-nendnziimdig
	1p	ngichi-nendnziimnaadig
	21	ggichi-nendnziimnaadig
	2p	ggichi-nendnziimwaadig
	3p	gchi-nendnziidgenag
Independent Preterit Dubitative Positive	1s	?
	2s	?
	3s	gchi-nendnziigba*n*
	3'	?
	X	gchi-nendnziimgba*n* ?
	1p	?
	21	?
	2p	?
	3p	gchi-nendnziigbaniig

6

Inanimate Intransitive Verb Inflection

6.1 Introduction

Inanimate intransitive verbs (VII) are those verbs having a single semantic role, which must be filled by a grammatically inanimate subject, or, in the case of impersonal verbs, often do not have an overt subject associated with the verb, though the verb shows third person (singular) inflection. VII verbs have only third person inflection, and thus, have no imperative forms, since all imperatives require a second person actor. Nishnaabemwin has a large number of impersonal verbs which indicate notions such as environmental features and time expressions, including seasons and days of the week. VII verbs can be inflected for all modes (indicative, preterit, dubitative, preterit dubitative), and for positive and negative polarity, in both the independent and conjunct orders. They have participial and iterative forms as well.

VII verbs can be inflected to show obviation, even though the (inanimate) nouns associated with them do not, as in the following examples from Andrew Medler, from two tellings of the same story, about a man who becomes ill while travelling in the north, and is subsequently cured by a sweatlodge treatment. These sentences both have an overt possessed inanimate noun as subject of the second clause, in one case *wdakjiwin*, 'ANsg's cold,' and in the other, *wdaakziwin*, 'ANsg's illness,' and in both the verb *maajaamgad*, 'leave, depart,' occurs with these subjects, inflected in one instance in the independent order (1) and the other in the conjunct (2), and in both cases, with obviative inflection.

(1) Aapji dash gii-mno-bmaadzi, gye go kina ***gii-maajaamgadni*** wdakjiwin.

'He felt very well and all his cold ***had gone away***.' (AM19.15)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-mno-bmaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg felt well'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-maajaamgadni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobvSg was gone'; **wdakjiwin** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsG's cold.'

(2) Gegzhebaawgak gii-wnishkaa, gye go mii iw gii-mno-bmaadzid, ***gii-maajaamgadnig*** wdaakziwin.

'When morning came he got up, and now he felt well and his illness ***had gone***.'

> **Gegzhebaawgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was morning'; **gii-wnishkaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg got up'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-mno-bmaadzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg felt well'; **gii-maajaamgadnig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) INobv left'; **wdaakziwin** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsG's illness.' (AM20.12)

While number (singular versus plural) is neutralized in both the proximate and obviative forms of VII verbs in the conjunct order, independent order forms and participles show distinctions of number in both the proximate and obviative.

6.2 Phonologically-Defined Inflectional Subclasses of VII Verbs

There are three minorly different phonologically-defined inflectional subclasses of inanimate intransitive (VII) verbs, defined on the basis of the last segment of their stems:

- Those with stems ending in vowels (e.g., *mchaa*, 'be big,' *zhin'kaade*, 'be so named')
- Those with stems ending in /n/ (e.g., *bngisin*, 'fall down,' *naangan*, 'be lightweight')
- Those with stems ending in /d/ (e.g., *znagad*, 'be difficult, *mchaamgad*, 'be big')

Most vowel-final VII stems end in /aa/ and /e/, and none end in /oo/ and /a/. An augment, *-mgad* (/-magad/) may be added to any VII verb ending in a vowel, but especially those ending in long vowels, as in *mchaamgad*, 'be big,' which occurs alongside *mchaa*. This suffix is also used to derive VII verbs from VAI verbs, as in *kidoomgad*, 'INsg says, means,' (VII) from the VAI verb *kido*, 'say, speak.'

The following table provides more extensive examples of each of the phonological subtypes of VII verbs.

Stem Type	Example	Gloss
Vowel Stems	mchaa	'be big'
	gpagaa	'be thick'
	mooshkne	'be full'
	bmise	'fly around'
	mooshknebii	'be full of liquid'
	zgaabii	'be a thin connection' (Od)
	wiinaagmi	'be dirty' (of liquids)
	biinaagmi	'be clean' (of liquids)
	dgo	'be in a place'
/n/ Stems	wiisgan	'be bitter'
	naangan	'be light in weight'
	gzigon	'be heavy in weight'
	gaachin	'be small in size'
/d/ Stems	aabdad	'be useful; be used'
	biinnaagod	'look clean'
	mnopgod	'taste good'
	yaamgad	'be (there)'

Some features of these different phonological sub-types:

- The two stem classes ending in consonants (/n/ and /d/) usually take a link vowel before inflectional suffixes, often /i/, though there is some dialect variation and /a/ is commonly found as well. For example, *znagdini*, 'INobv is difficult,' *gzignini*, 'INobv is heavy.'
- The /d/ stems attach the conjunct ending /g/ directly, but the combination produces [k], for example, *zhinaagok*, '(that) IN looks so,' from *zhinaagod*, 'IN looks a certain way, looks so'; *zhiwebak*, '(that) IN happens so,' from *zhiwebad*, 'IN happens so.'
- Just as with animate intransitive verbs (VAI), the /s/ of the negative suffix weakens to /z/ when it is attached directly to stems ending in a nasal (/n/). The d-stem class drops the final /d/ of the stem before the negative. For example, *wiisganznoon*, 'IN is not bitter,' from *wiisgan*, 'IN is bitter; *znagasnoon*, 'IN is not difficult,' from *znagad*, 'IN is difficult.'

6.3 Impersonal Verbs

Some inanimate intransitive verbs are IMPERSONAL, and so typically do not have nominal subjects. These verbs express such things as seasons, times of day, geographical features, and states of the weather. Some examples of the different notional classes of impersonal verbs are provided in the following table.

Some Impersonal Verbs		
Times and Seasons	dbikad	'be dark, be night'
	giizhgad	'be daytime, be day'
	waaban	'be dawn, be light out'
	mnookmi	'be springtime'
	niibin	'be summer'
Weather	zoogpo	'snow'
	gmiwan	'rain'
	wan	'be foggy'
	maajbiisaa	'start drizzling'
	nimkiikaa	'be thundering'
Geography	zhitgweyaa	'be a river running in a certain direction'
	shpaagnagaa	'be deep snow'
	shpadnaa	'be a high ridge'
	zhgakmigaa	'be a depression in the ground'
	zhkashkwaa	'be [a condition of] damp grass'
	zhooshkdamo	'be [a condition of] slippery road'

Impersonal verbs often have subjects similar to the 'dummy subject' *it* found in English expressions such as *it's raining* or *it is daytime*. Such constructions cannot have an explicit subject, such as **This place is raining*, nor can they be pluralized, as in **They are raining*, or be made into participles, as in **the place that is raining*. All of these grammatical features are common with Nishnaabemwin impersonal verbs as well. Impersonal verbs are marked in the Rhodes dictionary with the code IMPERSONAL. In common with other dialects, however, Nishnaabemwin impersonal verbs occasionally have subjects, though, as in the following examples, where *ziibi*, 'river' NI functions as a subject of the impersonal verb *eni-zhitgweyaanig*, 'the direction where the river flowed.'

(3) Mii dash miinwaa gii-ni-maajaad ***ziibi*** eni-zhitgweyaanig.

'Then again he walked off in the direction in which ***the river*** flowed.' (AM36.8)

> **Mii** *av* 'so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **gii-ni-maajaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg set off'; **ziibi** *ni 0s* 'river'; **eni-zhitgweyaanig** *vii ic conj 0obv* '(CCNJ) where the river was running.'

(4) Mii dash gii-ni-maajaad ezhtigweyaag ***iw ziibi***.

'Then he went off in the direction in which ***that river*** flowed.' (AM35.9)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-ni-maajaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg set off'; **ezhtigweyaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) where the river ran there'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ziibi** *ni 0s* 'river.'

6.4 VII Paradigms

In the charts which follow, the three subclasses of VII verbs are identified as V(owel)-final stems, d-final stems, and n-final stems. In some cases, because both end in consonants, d-final and n-final verb stems pattern together in their inflectional behaviour. In other cases, since nasals and vowels are both sonorants, n-final and V-final stems pattern together, in opposition to stems ending in the more consonantal /d/.

6.4.1 VII Independent Order, Positive

			V-Final	d-Final, n-Final
Independent	0	mchaa	–	–
Indicative	0'	mchaani	_ ni	_ *i*ni
Positive	0p	mchaanoon	_ noon	_ oon
		mchaawan	_ wan	
	0'p	mchaanwan	_ n*i*wan	_ *ini*wan
Independent	0	mchaaba*n*	_ ba*n*	_ aba*n*
Preterit	0'	mchaanba*n*	_ n*i*ba*n*	_ *ini*w*i*ba*n*
Positive	0p	mchaabniin	_ ba*n*iin	_ a*b*aniin
	0'p	mchaanbniin	_ n*i*ba*n*iin	_ *ini*w*i*ba*n*iin
		mchaanwabniin		
Independent	0	mchaadig	_ dig	_ adig
Dubitative	0'	mchaanwidig	_ n*i*w*i*dig	_ *ini*w*i*dig
Positive	0p	mchaadgenan	_ d*i*genan	_ ad*i*genan
	0'p	mchaanwidgenan	_ n*i*w*i*d*i*genan	_ *ini*w*i*d*i*genan
Independent	0	mchaagba*n*	_ goba*n*	_ *o*goba*n*
Preterit	0'	mchaan'goba*n*	_ n*i*g*o*ban	_ *ini*g*o*ba*n*
Dubitative	0p	mchaagbaniin	_ gob*a*niin	_ *o*gob*a*niin
Positive	0'p	mchaan'gobniin	_ n*i*gob*a*niin	_ *ini*gob*a*niin

6.4.1.1 Additional Examples of VII Verbs (n-stem, d-stem)

These verbs show the two possible patterns of syncopating alternation in the suffix vowels. Examples reflect speech of Mary Ann Corbiere of Wikwemikong, Ontario.

		maajiigin 'start to grow'	mnogin 'grow well'	mnopgod 'taste good'
Independent	0	maajiigin	mnogin	mnopgod
Indicative	0'	maajiignini	mnognini	mnopgodni
Positive	0p	maajiignoon	mnognoon	mnopgodoon
	0'p	maajiigninwan	mnogninwan	mnopgodniwan
Independent	0	maajiignaba	mnognaba	mnopgodba
Preterit	0'	maajiigninwiba	mnogninwiba	mnopgodniba
Positive	0p	maajiignabniin	mnognabniin	mnopgodbaniin
	0'p	maajiigninwibniin	mnogninwibniin	mnopgodnibniin
Independent	0	maajiignadig	mnognadig	mnopgoddig
Dubitative	0'	maajiigninwidig	mnogninwidig	mnopgodnidig
Positive	0p	maajiignodgenan	mnognadgenan	mnopgodgenan
	0'p	maajiigninwidgenan	mnogninwidgenan	mnopgodnindigenan
Independent	0	maajiignogba	mnognogba	mnopgodgoba
Preterit	0'	maajiignin'goba	mnognin'goba	mnopgodnogba
Dubitative	0p	maajiignogbaniin	mnognogbaniin	mnopgodgobniin
Positive	0'p	maajiigningobniin	mnognin'gobniin	mnopgodnogbaniin

Note that /i/ may also occur as a link vowel, though /a/ seems preferred on Manitoulin Island.

6.4.2 VII Independent Order, Negative

			V-Final, d-Final*	n-Final
Independent	0	mchaasnoo*n*	_ *s*inoo*n*	_ *z*inoo*n*
Indicative	0'	mchaasnooni	_ *s*inooni	_ *z*inooni
Negative	0p	mchaasnoon	_ *s*inoon	_ *z*inoon
	0'p	mchaasninwan	_ *s*in*i*niwan	_ *z*in*i*niwan _ *z*in*i*wan
Independent	0	mchaasnooba*n*	_ *s*inooba*n*	_ *z*inooba*n*
Preterit	0'	mchaasnoonwiba*n*	_ *s*in*i*noon*i*wiba*n*	_ *z*inoon*i*wiba*n*
Negative	0p	mchaasnoobniin	_ *s*inoob*a*niin	_ *z*inoob*a*niin
	0'p	mchaasnoonwibniin	_ *s*inoon*i*wib*a*niin	_ *z*inoon*i*wib*a*niin
Independent	0	mchaasnoodig	_ *s*inoodig	_ *z*inoodig
Dubitative	0'	mchaasnoonwidig	_ *s*inoon*i*widig	_ *z*inoon*i*widig
Negative	0p	mchaasnoodgenan	_ *s*inood*i*genan	_ *z*inood*i*genan
	0'p	mchaasnoonwidgenan	_ *s*inoon*i*wid*i*genan	_ *z*inoon*i*wid*i*genan
Independent	0	mchaasnoogba*n*	_ *s*inoog*o*ba*n*	_ *z*inoog*o*ba*n*
Preterit	0'	mchaasnoon'goba*n*	_ *s*inoon*i*g*o*ba*n*	_ *z*inoon*i*g*o*ba*n*
Dubitative	0p	mchaasnoogbaniin	_ *s*inoog*o*baniin	_ *z*inoog*o*banen
Negative	0'p	mchaasnoon'gobniin	_ *s*inoon*i*g*o*baniin	_ *z*inoon*i*g*o*baniin

N.B. Final /-d/ is dropped in the negative, e.g., *znagsinoon,* 'it is not difficult.'
N.B. An alternate form given for the preterit 0', *mnognisnoonwiba*, suggests that an alternative for n-final stems is to add a link vowel /i/, then the negative suffix (/mnogin+i+sinooniwiba/)

6.4.2.1 VII, Examples of Negative Independent Forms

These forms provided by Mary Ann Corbiere of Wikwemikong, Ontario.

		mnogin 'grow well'	mnopgod 'taste good'
Independent	0	mnognzinoo	mnopgosnoo
Neutral	0'	mnognzinooni	mnopgsnooni
Negative	0p	mnognzinoon	mnopgsnoon
	0'p	mnognzinwan mnognzinniwan	mnopgosninwan
Independent	0	mnognzinooba	mnopgosnooba
Preterit	0'	mnognzinoonwiba	mnopgosnoonwiba
Negative	0p	mnognzinoobniin	mnopgosnoobniin
	0'p	mnognzinoonwibniin	mnopgosnoonwibniin
Independent	0	mnognzinoodig	mnopgosnoodig
Dubitative	0'	mnognzinoonwidig	mnopgosnoonwidig
Negative	0p	mnognzinoodgenen	mnopgosnoodgenan
	0'p	mnognzinoonwidgenan	mnopgosnoonwidgenan
Independent	0	mnognzinoogba	mnopgsnoogba
Preterit	0'	mnognzinoongoba	mnopgsnoon'goba
Dubitative	0p	mnognzinoogbaniin	mnopgosnoogbaniin
Negative	0'p	mnognzinoon'gobniin	mnopgsnoon'gobniin

6.4.3 VII Conjunct Order, Positive

In the following table, capital N stands for an n-final stem, such as *bngisin*, 'it falls.' There are two columns of inflectional forms, one labelled *V-Final (n-Final)*, and another labelled *d-Final (n-Final)*. In those portions of the paradigm where nasal-final stems agree with V-final stems, an N appears in the appropriate slot in the V-final column; in those cases, by far the majority, where they inflect in the same way as d-final stems, an N appears in the appropriate slot in the d-final column.

			V-Final (n-Final)	d-Final (n-Final)
Conjunct	0	mchaag	_ g N	_ k
Indicative	0'	mchaanig	_ nig	_ *i*nig N
Conjunct	0	mchaagba*n*	_ gi*b*a*n* N	_ gi*b*a*n*
Preterit	0'	mchaangiba*n*	_ ni*g*i*b*a*n*	_ *i*ni*g*i*b*a*n* N
Conjunct	0	mechaagwen*h*	_ gwen*h*	_ *o*gwen*h* N
Dubitative	0'	mechaan'gwen*h*	_ ni*g*wen*h*	_ *i*ni*g*wen*h* N
Conjunct	0	mchaagbane*n*	_ go*b*ane*n*	_ *o*go*b*ane*n* N
Pret. Dub.	0'	mchaan'gobne*n*	_ ni*g*o*b*ane*n*	_ *i*ni*g*o*b*ane*n* N

6.4.3.1 VII, Examples of Positive Conjunct (n-stem and d-stem)

All examples provided by Mary Ann Corbiere of Wikwemikong, Ontario.

		maajiigin 'start to grow'	mnopgod 'taste good'
Conjunct	0	maajiiging	mnopgok
Indicative	0'	maajiigninig	mnopgdnig
Conjunct	0	maajiiggiba	mnopgogba
Preterit	0'	maajiignin'giba	mnopodnigba
Conjunct	0	myaajiignogwenh	e-mnopgogwenh, menpogdogwenh
Dubitative	0'	myaajiignin'gwenh	
Conjunct Pret. Dub.	0	maajiignogbane	e-mnopgogbane, menpogdogbane, mnopgodgobane
	0'	maajiignin'gobne	e-mnopgon'gobne menpogdan'gobne

6.4.4 VII Conjunct Order, Negative

			V-final, d-final*	n-final
Conjunct	0	mchaasnog	_ *s*inog	_ *z*inog
Indicative	0'	mchaasnoonig	_ *s*inoonig	_ *z*inoonig
Negative				_ *z*ininig
Conjunct	0	mchaasnoogba*n*	_ *s*inoogiba*n*	_ *z*inoogiba*n*
Preterit	0'	mchaasnoon'giba*n*	_ *s*inoonigiba*n*	_ *z*inoonigiba*n*
Negative				
Conjunct	0	mechaasnoogwen*h*	_ *s*inoogwen*h*	_ *z*inoogwen*h*
Dubitative	0'	mechaasnoon'gwen*h*	_ *s*inoonigwen*h*	_ *z*inoon'gwen*h*
Negative				
Conjunct	0	mchaasnoogbane*n*	_ *s*inoogobane*n*	_ *z*inoogobane*n*
Preterit	0'	mchaasnoon'gobne	_ *s*inoonigobane*n*	_ *s*inoonigobane*n*
Dubitative				
Negative				

*Final /-d/ is dropped before the negative suffix, e.g. *znagsinoon,* 'it is not difficult.'

6.4.4.1 VII, Examples of Negative Conjunct Paradigms (n-stem and d-stem)

		maajiigin 'start to grow'	mnopgod 'taste good'
Conjunct	0	maajiignzinog	mnopgosnog
Neutral	0'	maajiignzinnig maajiignzinoonig	mnopgosnoonig
Conjunct	0	maajiignzinoogba	mnopgosnoogba
Preterit	0'	maajiignzinin'giba maajiignznoon'giba	mnopgosnoon'giba
Conjunct	0	maajiignzinoogwenh	mnopgosnoogwenh
Dubitative	0'	maajiigzinnin'gwenh maajiigzinoon'gwenh	mnopgosnoon'gwenh
Conjunct Pret. Dub.	0	maajiignzinoogbane	mnopgosnoogbane
	0'	maajiignzinnin'gobne	mnopgogsinoon'gobne

(5) Giishpin ***menpogsinoon'gwenh*** wdoo-skaanim, gego wiindmawaake. Gtwena go naa miijin.

'Even if her scone doesn't taste good, don't tell her. Eat it regardless.' (MC)

Giishpin *av* 'if'; **menpogsinoon'gwenh** *vii ic conj dub neg 0obv* 'IN might not taste good'; **wdoo-skaanim** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANSG's scone'; **gego** *av* 'don't'; **wiindmawaake** *vta imp neg 2s»3* 'don't you SG tell AN.' **Gtwena** *av* 'nevertheless'; **miijin** *vti imp 2s»0* '(you SG) eat IN.'

6.4.5 VII Iteratives, Positive and Negative

Iterative forms show obligatory initial change.

			n-final	d-final
Conjunct	0	e-tegi	_ gi*n*	_ ki*n*
Iterative	0'	e-ten'gi	_ *inigin*	_ *inigin*
Positive				_
Conjunct	0	e-tesnoogi	_ zinoogi*n*	_ *s*inoogi*n*
Iterative	0'	e-tesnoon'gi	_ *zinoonigin*	_ *sinoonigin*
Negative				

(6) Enso-shkwaa-gchi-***zoogpogi***, gchi-jiishaagnegem.

'After every heavy snowfall, there's lots of snow shovelling.' (MC)

Enso-shkwaa-gchi-zoogpogi *vii ic conj iter 0* 'after every big snow'; **gchi-jiishaagnegem** *vai ind x* 'there's lots of snow shovelling.'

(7) Dibi iidig giiyenh ***myaajiignigi*** wi nimookaajiinh-miinzhashk, mnogin giiyenh.

'Evidently, wherever crab grass starts to grow, it grows well.' (MC)

Dibi *av* 'wherever'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **giiyenh** *av* 'evidently'; **myaajiignigi** *vii ic conj iter 0obv* 'whenever INobv starts to grow'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nimookaajiinh-miinzhashk** *ni 0s* 'crabgrass'; **mnogin** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg grows well'; **giiyenh** *av* 'evidently.'

(8) ***Enso-tegi*** conference, gaawii ngashktoosiin wii-zhaayaanh.

'Every time there's a conference, I'm not able to go.' (MC)

Enso-tegi *vii ic conj iter 0* 'every time there is IN'; **gaawii** *av* 'not'; **ngashktoosiin** *vti ind neg 1s»0s* 'I am not able to do INsg'; **wii-zhaayaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(to) I go.'

(9) Minj go piichi-gbeyiing giiyenh ***e-nsaabaawjigaadesnoogi*** wi cactus, gaawii go giiyenh daa-nboomgasnoo.

'Evidently, even if cactus isn't watered for a long time, it still won't die.' (MC)

Minj *av* 'however it may be'; **piichi-gbeyiing** *av* 'to whatever (long) length of time'; **giiyenh** *av* 'evidently'; **e-nsaabaawjigaadesnoogi** *vii ic conj iter neg 0* '(CCNJ) that IN is not iteratively watered'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaawii** *av* 'not'; **giiyenh** *av* 'evidently'; **daa-nboomgasnoo** *vii ind neg 0s* 'INsg would not die.'

6.4.6 VII Participles, Positive

Participles show obligatory initial change, which may be realized in the stem, as in *mechaag*, 'that (inan.) which is big,' or by attaching the preverb *e-*, as in *e-mchaag*.

Conjunct	0	mechaag	_ g
Indicative	0'	mechaanig	_ inig
Positive	0p	mechaagin	_ gin
Participle	0'p	mechaan'gin	_ *inigin*
Conjunct	0	mechaagba*n*	_ gi*b*a*n*
Preterit	0'	mechaan'giba*n*	_ *inigiban*
Positive	0p	mechaagbaniin	_ gi*b*aniin
Participle	0'p	mechaan'gibniin	_ *inigibaniin*
Conjunct	0	mechaagwen*h*	_ gwen*h*
Dubitative	0'	*mechaan'gwen*h*	_ nigwen*h*
Positive	0p	mechaagwenan	_ gwenan
Participle	0'p	?mchaan'gwenan	_ nigwenan
Conjunct	0	mechaagobanen	_ gobanen
Preterit	0'	?mechaan'gobnen	_ *inigobanen*
Dubitative	0p	mechaagobnenan	_ gobanenan
Positive	0'p	?mechaa'ngobnenan	_ *inigobanenan*
Participle			

6.4.7 VII Participles, Negative

Conjunct	0	mechaasnog	_ *sinog*
Indicative	0'	?	
Negative	0p	mechaasnogin	_ *sinogin*
Participle	0'p	?	
Conjunct	0	mechaasnogban	_ *sinogiban*
Preterit	0'	?	
Negative	0p	mechaasnogbaniin	_ *sinogibaniin*
Participle	0'p	?	
Conjunct	0	mechaasnogwen*h*	_ *sinogwen*h
Dubitative	0'	?	
Negative	0p	mechaasnogwenan	_ *sinogwenan*
Participle	0'p	?	
Conjunct	0	mechaasnogbanen	_ *sinogobanen*
Preterit	0'	?	
Dubitative	0p	mechaasnogbnenan	_ *sinogobanenan*
Negative	0'p	?	
Participle			

7

Transitive Animate Verb Inflection

7.1 Introduction

Transitive verbs have a suffix called a THEME, or theme sign, occurring directly after the basic verb stem, and specifying properties of one or both of the two grammatical roles indexed on the verb. In the independent order, the theme suffix works in conjunction with the person prefixes to specify the actor and goal roles in a predication. The following forms illustrate these two classes of affixes:

Form	Prefix	Stem	Theme	
gwaabmaa	/gi-/[1]	/waabam/	/-aa/	'you (sg.) see AN'
gwaabmig	/gi-/	/waabam/	/-igw/[1]	's/he sees you (sg.)'
gwaabmin	/gi-/	/waabam/	/-in/	'I see you (sg.)'
gwaabam	/gi-/	/waabam/	/-i/[2]	'you (sg.) see me'

1. The /i/ of this prefix is speculative, as it is always deleted by syncope.
2. Subject to phonological rule deleting final short vowels and glides.

The following sections provide notes on the workings of the system underlying the selection of prefixes and theme signs.

7.2 The Topicality Hierarchy

Nishnaabemwin inflection is sensitive to a relative ranking of categories of person, gender, and obviation, according to the following scales, each in descending order of rank.

Person:	2	>	1	>	X	> 3
Gender:	Animate	>	Inanimate			
Obviation:	Proximate	>	Obviative			

Thus, among person categories, second person is ranked highest, then first person, then the UNSPECIFIED ACTOR (represented with an X), then third person. Some grammarians feel that the ranking of second persons over first is less significant than other ranking relationships. In certain inflections in which both actors and goals are plural, first person plural suffixes trump second person, e.g., *waabmiyaang*[1], '(if) you (sg/pl) see us' has first person plural suffix /-aang/, and *gwaabmimin*[2], 'you (sg./pl.) see us,' has first person plural suffix /-min/. At the same time, the passive is used in the paradigm slot signalling first person plural acting on second person, singular and plural, e.g., the form *gwaabmigoo*, 'you (sg.) are seen,' is also used to indicate 'we see you (sg.).' This usage suggests deference, signalled by means of the agent defocusing inherent in the passive.

Grammatical animates rank higher than inanimates, and proximates outrank obviatives. These rankings represent common asymmetries in the grammars of the languages of the world. They are found in one form or another in many languages, and are often called agency hierarchies or empathy hierarchies. Generally, the more likely a given grammatical category's referents are to serve as topics, the higher that category will be in hierarchical ranking. Thomas Payne (Payne 1997:151) states of similar hierarchies, "the reality that this hierarchy reflects is the fact that certain kinds of entities, namely things that move, have power, and initiate action, are more likely to be topics of conversation than are others." In the gender hierarchy, for example, animates outrank inanimate, which makes sense in terms of topicality, since animates, involving humans, animals, and mythological beings, are much more likely to be initiators of actions, and our sympathies and point of view are much more likely to reside with them than with inanimate objects. Obviation is in part a function of discourse perspective, that is, a storyteller chooses to view the action of the story from a particular character's perspective, which is then proximate, and other characters are backgrounded by being made grammatically obviative. Here again it is no surprise that proximates rank higher in topicality than obviatives.

With regard to the person rankings, we generally make ourselves and our interlocutors topics, and present ourselves as having agency in the world. As such, there is a universal tendency for speech act participants, first and second person, to be cast as having more topicality than third person discourse participants.

The three hierarchies outlined above can be collapsed, at least for convenience, into a single hierarchy with the following rankings, in descending order:

Nishnaabemwin Topicality Hierarchy
2 1 X 3 3' 0

I will call this conflated hierarchy the TOPICALITY HIERARCHY. It is relevant to two very specific areas of Nishnaabemwin inflection, which I now address.

1. From /waabam-i-aang/, with: /waabam/, 'see ANsg,' /-i/ 1 goal theme, /-aang/, 1 plural, conjunct.
2. From /gi-waabam-i-min/ with: /gi-/ 2 prefix (independent order), /waabam/, 'see ANsg,' /-i/ 1 goal theme, /-min/, 1 plural (independent order).

7.2.1 The Selection of Person Prefixes in VTA Verbs

In the selection of person prefixes in the independent order and in noun possession, the person prefix representing that of the higher ranking member of the predication or possessor is chosen, as in the following examples of transitive animates.

Form	Gloss	Actor	Goal	Prefix
gwaabam	'you (sg.) see me'	2	1	g
gwaabmin	'I see you (sg.)'	1	2	g
nwaabmaa	'I see ANsg'	1	3	n
nwaabmig	'ANsg sees me'	3	1	n
gwaabmaa	'you see ANsg'	2	3	g
gwaabmig	'ANsg sees you'	3	2	g
wwaabmaan	'ANsg sees ANobv'	3	3'	«w»
wwaabmigoon	'ANobv sees ANsg'	3'	3	«w»

Since all of these verbs are transitive animates, they grammatically index two macro-roles, which I have identified as actor and goal. To determine which person prefix appears, whether /ni-/ first person, /gi-/ second person, or «w» third person (from /o-/, which is always syncopated, but which I sometimes represent with STRUCTURAL-W, «w»), one need only determine the person categories of the actor and goal, and then choose the category that is higher on the Topicality Hierarchy. For example, the form *gwaabam*, 'you (sg.) see me,' has a second person actor and a first person goal, while the form *gwaabmin*, 'I see you (sg.),' has a first person actor and a second person goal. In each case, because there is a second person involved in the action, as either actor or goal, the prefix is «g», the marker of second person, since second person outranks first on the agency hierarchy. The prefix /n/ appears only when there is no second person involved in the predication, as in *nwaabmaa*, 'I see ANsg,' and *nwaabmig*, 'ANsg sees me,' and the prefix /w/ only when there is neither a first person nor a second person, as in *wwaabmaan*, 'ANsg sees ANobv.'

Another area of grammar where the topicality hierarchy is involved is in the selection of the prefix for first person INCLUSIVES and EXCLUSIVES, e.g., *gboodwemin*, 'we (incl.) make a fire,' versus *nboodwemin*, 'we (excl.) make a fire.' The inclusive form, which includes a second person, has a prefix «g», indicating second person; the exclusive form, which explicitly *excludes* a second person, has a prefix «n», indicating first person.

7.2.2 VTA Theme Suffixes

There are four primary transitive animate theme suffixes (or theme signs), as outlined in the following chart. These suffixes follow directly after the verb stem.[1]

Transitive Animate (VTA) Theme Suffixes

/-aa/	DIRECT: third person involved, action is down the hierarchy
/-igw/	INVERSE: third person involved, action is up the hierarchy
/-i/	first person GOAL (*and* second person ACTOR in independent order)
/-iN/	second person GOAL (*and* first person ACTOR in independent order)

Note that there are distinct GOAL suffixes for first and second person (/-i/ and /-iN/), but the goal markers involving third persons are *relational*, in that they do not so much identify an explicit third person goal as much as the hierarchical *relationship* between the actor and the goal, one of which must be third person. An examination of a few transitive animate independent forms will make this clear.

Form	Gloss	Actor	Goal	Theme	Prefix
gwaabam_	'you (sg.) see me'	2	1	i	«g»
gwaabmimi*n*	'you (sg.) see us'	2	1p	i	«g»
gwaabmin	'I see you (sg.)'	1	2	iN	«g»
gwaabminim	'I see you (pl.)'	1	2p	iN	«g»
nwaabmaa	'I see ANsg'	1	3	aa	«n»
gwaabmaa	'you see ANsg'	2	3	aa	«g»
wwaabmaan	'ANsg sees ANobv'	3	3'	aa	«w»
nwaabmig	'ANsg sees me'	3	1	igw	«n»
gwaabmig	'ANsg sees you'	3	2	igw	«g»
wwaabmigoon	'ANobv sees ANsg'	3'	3	igw	«w»
wwaabmigon	'INsg sees ANsg'	0	3	igw	«w»

Each of these independent order transitive animate verbs has a theme suffix, though in the case of *gwaabam*, 'you (sg.) see me,' it has been deleted by a phonological rule which deletes final short vowels, discussed in Chapter 5 (p. 224). We can recognize the presence of theme sign /-i/, though, even in forms such as this, because of its effects on stems ending with /N/ or /S/, in which case these elements are realized as their PALATAL variants, as in,

1. One more transitive animate theme suffix, /-igoo/, used in passives, is discussed below. There is also a theme sign /-i/ found in VTA imperatives with third person goals, e.g. *miizhig*, '(you pl.) give Y to AN' (/miiN-i-g/) which is barely treated here. It is obviously a direct theme, and may be an allomorph of /-aa/.

gmiizh, 'you (sg.) give Y to me' (from stem /miiN/) and *gnish*, 'you (sg.) are killing me' (from stem /niS/). The /-i/ theme sign is also evidenced by its presence when a following suffix protects it from deletion, as in *gwaabmimin*, 'you (sg.) see us.'

Examining the distribution of theme suffixes, we find two general principles at work. The first principle involves a concept Algonquianists have called LOCALITY, which contrasts first and second persons, which are said to be LOCAL to the COMMUNICATIVE CONTEXT, in opposition to third persons, which are said to be NON-LOCAL. Thus, a participant is local if it is directly involved in the communicative act, as either speaker (first person) or addressee (second person). This concept is needed to account for the usage of the four theme suffixes, in that two of them are used only when neither the actor nor the goal is third person, in other words, when both actor and goal are local, and the other two theme suffixes are used when either the actor or goal, or both, are third person, in other words, when there is at least one non-local argument. Stated more succinctly, if there is a third person involved as actor or goal, the predication is said to be non-local, otherwise it is local.

Local Theme Suffixes	/-i/	/-iN/
Non-local Theme Suffixes	/-aa/	/-igw/

The second principle at work is that of DIRECTION, referring to the relative ranking of the actor and goal on the topicality hierarchy, and so, the direction of the action from actor to goal, whether moving up the hierarchy or down it. Note too the relevance of DISJOINT REFERENCE, which *requires* that the actor and goal be grammatically distinct, so they must *always* differ in rank. The non-local theme signs differ, in that /-aa/ is used when the actor outranks the goal, and /-igw/ when the goal outranks the actor. A few forms will clarify:

Form	Gloss	Actor	Goal	Relationship	Theme
nwaabmaa	'I see ANsg	1	3	actor outranks goal	-aa
gwaabmaa	'you see ANsg	2	3	actor outranks goal	-aa
wwaabmaan	'ANsg sees ANobv	3	3'	actor outranks goal	-aa
nwaabmig	'ANsg sees me'	3	1	goal outranks actors	-ig
gwaabmig	'ANsg sees you'	3	2	goal outranks actor	-ig
wwaabmigoon	'ANobv sees ANsg'	3'	3	goal outranks actor	-ig
wwaabmigon	'INsg sees ANsg'	0	3	goal outranks actor	-ig

The theme suffix /-aa/, in which the direction of the action proceeds down the hierarchy, is said to be DIRECT, and the theme suffix /-ig/ (underlying /-igw/), in which the action proceeds up, is said to be INVERSE, since the 'normal' direction of agency is inverted.

The last set of transitive forms to account for are the PASSIVES, that is, those involving an UNSPECIFIED ACTOR. The following forms are illustrative.

Form	Gloss	Theme Sign
nwaabmigoo	'I am seen'	-igoo
gwaabmigoo	'you are seen'	-igoo
waabmaa	'ANsg is seen'	-aa
waabmaawan	'ANobv is seen'	-aa

In these examples, in the case of first and second person forms, a theme suffix /-igoo/ occurs, perhaps related to the NON-LOCAL INVERSE theme suffix /-igw/. For the third person passive forms, however, the theme suffix is /-aa/, that is, the NON-LOCAL DIRECT theme suffix. The fact that the theme suffix is DIRECT, indicating movement of action *down* the TOPICALITY HIERARCHY, and involves the actor-goal combinations X » 3 and X » 3', suggests that the UNSPECIFIED ACTOR ROLE, X, outranks 3 and 3' on the hierarchy. The fact that a theme sign /-igoo/ occurs with first and second person goal forms, which resembles the non-local INVERSE theme sign, /-igw/, suggests as well that first and second person outrank the unspecified actor. It is on this basis that we can say that the hierarchy ranks categories in the order 2 > 1 > X > 3 > 3', that is, with 2 and 1 outranking X, and X, in turn, outranking 3 and 3'.

Using the principles of the topicality hierarchy, locality, and direction, we can explain the distribution of the five theme suffixes, as well as the person prefixes, in Nishnaabemwin independent order verbs.

- To determine the THEME SUFFIX in the INDEPENDENT ORDER:
  Determine the person category of the actor and goal of the predication.
  a. If both are local, use the appropriate local theme suffix of the goal...
     /-i/ if the goal is first person
     /-iN/ if the goal is second person
  b. If the goal is local and the actor is an unspecified agent...
     /-igoo/ is used
  c. If either the actor or goal, or both, are non-local (not first or second person), use one of the two non-local theme suffixes, chosen according to the following conventions:
     /-aa/ if the actor outranks the goal on the topicality hierarchy
     /-igw/ if the goal outranks the actor on the topicality hierarchy
- To determine the PERSON PREFIX:
  a. If the actor is the unspecified agent (X) and the goal is third-person, there is no prefix
  b. Otherwise, choose the person prefix representing the higher member on the topicality hierarchy

PASSIVES AS INTRANSITIVES. The inflection of third person passives, such as *waabmaa*, 'ANsg is seen,' is very similar to that of intransitive verbs, in that no person prefix occurs

(even in non-syncopating dialects of Ojibwe), and the endings /-wag/ and /-wan/ are used to indicate plural and OBVIATIVE INFLECTION, respectively. Similarly, the inflectional forms of first and second person passives resemble intransitives, too, particularly in the use of the suffixes /-mi*n*/ and /-m/ to indicate plurality, as in *nwaabmigoomin*, 'we (excl.) are seen,' and *gwaabmigoom*, 'you (pl.) are seen.' Passive forms thus stand in between transitive verbs, in having intransitive agreement, but also showing theme suffixes, like transitive verbs.

REFLEXIVES, RECIPROCALS, AND DISJOINT REFERENCE. Actors and goals in a transitive predication must constitute disjoint groups. For example, there is no form in Nishnaabemwin in which a second person singular (2s) acts upon a first person plural inclusive (21), 'you (sg.) see us (including you),' because the second person is included in the inclusive goal. Similarly, there is no form for a first person singular (1s) acting on either a first person plural inclusive or exclusive, since in both cases, the actor would be included in the goal. When the actor and goal are identical, a REFLEXIVE form is used. Reflexives are inflectionally intransitive, and are derived from transitive stems by the addition of suffix (complex) /-idizo/ (see Chapter 9, section 9.12.18, Reflexive /-idizo/, beginning on page 408 for additional details on the derivation of reflexives). If the actor and goal are distinct, but act on each other, RECIPROCAL forms are used, which, like reflexives, are intransitive, and derived from transitive stems. The reciprocal suffix is /-idi/ (see Chapter 9, section 9.12.19, Reciprocal /-idi/, beginning on page 409 for details).

The following chart lists those person/number/obviation actor-goal combinations that are illegal in Nishnaabemwin, that is, those which violate the requirement of disjoint reference. Actors are designated in the column on the far left, and goals in the topmost row. Disallowed combinations are labeled "no," and reflexives, "rfl." Note that obviatives (3') are grammatically distinct from both third person singular and third person plural.

	1s	2s	3s	3'	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	rfl.				no	no		
2s		rfl.				no	no	
3s			rfl.					no
3'				rfl.				
1p	no				rfl.	no		
21	no	no			no	rfl.	no	
2p		no				no	rfl.	
3p			no					rfl.

7.3 VTA Independent Order Inflectional Template

Examination of the various inflections of the transitive animate independent order, produces the following template:

Prefix	Stem	Theme	Neg.	Pron. Plural	Mode	Nominal
ni- 1 gi- 2 o- 3	vta	-iN 2 goal -i 1 goal -aa 3 direct -igw 3 inverse -igoo X actor	-si(w) or -sii(w)	-naa*n* 1 -waa 2/3	-ba*n* pret. -dig dub.	-ag 3p -an 3'

There are two distinct sets of plural markers, as we find with possessed forms of nouns as well, a pronominal set and a nominal set. The pronominal set makes a fundamental distinction between first person and non-first person. Nominal markers are only third person, and include the category of obviation, which is only marginally present in the pronominal system. The nominal markers are used to mark third person plural, animate and inanimate, and obviative goals. The marking of third person plural actors shows an interesting distributional constraint— if the goal does not include a first person, either singular or plural, or a second person singular, then /-waa/ is used to mark plurality of the third person actor; if the goal includes a first person or is a second person singular, then the nominal markers are used to indicate plurality of the third person actor. The system thus shows the following distribution:

Third Person Suffixes with Third Person Actors		
Person of Goal	Singular Goal	Plural Goal
First Person	-oog (Nominal)	-ig (Nominal)
Second Person	-oog (Nominal)	-waa (Pronominal)
Third Person	-waa (Pronominal)	

Just as we saw with the animate intransitive verb, the nominal third person suffixes show quite a bit of variation in form, depending on the morpheme that precedes them. The following table summarizes the more common variant forms, and the traditional linguistic explanations for the variation.

Form	When following...	Standard Linguistic Explanation
-ig	/-naan/ 1 plural	underlying form of 1p suffix is /-naany/ /-naany-ag/ produces /naanig/ by coalescence of /y+a/ to /i/ (or deletion of /a/ and vocalization of /y/ to /i/)
-g	/-waa/ 2/3 plural /-aa/ direct theme	/-waa-ag/ produces /waag/ /-aa-ag/ produces /aag/ by deletion of short V of /-ag/ before VV
-oog	/-igw/ inverse theme	underlying form of theme is /-igw/ /-igw-ag/ produces /igoog/ by coalescence of w+a to /oo/
-iig	/-ban/ preterit mode	underlying form of preterit is /-bany/ /-bany-ag/ produces /baniig/ by coalescence of /y+a/ to /ii/
-wenag	/-dig/ dubitative mode	extendend dubitative allomorph /-digwen/ /-dig-ag/ produces /digwen-ag/ by allomorphic substitution of redundantly marked /-dig-w-en-/

None of the ALLOMORPHY of the nominal third person suffixes is unique to Nishnaabemwin, as these forms are found in all dialects of Ojibwe, suggesting that they are very ancient, and represent a common inheritance in each of the modern daughter languages of processes at work in the shared language that preceded them, a language we might call Gete-Anishinaabemowin, or Proto-Ojibwe in English translation.

7.4 VTA Conjunct Order Inflectional Template

Examination of conjunct order transitive animate verbal inflections shows that they too have theme suffixes. The following table breaks down many transitive animate conjunct forms into their component morphemes. Once again we find the same morphemes appearing in very similar functions as in the independent.The conjunct inflectional system is less orderly than the independent, perhaps because it is an older system. Basically, we have the following simple suffix template:

Stem	Theme Sign	Local Person/Number	Non-Local Person/Number

Form	Gloss	Ac	Gl	Theme	Gl. Suf	Ac. Suf.
waabmiyan	'(if) you (sg.) see me'	2s	1s	i		(y)an
waabmiyeg	'(if) you (pl.) see me'	2p	1s	i		(y)eg
waabmid	'(if) ANsg sees me'	3s	1s	i		d
waabmiwaad	'(if) ANpl see me	3p	1s	i		waa-d
waabmigyaanh	'(if) IN sees me'	0	1s	igo	(y)aan*h*	
waabmigooyaanh	'(if) I am seen'	X	1s	igoo	(y)aan*h*	
waabmiyaang	'(if) you (sg.) see us (excl.)'	2s	1p	i	(y)aang	
waabmiyaang	'(if) you (pl.) see us (excl.)'	2p	1p	i	(y)aang	
waabmiyangid	'(if) ANsg sees us (excl.)'	3s	1p	i	(y)ang	(i)d
waabmiyangdwaa	'(if) ANpl see us (excl.)'	3p	1p	i	(y)ang	(i)d-waa
waabmigyaang	'(if) IN sees us (excl.)'	0	1p	igo	(y)aang	
waabmigooyaang	'(if) we (excl.) are seen'	X	1p	igoo	(y)aang	
waabminaan	'(if) I see you (sg.)'	1s	2s	iN		aan
waabmik	'(if) ANsg sees you (sg.)'	3s	2s	iN		g
waabmikwaa	'(if) ANpl see you (sg.)'	3p	2s	iN		g-waa
waabmigyan	'(if) IN sees you (sg.)'	0s	2s	igo	(y)an	
waabmigooyan	'(if) we see you (sg.)'	1p	2s	igoo	(y)an	
waabmigooyan	'(if) you (sg.) are seen'	X	2s	igoo	(y)an	
waabminnang	'(if) ANsg sees us (incl.)' (M)	3s	21	inin	ang	
waabminnangwaa	'(if) ANpl see us (incl.)' (M)	3p	21	inin	ang	waa
waabmigyaang	'(if) IN sees us (incl.)'	0	21	igw	(y)ang	
waabmigooyang	'(if) we (incl.) are seen'	X	21	igoo	(y)ang	
waabminnagog	'(if) I see you (pl.)' (M)	1s	2p	inin	agog	
waabminineg	'(if) ANsg sees you (pl.) ' (M)	3s	2p	inin	eg	
waabminaang	'(if) we (ex.) see you (pl.)' W	1p	2p	in		aang
waabminnegwaa	'(if) ANpl see you (pl.)' (M)	3p	2p	inin	eg	waa
waabmigooyeg	'(if) you (pl.) are seen'	X	2p	igoo	(y)eg	
waabmag	'(if) I see ANsg'	1s	3s		ag	
waabmad	'(if) you see ANsg'	2s	3s		ad	
waabmangid	'(if) we (excl.) see ANsg'	1p	3s		ang	id
waabmang	'(if) we (incl.) see ANsg'	21	3s		ang	

Form	Gloss	Ac	Gl	Theme	Gl. Suf	Ac. Suf.
waabmaad	'(if) ANsg sees ANobv'	3s	3'	aa		d
waabmaawaad	'(if) ANpl see ANobv'	3p	3'	aa		waa-d
waabmigod	'(if) ANobv sees ANsg'	3'	3s	igo		
waabmigwaad	'(if) ANobv sees ANpl'	3'	3p	igo	waa-d	
waabmigod	'(if) IN sees ANsg'	0	3s	igo	d	

Each slot may contain at most one member. The following theme signs occur in conjunct order inflection:

Theme Sign	Grammatical Indication
/-i/	first person goal, specified[1] animate actor
/-iN/	second person goal, specified animate actor
/-inin/	second person or first person inclusive plural goal, specified animate actor
/-igw/	1. local goal: inanimate actor 2. non-local actor and goal: inverse
/-igoo/	local goal, unspecified actor (passive)
/-in/	non-local goal, unspecified actor (passive)
/-aa/	non-local actor: direct

1. As opposed to the unspecified actor of passive forms.

First, note that in the conjunct order, the first and second person goal theme signs appear even when there are third person (but *only* animate) actors, unlike in the independent, where only non-local theme signs (direct and inverse) are used when there is a third person involved. Third person animate actor forms with local goals use the appropriate local theme sign. When the goal is local, the theme sign /-igw/ is used only when the actor is *inanimate*, though it has its usual function of marking INVERSION when the goal is NON-LOCAL (third person).

The person/number suffixes are identical to those found with animate intransitive (VAI) verbs. However, since there may be at most only *one* local person/number suffix, potential problems arise when both actor and goal are local. When the goal is first or second person singular, the theme sign alone functions to indicate the goal's grammatical properties, for example, *waabm-i-d*, '(if) ANsg saw me,' and *waabm-i-yan*, '(if) you (sg.) see me'; when the goal is first person plural exclusive and the actor second person (either singular or plural), there is no marking whatsoever for the second person actor, since the theme sign is first person, and the local suffix first person plural exclusive, *waabm-i-yaang*, '(if) you (sg. or pl.) see us (excl.).' In the case of first person plural actors and second person goals, either

singular or plural, the unspecified actor form is used, so that the forms filling the paradigm slots for 'we see you (sg. or pl.),' literally mean, 'you (sg. or pl.) are seen,' *gwaabmigoo(m)*.

The third person (non-local) suffix slot is filled with the morphemes /-d/ or /-g/, 'third person,' and /-waa/, 'third plural,' but in variable order, sometimes as /-waa-d/, and sometimes with the opposite ordering /-d-waa/ (or /-g-waa/, if the stem ends in a nasal consonant). In some cases the third person marker is absent, as in the forms with first person plural inclusive goals, *waabminnang*, '(if) s/he sees us (incl.),' and *waabminnnangwaa*, '(if) they see us.' The third person marker, /-d/, is also not present when the goal is second person plural. When both /-d/ and /-waa/ are present, their ordering is a function of the phonological property of the stem to which they are attached— the order is /-waa-d/ when attached to inflectional stems ending in a vowel, and /-d-waa/ (or /-g-waa/) when attached to inflectional stems ending in a consonant, for example, *waabmiwaad*, '(if) they see me,' but *waabmiyngidwaa*, '(if) they see us (excl.)' (with a link vowel /i/ inserted after the first person plural suffix /-yang/, prior to attaching /-d-waa/). Note that the use of /-yang/ here to indicate an exclusive first person plural is out of line with respect to the rest of the conjunct paradigm, where it usually signals inclusive first person plural.

Several inflectional combinations are unpredictable. For example, the form for a first person singular actor and third person goal lacks a theme sign and has a completely SUPPLETIVE suffix /-ag/ as the sole inflectional marker, as in *waabm-ag*, '(if) I see ANsg.' The form for second person singular actor and third person goal is similarly unruly, having the form /-ad/, *waabm-ad*, '(if) you (sg.) see ANsg.' There are several other places in the paradigm where somewhat unexpected allomorphic forms appear.

As for MODE markers in the conjunct, they are almost invariably the last element in the inflectional complex, e.g., *waabmagba(n)*, 'that I had seen ANsg,' with a final PRETERIT suffix. The negative suffix comes immediately after the theme suffix. This produces the following overall template.

Stem	Theme	Negative	Local Person/Number	Non-Local Person/Number	Mode	
					Pret	Dub

7.4.1 Alternate VTA Conjunct Forms with Third Person Actors

Some sub-dialects of Nishnaabemwin show a rather different approach to the conjunct inflectional forms that have third person actors and first or second person (i.e., local) goals. Basically, the conceptually simple system of the inanimate actor forms is generalized to those inflections having third person animate actors as well as inanimate, in other words, in all forms having local goals and third person actors. This system is thus much more like the independent order. All inanimate actor forms involve the use of the inverse theme sign /-igw/, to which is then attached the standard conjunct person/number suffixes that are found on animate intransitive verbs, which makes for a very transparent morphological and

conceptual system. Also, note that number in the third person actor is not distinguished, so that the forms are the same whether the actor is singular or plural. The following table illustrates this inflectional system.

Alternate 3(p) > Local Conjunct Inflections	
waabmigyaanh	'(if) ANsg|pl see(s) me'
waabmigyan	'(if) ANsg|pl see(s) you (sg.)'
waabmigyaang	'(if) ANsg|pl see(s) us (excl.)'
waabmigyang	'(if) ANsg|pl see(s) us (incl.)'
waabmigyeg	'(if) ANsg|pl see(s) you (pl.)'

7.5 VTA Imperative Order Inflectional Template

The IMPERATIVE ORDER is relatively simple, basically using the following template.

Stem	Theme	Mode/Number Ending

One wrinkle in theme marking in the imperative is that a suffix having the form /-i/ appears where we would expect a non-local direct, that is, /-aa/. This suffix form shows up in all cases of positive imperatives involving second person singular and plural actors, as in *miizhig*, '(you (pl.) give Y to AN), while /-aa/ occurs with first plural (inclusive) actors, and in prohibitives with second person actors and third person goals, e.g., *gego miinaake(n)*, 'don't (you sg.) give it to AN.'

Rather than tease out discrete suffixes for mode and number, I have elected to leave the rest of the imperative ending unanalyzed.

7.5.1 The Relationship of VTA Independent Order to Noun Inflection

Examination of the morphological components of the transitive animate independent and conjunct order demonstrates very clearly that independent order inflection shows striking similarities to the inflection of possessed nouns, both in terms of the affixes that are used, and in their ordering relationships. For example, both possessed nouns and independent order verbs use person prefixes, while the conjunct order does not.

Verb, Independent Order	**n**waabmaa	'I see her/him'
Noun Possessive	**n**gwis	'my son'
Verb, Conjunct Order	waabmag	'(if) I see her/him'

Both independent order and possessed nouns also use the same morphemes to indicate

nominal number and obviation inflections: in the possessed forms, nominal number and obviation markers indicate grammatical features of the possessum (ones or objects possessed); in the independent order, the same markers are used to indicate agreement features of third person goals.

Independent Order	nwaabmaa**g**	'I see them'
Noun Possessive	ngwis**ag**	'my sons'
Conjunct Order	waabmag**waa**	'(if) I see them'

The conjunct order form here has the theme sign /-ag/, which resembles the animate plural inflection, but it is the morpheme /-waa/ in the conjunct inflection that marks the goal as plural.

The independent order and possessed noun inflections show parallel behaviour in the form of plural actor and possessor suffixes as well.

Independent Order	nwaabmaa**naan**ig	'we (excl.) see them'
Possessed Form	ngwis**naan**ig	'our (excl.) sons'
Conjunct Order	waabm**yang**dwaa	'(if) we (excl.) see them'

Nouns can optionally be marked even for MODE categories, as we have seen, the PRETERIT, for example, is used to indicate a deceased relation, such as in *nmishoomsnaabniig*, 'our (excl.) deceased grandfathers;' and the DUBITATIVE is used with vocative plurals, as in *nwiijkiiwenyidig*, 'my friends.' Mode suffixes on nouns too bear closer resemblance to independent order forms than they do to conjuncts.

7.6 VTA Stem Classes

There are six phonologically definable subclasses of transitive animate stems, identified on the basis of their final consonant. These are listed below, with examples. In the glosses of these examples, Y represents a semantic role associated with a verb that is inflectionally indexed only in a few participle forms. So, for example, the verb *miizh*, 'give Y to AN,' indexes a giver as actor and an (animate) recipient as goal, but the thing given, indicated by Y, is not indexed on the verb.

Stem Type	Imperative 2s»3s/p	Independent, 1s»3s	Gloss
/N/-Stems	miizh	nmiinaa	'give Y to AN'
	biizh	nbiinaa	'bring Y to AN'
	dkobizh, dkobnizh	ndakbinaa	'tie AN fast'
	webin, webizh	nwebnaa	'abandon AN'
/S/-Stems	nshin, nshi	nnisaa	'kill AN'
	shin, shi	ndasaa	'put AN there'
/aw/-Stems	noondaw	nnoondwaa	'hear AN'
	bzindaw	nbizndawaa	'listen to AN'
	zhitmaw	ndoozhtamwaa	'make s.t. for AN'
	bkinaw	nbaknawaa	'beat AN (in a game)'
/h/-Stems	zaagih, zaagiy	nzaaghaa	'love AN'
	baabiih, baabiiy	nbaabiihaa	'wait for AN'
	aabjih, aabjiy	ndaabjihaa	'use AN'
	nbagaw	nnabgawaa	'flatten AN'
Short V-Stems	shin, shi	ndasaa	'put AN there'
	nshin, nshi	nnisaa	'kill AN'
Cw-Stems	maw	ndamwaa	'eat AN'
	jaagizaw	njaagzwaa	'burn AN'
Regular Stems	gnawaabam		'look at AN'

STEMS IN /N/ AND /S/. These stems show alternation in their final consonant under different inflections. /N/ stems have /zh/ before theme /-i/, first person goal (in all three orders), and /-i/, third person goal (in the imperative), otherwise /n/. /S/ stems have /sh/ before theme /-i/ in the same places where /N/ stems have /zh/, and /s/ elsewhere. The following examples are illustrative of the inflectional configurations that produce /zh/. In several places in the paradigm there is variation among contemporary speakers as to whether final /N/ is realized as /n/ or /zh/, that is, for some speakers the distinction between /N/ and /n/ is being lost.

2s	»	1s	ind	gmiiizh	'you (sg.) give it to me'
2p	»	1s	ind	gmiizhim	'you (pl.) give it to me'
2p	»	1p	ind	gmiizhmin	'you (pl.) give it to us (excl.)'
2s	»	1s	conj	miizhyan	'(if) you (sg.) give it to me'
3s	»	1s	conj	miizhid	'(if) ANsg gives it to me'

2p	»	1s	conj	miizhiyeg	'(if) you (pl.) give it to me'
3p	»	1s	conj	miizhwaad	'(if) ANpl give it to me'
2s	»	1p	conj	miizhyaang	'(if) you (sg/pl) give it to me'
3s	»	1p	conj	miizhyangid	'(if) ANsg gives it to us (excl.)'
2s	»	3s	imp	miizh	'give it to AN'
2s	»	1s	imp	miin'shin miizhshin	'give it to me'
2p	»	1s	imp	miin'shik miizhshik	'give it to me'
2s	»	1s	ind	gnish	'you (sg.) are killing me'
2p	»	1s	ind	gnishim	'you (pl.) are killing me'
3s	»	1s	conj	nishid	'(if) ANsg kills me'
2s	»	3s	imp	nshi	'kill AN'
etc.					

Based on the forms in Rhodes 1985, it appears that some speakers have reanalyzed the imperative forms in such a way that the second person singular acting upon third person inflection is now /-izh/, that is, the historical /zh/ which is due to alternation with /n/ has been reanalyzed to be part of the inflection, rather than part of the stem. This element is then added to the stem with /n/, for example, the imperative of /miiN/, 'give Y to ANsg,' is *miinizh*, and the imperative of /dakobiN/, 'tie ANsg fast,' is *dkobnizh* for speakers having this innovation.

STEMS IN /AW/. The final /aw/ of these stems coalesces with the suffix vowels of the themes /-igw/ (inverse), /-igoo/ (unspecified actor), and /-iN/ (second person goal). In the first two cases, the combination /aw+igo(o)/ produces /aag(oo)/, and in the last, /aw+iN/ produces /oon/. The following examples are illustrative of these processes.

3s	»	1s	ind	nnoondaag	'ANsg hears me'
0	»	1s	conj	noondaagyaanh	'(if) I am heard by IN'
3'	»	3s	ind	wnoondaagoon	'ANobv hears ANsg'
X	»	1s	ind	nnoondaagoo	'I am heard'
X	»	2s	conj	noondaagooyan	'(if) you (sg.) are heard'
1s	»	2s	ind	gnoondoon	'I hear you (sg.)'
1s	»	2p	ind	gnoondoonim	'I hear you (pl.)'
1s	»	2s	conj	noondoon(n)aanh	'(if) I hear you (sg.)'
1s	»	2p	conj	noondoonnagog	'(if) I hear you (pl.)'

SHORT V-STEMS. Short vowel stems are those that historically contained a single short vowel, such as *shi*, 'put AN (in a place)' (historically /aS/) and *nshi*, 'kill AN' (historically /niS/). There are very few such stems. These stems bear an interesting relationship to the rule of final short-vowel and glide deletion, which deletes a final short vowel or glide, producing, for example, *nwiisin*, 'I (am) eat(ing),' from a stem /wiisini/. We have also seen the prominence of the METRICAL FOOT in Nishnaabemwin, which ideally consists of a weak syllable paired with a strong syllable, but may sometimes consist of a single strong syllable, as in the word, *gii(n)*, 'you.' The rule of final short vowel and glide deletion historically was limited by a restriction on the phonological shape of a minimal independent word— if the deletion of a final short vowel would result in a word having only one vowel, which was short, then the rule did not apply. This rule is related to the metrical structure that is seen at work in the operation of syncope in that the restriction on final short vowel deletion was grounded in a requirement that a word minimally consist of at least one FOOT, and a single short vowel didn't qualify— either one long vowel (creating a DEFECTIVE FOOT), or two short vowels were minimally required. One place where this restriction applied was in the form of 2s»3 imperatives for verbs that had stems whose only vowel was short. A comparison of such verbs with a few other verbs shows the effect of this restriction:

zhi	'say to AN!'
shi	'put AN!'
nshi	'kill AN!'
wi	'use AN; wear AN'
gnawaabam	'look at AN!'
naadmaw	'help AN!'
miizh	'give Y to AN!'

What is crucial here is that the first four verbs have a final short vowel lacking in the last three examples. The verbs showing a final vowel all represent stems that historically contained only one vowel, which was short. If we assume that there is a suffix to mark this imperative form, consisting of /-i/, these forms are readily explained. In the cases of the last four examples, this vowel has been deleted by the rule of final short-vowel and glide deletion. In the first three examples, however, this vowel could not be deleted, because it would have resulted in a word having only a single vowel, which was short. The following diagram shows the basic structure of the verb meaning, 'to speak,' *zhi*, along with its derivation in modern Nishnaabemwin.

Underlying Form	i	N	+	i
/N/ > /zh/ before /i/	i	zh	+	i
Final Short Vowel Deletion (does not apply)	i	zh	+	i
		F		
	w			s
Syncope	_	zh	+	i

These short-vowel stem verbs thus preserve the final short vowel of the imperative inflection that is deleted for all other verbs. Note, however, that the voracious rule of syncope is more than happy to leave a word with only a single short vowel, as it does in the cases of these verbs, which end up in modern speech with only a single short vowel.

Another adjustment that many speakers have made to these forms is to add /n/ to the simple imperative, so that it becomes *zhin*. This /n/ is reminiscent of the /-n/ suffix found on animate intransitive second person singular imperative forms, such as *wiisniin*, 'eat!'

STEMS IN /ʔ/. Stems ending in /ʔ/ (glottal stop), spelled «h», show variation in their 2s»3 imperative forms, being pronounced variably with final /ʔ/, /y/, or /w/, for example, the imperative of /zaagih/, 'love ANsg,' may be /zaagiʔ/, /zaagiy/, or /zaagiw/. Often the /ʔ/ is dropped from pronunciation between vowels, but a [y] may be heard in the transition between vowels, giving the impression of an alternation between [ʔ] and [y], as in *baabiiyik*, '(you pl.) wait for AN!' In certain inflections, glottal stop sounds distinctly like [w], as in *baabiiw*, '(you sg.) wait for AN!' (from /baabiiʔ+i/).

STEMS IN CW. These are verbs that have a stem ending in a consonant followed by /w/, such as *njaagzwaa*, 'I burn ANsg up,' and *ndamwaa*, 'I eat ANsg.' In this class a vowel is *inserted* between the consonant and final /w/ in the simple imperative form, producing *jaagzaw* and *maw* as the imperative (2»3s/p) forms of the two example verbs. The latter form is one of several (dialect) variants for this verb, which also include *mo* and *mon*. These forms show a COALESCENCE of the /-i/ of the imperative with the /w/ of the stem, /amw+i/, and this short vowel is retained because the verb also belongs to the Short-Vowel Stem class.

Coalescence of the stem-final /w/ with a suffixal /i/ results in the extensive presence of /o/ in the paradigms of these verbs. The following examples are illustrative. Everywhere that an inflectional suffix complex begins with an /i/, the Cw-stem verbs will show coalescence to /o/, though this vowel may of course be deleted by syncope.

				/waabam/, 'see AN'	/jaagizw/, 'burn AN'
3s	»	1s	ind	nwaabmig	njaagzog
3'	»	3s	ind	wwaabmigoon	wjaagzogoon
1s	»	2s	ind	gwaabmin	gjaagzon
3s	»	1s	conj	waabmid	jaagzod
2s	»	1s	imp	waabmishin	jaagzoshin

For some speakers, verbs that end in «hw» delete the /h/, and the /w/, no longer post-consonantal, does not coalesce with a following /i/, as in, e.g., *nbaktewig*, 'ANsg hit me,' with underlying form /bakitehw+igw/.

THE IRREGULAR VERB ZHI(N), 'SAY Y TO AN'. The VTA verb *zhi(n)*, 'speak to AN' has an underlying form /iN/, which can be clearly seen in forms such such as *ndinaa*, 'I say Y to ANsg,' and *gdizh*, 'you (sg.) say to me.' The morphophonemic element /N/ is realized as /zh/ before the theme suffix /-i/, 'first person goal,' and the theme sign /-i/ that appears in imperatives having third person goals, /-i/, as in *zhig* (or *zhik*) '(you pl.) say Y to AN!'. However, a significant irregularity in the conjugation of *zhi(n)* is that it has the form zero, that is, has an empty allomorph, when it is followed by the themes /-igw/ and /-igoo/, as in ndig, 'ANsg says to me,' where /nd-/ represents a first person prefix, and /-ig/ the theme sign.

7.6.1 Example VTA Imperative Forms

The table on the following page lists imperative forms provided by a speaker from Wikwemikong (MC) for four subclasses of transitive verbs: those ending in an /N/ (and making the necessary changes, /S/), exemplified by /miiN/, 'give Y to AN'; short vowel stems, exemplified by /amw/, 'eat AN'; stems in /h/, exemplified by /baabiih/, 'wait for AN'; and /aw/ stems, exemplified by /bizindaw/, 'listen to AN'

7.7 VTA Paradigms

Beginning on page 287, a range of VTA paradigms is provided. Actors are designated in the row labels running down the left side of each chart, and goals in the columns. Most paradigms are divided in half, with singular goal forms in the upper chart, and plural goals forms in the lower. Disallowed actor-goal combinations are signalled with an em-dash (—) (see discussion on p. 273, above).

Some TA Imperatives						
Immediate						
2s	»	3s/p	miizh	mon	baabiiw	bzindaw
2p	»	3s/p	miinik	mok	baabiiyik	bzindawik
21	»	3s	miinaadaa	mwaadaa	baabiiyaadaa	bzindwaadaa
21	»	3p	miinaadaanig	mwaadaanig	baabiiyaadaanig	bzindwaadaanig
2s	»	1s	miin'shin	moshin	baabiiwshin	bzindwishin
2p	»	1s	miin'shik	moshik	baabiiwshik	bzindwishik
2s/p	»	1p	miin'shinaang	moshinaang	baabiiwshinaang	bzindwishnaang
Delayed						
2s	»	3s/p	miinaakan	mwaakan	baabiiyaakan	bzindwaakan
2p	»	3s/p	miinaakego	mwaakeg	baabiiyaakeg	bzindwaakeg
21	»	3s	?	?	?	?
21	»	3p	?	?	?	?
2s	»	1s	miin'shiikan	mwaashiikan	baabiiwshiikan	bzindwishiikan
2p	»	1s	miin'shiikeg	mwaashiikeg	baabiiwshiikeg	bzindwishiikeg
2s/p	»	1p	?	?	?	?
Prohibitive						
2s	»	3s/p	miinaake	mwaake	baabiiyaake	bzindwaake
2p	»	3s/p	miinaakego	mwaakego	baabiiyaakego	bzindwaakego
21	»	3s	miinaasiidaa	mwaasiidaa	baabiiyaasiidaa	bzindwaasiidaa
21	»	3p	miinaasi-idaanig	mwaasiidaanig	baabiiyaasi-idaanig	bzindwaasi-idaanig
2s	»	1s	miin'shike	moshke	baabiiwshike	bzindwishke
2p	»	1s	miin'shikego	moshkego	baabiiwshikego	bzindwishkego
2s/p	»	1p	?	?	?	?

7.7.1 VTA, Independent Order, Indicative Mode, Positive

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	g_in	n_aa	
2s	g_†	reflexive	g_aa	
3s	n_ig	g_ig	reflexive	w_aan
3'			w_*igoon*	reflexive
0s	n_*igon*	g_*igon*	w_*igon*	
1p	—	g_*igoo* g_*inimin*$_{\Omega}$	n_aanaa*n* n_aamin$_{\pi+}$	
21	—	—	g_aanaa*n* g_aamin$_{\pi+}$	
2p	g_†im	—	g_aawaa	
3p	n_*igoog*	g_*igoog*	—	w_aawaan
0p	n_*igonan*	g_*igonan*	w_*igonan*	
X	n_*igoo*	g_*igoo*	_aa	_aawan

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	g_*inim*	n_aag
2s	g_†*imin*	—	—	g_aag
3s	n_*igonaan*	g_*igonaan*	g_*igowaa*	—
3'	n_*igomin*$_{\pi+}$	g_*igomin*$_{\pi+}$		w_*igowaan*
0s	n_*igonaan* n_*igomin*$_{\pi+}$	g_*igonaan* g_*igomin*$_{\pi+}$	g_*igonaawaa*	w_*igonaawaa*
1p	reflexive	—	g_*igoom* g_*inimin*$_{\Omega}$	n_aanaanig n_aamin$_{\pi+}$
21	—	reflexive	—	g_aanaanig g_aamin$_{\pi+}$
2p	g_†*imin*	—	reflexive	g_aawaag
3p	n_*igonaanig* n_*igomin*$_{\pi+}$	g_*igonaanig* g_*igomin*$_{\pi+}$	g_*igowaag*	reflexive
0p	n_*igonaanin* n_*igomin*$_{\pi+,\beta}$	g_*igonaanin* g_*igomin*$_{\pi+,\beta}$	g_*igonaawaan*	w_*igonaawaan*
X	n_*igoomin*	g_*igoomin*	g_*igoom*	_aawag

† = This form has a 1 goal theme sign /-i/, which induces palatalization in stem-final /N/ and /S/. β = Baraga 1850; π = Parry Island, Ontario; π+ = optional form at Parry Island; Ω = Walpole Island, Ontario. 1 plurals in -*naa*, -*mi* represent Odawa.

7.7.2 VTA, Independent Order, Preterit Mode, Positive

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	g_*ininaaban*	n_*aaban*	
2s	g_†*inaaban*	reflexive	g_*aaban*	
3s	n_*igoban*	g_*igoban*	reflexive	w_*aabaniin*
3'			w_*igobaniin*	reflexive
0s	n_*igonaaban*	g_*igonaaban*	w_*igonaaban*	
1p	—	g_*igoonaaban*	n_*aaminaaban* n_*aanaaban*$_{\beta}$	
21	—	—	g_*aaminaaban* g_*aanaaban*$_{\beta}$	
2p	g_†*imwaaban*	—	g_*aawaaban*	
3p	n_*igobaniig*	g_*igobaniig*	—	w_*aawaabaniin*
0p	n_*igonaabaniin*	g_*igonaabaniin*	w_*igonaabaniin*	
X	n_*igoonaaban*	g_*igoonaaban*	_*aaban*	_*aabaniin*

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	g_*inimwaaban*	n_*aabaniig*
2s	g_†*iminaaban*	—	—	g_*aabaniig*
3s	n_*igominaaban*	g_*igominaaban*	g_*igowaaban*	—
3'	n_*igonaaban*$_{\beta}$	g_*igonaaban*$_{\beta}$		w_*igowaabaniin*
0s	n_*igominaaban*	n_*igominaaban*	g_*igonaawaaban*	w_igonaawaaban
1p	reflexive	—	g_*igoomwaaban*	n_*aaminaabaniig* n_*aanaabaniig*$_{\beta}$
21	—	reflexive	—	g_*aaminaabaniig* g_*aanaabaniig*$_{\beta}$
2p	g_†*iminaaban*	—	reflexive	g_*aawaabaniig*
3p	n_*igominaabaniig* n_*igonaabaniig*$_{\beta}$	g_*igominaabaniig* g_*igonaabaniig*$_{\beta}$	g_*igowaabaniig*	reflexive
0p	n_*igominaabaniin*	n_*igominaabaniin*	g_*igowaabaniin*	w_igonaawaabaniin
X	n_*igoominaaban*	g_*igoominaaban*	g_*igoomwaaban*	_*aabaniig*

† This form has a 1 goal theme sign /-i/, which induces palatalization in stem-final /N/ and /S/. Forms in *-ba* represent Odawa (esp. Manitoulin Island, Walpole Island); β = Baraga 1850.

7.7.3 VTA, Independent Order, Dubitative Mode, Positive

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	g_*ininaadig*	n_*aadig*	
2s	g_†*inaadig* g_*idog*$_{\beta}$	reflexive	g_*aadig*	
3s	n_*igodig*	g_*igodig*	reflexive	w_*aadigenan*
3'			w_*igodigenan*	reflexive
0s	n_*igonaadig*	g_*igonaadig*	w_*igonaadig*	
1p	—	g_*igoonaadig* g_*igoodog*$_{\beta}$	n_*aaminaadig* n_*aanaadog*$_{\beta}$	
21	—	—	g_*aaminaadig* g_*aanaadog*$_{\beta}$	
2p	g_†*imwaadig* g_*imidog*$_{\beta}$	—	g_*aawaadig*	
3p	n_*igodigenag*	g_*igodigenag*	—	w_*aawaadigenan*
0p	n_*igonaadigenan*	g_*igonaadigenan*	w_*igonaadigenan*	
X	n_*igoonaadig* n_*igoomidog*$_{\beta}$	g_*igoonaadig* g_*igoomidog*$_{\beta}$	_*aadig*	_*aadigenan*

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	g_*inimwaadig*	n_*aadigenag*
2s	g_†*iminaadig*	—	—	g_*aadigenag*
3s	n_*igominaadig*	g_*igominaadig*	g_*igowaadig*	—
3'	n_*igonaadog*$_{\beta}$	g_*igonaadog*$_{\beta}$		w_*igowaadigenan*
0s	n_*igominaadig*	g_*igominaadig*	g_*igonaawaadig*	w_*igonaawaadig*
1p	reflexive	—	g_*igoomwaadig* g_*igoomidog*$_{\beta}$	n_*aaminaadigenag* n_*aanaadogenag*$_{\beta}$
21	—	reflexive	—	g_*aaminaadigenag* g_*aanaadogenag*$_{\beta}$
2p	g_†*iminaadig*	—	reflexive	g_*aawaadigenag*
3p	n_*igominaadigenag* n_*igonaadogenag*$_{\beta}$	g_*igominaadigenag* g_*igonaadogenag*$_{\beta}$	g_*igonaawaadigenag*	reflexive
0p	n_*igominaadigenan*	g_*igominaadigenan*	g_*igonaawaadigenan*	w_*igonaawaadigenan*
X	n_*igoominaadig*	g_*igoominaadig*	n_*igoomwaadig*	_*aadigenag*

† This form has a 1 goal theme sign /-i/, which induces palatalization in stem-final /N/ and /S/. Many dialects have *-dog* for *-dig* throughout this paradigm (*-dig* is esp. Odawa). β = Baraga 1850.

7.7.4 VTA, Independent Order, Preterit Dubitative Mode, Positive

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	_*ininwaambaan*	_aaw*agiban*	
2s	_†*iwamban*	reflexive	_aaw*adiban*	
3s	_*igoban*	_*ikiban*	reflexive	_aag*oban*
3'			_*igoogoban*	reflexive
0s	_*igowaambaan*	_*igowamban*	_*igoogoban*	
1p	—	_*igoowamban*	_aaw*angidiban*	
21	—	—	_aaw*angoban*	
2p	_†*iwegoban*	—	_aawe*goban*	
3p	_*iwaagoban*	_*ikwaaban*	—	_aawaag*oban*
X	_*igoowaambaan*	_*igoowamban*	_aaw*indiban*	

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	_*ininagogoban*	_aaw*agwaaban*
2s	_†*iwaangiban*	—	—	_aaw*adwaaban*
3s	_*iwangidiban*	_*ininangoban*	_*ininegoban*	—
3'				_*igowaagoban*
0s	_*igowaangiban*	_*igowangoban*	_*igowegoban*	_*igowaagoban*
1p	reflexive	—	_*igoowegoban*	_aaw*angidiban*
21	—	reflexive	—	_aaw*angoban*
2p	_†*iwaangiban*	—	reflexive	_ aawegwaaban
3p	_	_*ininangwaaban*	_*ininegwaaban*	reflexive
X	_*igoowaangiban*	_*igoowangoban*	_*igoowegoban*	_aaw*indwaaban*

† This form has a I goal theme sign /-i/, which induces palatalization in stem-final /N/ and /S/.

These forms contrast with the VTA conjunct preterit dubitatives in systematically lacking a final dubitative element, /en(h)/. The inflections are structurally of the conjunct order, however.

7.7.5 VTA, Independent Order, Neutral Mode, Negative

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	g_*isinoon*	n_aasiin	
2s	g_†*isiin*	reflexive	g_aasiin	
3s	n_*igosiin*	g_*igosiin*	reflexive	w_aasiin
3'			w_*igosiin*	reflexive
0s	n_*igosiin*	g_*igosiin*	w_*igosiin*	w_*igosiinini*
1p	—	g_*igoosiin* _g_*inimin*	n_aas*iwaanaan* n_aasiimin$_{\pi+}$	
21	—	—	g_aas*iwaanaan* g_aasiimin$_{\pi+}$	
2p	g_†*isiim*	—	g_aas*iwaawaa*	
3p	n_*igosiig*	g_*igosiig*	—	w_aas*iwaawaan*
0p	n_*igosiinan*	g_*igosiinan*	w_*igosiinan*	
X	n_*igoosiin*	g_*igoosiin*	_aasiin	_aasiiwan

Ac \ Gl	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	g_*isinoonim*	n_aasiig
2s	g_†*isiimin*	—	—	g_aasiig
3s	n_*igosiinaan*	g_*igosiinaan*	g_*igosiiwaa*	—
3'	n_*igosiimin*$_{\pi+}$	g_*igosiimin*$_{\pi+}$		w_*igosiiwaan*
0s	n_*igosiinaan* n_*igosiimin*$_{\pi+}$	g_*igosiinaan* g_*igosiimin*$_{\pi+}$	g_*igosiinaawaa*	w_*igosiinaawaa*
1p	reflexive	—	g_*igoosiim* g_*inimin*$_{\Omega}$	n_aas*iwaanaanig* n_aasiimin$_{\pi+}$
21	—	reflexive	—	g_aas*iwaanaanig* g_aasiimin$_{\pi+}$
2p	g_†*isiimin*	—	reflexive	g_aas*iwaawaag*
3p	n_*igosiinaanig* n_*igosiimin*$_{\pi+}$	g_*igosiinaanig* g_*igosiimin*$_{\pi+}$	g_*igowaag*	reflexive
0p	n_*igosiinaanin* n_*igosiimin*$_{\pi+,\beta}$	g_*igosiinaanin* g_*igosiimin*$_{\pi+,\beta}$	g_*igosiinaawaan*	w_*igosiinaawaan*
X	n_*igoosiimin*	g_*igoosiimin*	g_*igoosiim*	_aasiiwag

† This form has a I goal theme sign /-i/, which induces palatalization in stem-final /N/ and /S/. β = Baraga 1850; _ = Parry Island, Ontario; π+ = optional form at Parry Island; Ω = Walpole Island, Ontario. I plurals in *-naa*, *-mi* represent Odawa.

7.7.6 VTA, Independent Order, Preterit Mode, Negative

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	g_*isinooninin*aaba*n*	n_aasiiba*n*	
2s	g_†*isiin*aaba*n*	reflexive	g_aasiiba*n*	
3s	n_*igosiiba*n	g_*igosiiba*n	reflexive	w_aasiiba*n*iin
3'			w_*igosiiba*niin	reflexive
0s	n_*igosiin*aaba*n*	g_*igosiin*aaba*n*	w_*igon*aaba*n*	w_*igosiin*aaban
1p	—	g_*igoosiin*aaba*n*	n_aasiim*in*aaba*n* n_aas*i*waanaaban$_{\beta}$	
21	—	—	g_aasiim*in*aaba*n* g_aas*i*waanaaban$_{\beta}$	
2p	g_†*isiim*waaba*n*	—	g_aas*i*waawaaba*n*	
3p	n_*igosiiba*niig	g_*igosiiba*niig	—	w_aas*i*waawaaba*n*iin
0p	n_*igosiin*aaba*n*iin	g_*igosiin*aaba*n*iin	w_*igosiin*aaba*n*iin	
X	n_*igoosiin*aaba*n*	g_*igoosiin*aaba*n*	_aasiiba*n*	_aasiiba*n*iin

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	g_*isinoonin*imwaaba*n*	n_aasiiba*n*iig
2s	g_†*isiim*naaba*n*	—	—	g_aasiiba*n*iig
3s	n_*igosiim*naaba*n*	g_*igosiim*naaba*n*	g_*igosiiwaaba*n*	—
3'	n_*igosiin*aaban$_{\beta}$	g_*igosiin*aaban$_{\beta}$		w_*igosiiwaaba*niin
0s	n_*igosiim*naaba*n*	n_*igosiim*naaba*n*	g_*igosiin*aawaaba*n*	w_igosiinaawaaba*n*
1p	reflexive	—	g_*igoosiim*waaba*n*	n_aasiim*in*aaba*n*iig n_aas*i*waanaaba*n*iig$_{\beta}$
21	—	reflexive	—	g_aasiim*in*aaba*n*iig g_aasiwaanaaba*n*iig$_{\beta}$
2p	g_†*isiim*naaba*n*	—	reflexive	g_aas*i*waawaaba*n*iig
3p	n_*igosiim*naaba*n*iig n_*igosiin*aaba*n*iig$_{\beta}$	g_*igosiim*naaba*n*iig g_*igosiin*aaba*n*iig$_{\beta}$	g_*igosiiwaaba*niig	reflexive
0p	n_*igosiim*naaba*n*iin	n_*igosiim*naaba*n*iin	g_*igosiiwaaba*niin	w_igosiinaawaaba*n*iin
X	n_igoosiim*in*aaba*n*	g_igoosiim*in*aaba*n*	g_*igoosiim*waaba*n*	_aasiiba*n*iig

† This form has a 1 goal theme sign /-i/, which induces palatalization in stem-final /N/ and /S/. Forms in *-ba* represent Odawa (esp. Manitoulin Island, Walpole Island). ß = Baraga 1850.

7.7.7 VTA, Independent Order, Dubitative Mode, Negative

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	g_*isinoon*inaadig	n_aasiidig	
2s	g_†*isiin*aadig g_*i*dog	reflexive	g_aasiidig	
3s	n_*igosiidig*$_{\beta}$	g_*igosiidig*	reflexive	w_aasii*dig*enan
3'			w_*igosiidig*enan	reflexive
0s	n_*igosiin*aadig	g_*igosiin*aadig	w_*igosiin*aadig	
1p	—	g_*igoosiin*aadig g_*igoosiido*g$_{\beta}$	n_aasiim*in*aadig n_aanaadog$_{\beta}$	
21	—	—	g_aasiim*in*aadig g_aanaadog$_{\beta}$	
2p	g_†*isiim*waadig g_*imido*g$_{\beta}$	—	g_aawaadig	
3p	n_*igosiidig*enag	g_*igosiidig*enag	—	w_aasiwaawaad*ig*enan
0p	n_*igosiin*aad*ig*enan	g_*igosiin*aad*ig*enan	w_*igosiin*aad*ig*enan	
X	n_*igoosiin*aadig n_*igoomido*g$_{\beta}$	g_*igoosiin*aadig g_*igoomido*g$_{\beta}$	_aasiidig	_aasii*dig*enan

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	g_*isinoonin*imwaadig	n_aasii*dig*enag
2s	g_†*isiim*naadig	—	—	g_aasii*dig*enag
3s	n_*igosiim*naadig	g_*igosiim*naadig	g_*igosiiwaadig*	—
3'	n_*igon*aado*g*$_{\beta}$	g_*igon*aado*g*$_{\beta}$		w_*igosiiwaad*enan
0s	n_*igosiim*naadig	g_*igosiim*naadig	g_*igosiin*aawaadig	w_*igosiin*aawaadig
1p	reflexive	—	g_*igoosiim*waadig g_*igoomido*g$_{\beta}$	n_aasiim*in*aad*ig*enag n_aanaad*o*genag$_{\beta}$
21	—	reflexive	—	g_aasiim*in*aad*ig*enag g_aanaad*o*genag$_{\beta}$
2p	g_†*isiim*naadig	—	reflexive	g_aas*i*waawaad*ig*enag
3p	n_*igosiim*naad*ig*enag n_*igon*aado*g*enag$_{\beta}$	g_*igosiim*naad*ig*enag g_*igon*aado*g*enag$_{\beta}$	g_*igosiin*aawaad*ig*enag	reflexive
0p	n_*igosiim*naad*ig*enan	g_*igosiim*naad*ig*enan	g_*igosiin*aawaad*ig*enan	w_*igosiin*aawaad*ig*enan
X	n_*igoosiim*naadig	g_*igoosiim*naadig	n_*igoosiim*waadig	_aasii*dig*enag

† = This form has a 1 goal theme sign /-i/, which induces palatalization in stem-final /N/ and /S/. Many dialects have *-dog* for *-dig* throughout this paradigm (*-dig* is esp. Odawa). ß = Baraga 1850.

7.7.8 VTA, Independent Order, Dubitative Preterit Mode, Negative[1]

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive			
2s		reflexive		
3s			reflexive	
3'				reflexive
0s				
1p	—			
21	—	—		
2p		—		
3p			—	
0p				
X				

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—		
2s		—	—	
3s				—
3'				
0s				
1p	reflexive	—		
21	—	reflexive	—	
2p		—	reflexive	
3p				reflexive
0p				
X				

1. I have included this chart with the hope that it can be filled in later.

7.7.9 VTA, Conjunct Order, Neutral Mode, Positive

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	_*inaan*$_{\pi}$ _*ininaa*$_{\mu}$	_ag	
2s	_†*iyan*	reflexive	_ad	
3s	_†id _*igoyaanh*$_{\pi+}$	_ik _*igoyan*$_{\pi+}$	reflexive	_aad
3'			_*igod*	reflexive
0s	_*igoyaanh*	_*igoyan*	_*igod*	
1p	—	_*igooyan* _*inaang*$_{\Omega}$	_aangid$_{\pi}$ _*angid*$_{\mu}$	
21	—	—	_*angid*$_{\pi}$ _ang$_{\mu}$	
2p	_†*iyeg*	—	_eg	
3p	_†*iwaad* _*igoyaanh*$_{\pi+}$	_*ikwaa* _*igoyan*$_{\pi+}$	—	_aawaad
X	_*igooyaanh*	_*igooyan*	_*ind*	_*ind*[waa]$_{\pi*}$

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	_*ininagog*	_*agwaa*
2s	_†*iyaang*	*_*iyang*$_{\mu}$	—	_*adwaa*
3s	_*igoyaangid*$_{\pi}$ _†*iyangid*$_{\mu}$	_*igoyangid*$_{\pi}$ _*ininang*$_{\mu}$	_*igoyeg*$_{\pi}$ _*ininegg*$_{\mu}$	—
3'	_†*iyamingid*$_{\pi}$ _*igoyaang*$_{\pi+}$	_*igoyang*$_{\pi+}$		_*igowaad*
0s	_*igoyaang*	_*igoyang*	_*igoyeg*	_*igowaad*
1p	reflexive	—	_*igooyeg* _*inaang*$_{\Omega}$	_*aangidwaa*$_{\pi}$ _*angidwaa*$_{\mu}$
21	—	reflexive	—	_*angidwaa*$_{\pi}$ _*angwaa*$_{\mu}$
2p	_†*iyaang*	*_*iyang*$_{\mu}$	reflexive	_*egwaa*
3p	_*igoyaangidwaa*$_{\pi}$ _†*iyangidwaa*$_{\mu}$ _†*iyamingidwaa*$_{\Omega}$ _*igoyaang*$_{\pi+}$	_*igoyangidwaa*$_{\pi}$ _*ininangwaa*$_{\mu}$ _*igoyang*$_{\pi+}$	_*igoyegwaa*$_{\pi}$ _*ininegwaa*$_{\mu}$ _*igoyeg*$_{\pi+}$	reflexive
X	_*igooyaang*	_*igooyang*	_*igooyeg*	_*indwaa*

† = With 1 goal theme sign /-i/, palatalizing stem-final /N/, /S/. μ = Manitoulin; π = Parry Island; π+ = optional form at Parry Is.; Ω = Walpole Island; *Form not attested in other dialects (violates disjoint reference).

7.7.10 VTA, Conjunct Order, Preterit Mode, Positive

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	_ininaambaanh	_agiban	
2s	_†iyamban	reflexive	_adiban	
3s	_†ipan	_ikiban	reflexive	_aapan
3'			_igopan	reflexive
0s	_igoyaambaanh	_igoyamban	_igopan	
1p	—	_igooyamban	_angidiban	
21	—	—	_angoban	
2p	_†iyegoban	—	_egoban	
3p	_†iwaapan	_ikwaaban	—	_aawaapan
X	_igooyaambaanh	_igooyamban	_indiban	

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	_ininagogoban	_agwaaban
2s	_†iyaangiban	—	—	_adwaaban
3s	_†iyangidiban	_ininangoban	_ininegoban	—
3'				_igowaapan
0s	_igoyaangiban	_igoyangoban	_igoyegoban	_igowaapan
1p	reflexive	—	_igooyegoban	_angidwaaban
21	—	reflexive	—	_angwaaban
2p	_†iyaangiban	—	reflexive	_egwaaban
3p	_†iyangidwaaban	_ininangwaaban	_ininegwaaban	reflexive
X	_igooyaangiban	_igooyangoban	_igooyegoban	_indwaaban

† = This form has a 1 goal theme sign /-i/, which induces palatalization in stem-final /N/ and /S/. Forms in *-ba*, *-baanh* are representative of Odawa (esp. Manitoulin Island, Walpole Island)

7.7.11 VTA, Conjunct Order, Dubitative Mode, Positive

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	_ininwaanen _inowaanen$_{\beta}$	_aawagenh	
2s	_†iwanen	reflexive	_aawadenh	
3s	_†igwenh	_ikenh	reflexive	_aagwenh
3'		_inogwen$_{\beta}$	_igoogwenh	reflexive
0s	_igowaanen	_igowanen	_igoogwenh	
1p	—	_igoowanen	_aawangidenh	
21	—	—	_aawangwenh	
2p	_†iwegwenh	—	_aawegwenh	
3p	_†iwaagwenh	_ikwaawen _inogwaawen$_{\beta}$	—	
X	_igoowaanen	_igoowanen	_aawindenh	

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	_ininagogwenh _inonogwaawen$_{\beta}$	_aawagwaawenh
2s	_†iwaangenh	—	—	_aawadwaawenh
3s	_†iwangidenh	_ininangwenh	_ininegwenh	—
3'			_inowegwen$_{\beta}$	_igowaagwenh
0s	_igowaangenh	_igowangwenh	_igowegwenh	_igowegwenh
1p	reflexive	—	_igoowegwenh	_aawangidwaawenh
21	—	reflexive	—	_aawangwaawenh
2p	_†iwaangenh	—	reflexive	_aawegwaawenh
3p	_†iwangidwaawenh	_ininankwaawenh _inowangwaawen$_{\beta}$	_ininegwaawenh _inowegwaawen$_{\beta}$	reflexive
X	_igoowaangenh	_igoowangwenh	_igoowegwenh	_aawindwaawenh

† = This form has a 1 goal theme sign /-i/, which induces palatalization in stem-final /N/ and /S/. β = Baraga 1850; forms lacking final /n/ and forms in /nh/ are representative of Odawa (esp. Manitoulin Island, Walpole Island).

7.7.12 VTA, Conjunct Order, Preterit Dubitative Mode, Positive

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	_ininwaambaanen	_aawagibanen	
2s	_†iwambanen	reflexive	_aawadibanen	
3s	_igobanen	_ikibanen _inogobanen$_{\beta}$	reflexive	_aagobanen
3'			_igoogobanen	reflexive
0s	_igowaambaanen	_igowambanen	_igoogobanen	
1p	—	_igoowambanen	_aawangidibanen	
21	—	—	_aawangobanen	
2p	_†iwegobanen	—	_aawegobanen	
3p	_†iwaagobanen	_ikwaabanen _inogwaabanen$_{\beta}$	—	_aawaagobanen
X	_igoowaambaanen	_igoowambanen	_aawindibanen	

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	_ininagogobanen	_aawagwaabanen
2s	_†iwaangibanen	—	—	_aawadwaabanen
3s	_†iwangidibanen	_ininangobanen _inowangobanen$_{\beta}$	_ininegobanen _inowegobanen$_{\beta}$	—
3'				_igowaagobanen
0s	_igowaangibanen	_igowangobanen	_igowegobanen	_igowaagobanen
1p	reflexive	—	_igoowegobanen	_aawangidibanen
21	—	reflexive	—	_aawangobanen
2p	_†iwaangibanen	—	reflexive	__aawegwaabanen
3p	_	_ininangwaabanen _inowangwaabanen$_{\beta}$	_ininegwaabanen _inowegwaabanen$_{\beta}$	reflexive
X	_igoowaangibanen	_igoowangobanen	_igoowegobanen	_aawindwaabanen

† = This form has a 1 goal theme sign /-i/, which induces palatalization in stem-final /N/ and /S/. ß = Baraga 1850; forms lacking final /n/ are representative of Odawa (esp. Manitoulin Island, Walpole Island).

7.7.13 VTA, Conjunct Order, Indicative Mode, Negative

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	_isinoonaanh	_aasiwag	
2s	_isiwan	reflexive	_aasiwad	
3s	_isig	_isinog	reflexive	
3'	?	?	?	reflexive
0s	_igosiwaanh	_igosiwan	_igosig	
1p	—	_igoosiwan	_aasiwangid	
21	—	—	_aasiwang	
2p	_isiweg	—	_aasiweg	
3p	_isigwaa	_isinokwaa	—	_aasigwaa
0p	_igosiwaanh	_igosiwan	_igosig	
X	_igoosiwaanh	_igoosiwan	_aasiwind	?

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	_isinoonagog	_aasiwagwaa
2s	_isiwaang	—	—	_aasiwadwaa
3s	_isiwangid	_isinowang	_igosiweg	—
3'	?	?	?	_igosigwaa
0s	_igosiwaang	_igosiwang	_igosiweg	_igosigwaa
1p	reflexive	—	_igoosiweg	_aasiwangidwaa
21	—	reflexive	—	_aasiwangwaa
2p	_isiwaang	—	reflexive	_aasiwegwaa
3p	_isiwangidwaa	_isinowangwaa	__isinoowegwaa	reflexive
0p	_igosiwaang	_igosiwang	_igosiweg	_igosigwaa
X	_igoosiwaang	_igoosiwang	_igoosiweg	_aasiwindwaa

7.7.14 VTA, Conjunct Order, Preterit Mode, Negative

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	_isinoonnaambaan ?	_aasiwagiban	
2s	_isiwamban _isiiwamban	reflexive	_aasiwidiban	
3s	_isigoban _isiipan	_igosiiwamban ?	reflexive	_aasiipan
3'	?	?	_igosiipan ? _igosigoban	reflexive
0s	_igosiwaambaan	_igosiwamban	_igosigoban ?	
1p	—	__igoos(i)iwamban	_aasiwangidiban	
21	—	—	_aasiwangiban	
2p	_isiwegiban _isiiwegiban	—	_aasiwegiban	
3p	_isigwaaban ? _isiiwaapan	?	—	_aasiiwaapan
0p	?	?	?	
X	_igoosiwaambaan	_igoosiwamban	_aasiwindiban	?

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	_sinoonwegiban ?	_aasiwagwaaban
2s	_isiwaangiban	—	—	_aasiwadwaaban
3s	_is(i)iwangidiban	_isinowangiban	_isinowegiban	—
3'	?	?	?	_igosigwaaban ?
0s	_igosiwaangiban ?	_igosiwangiban ?	_igosiwegiban ?	_igosigwaaban ?
1p	reflexive	—	_igoosiwegiban	_aasiwangidwaaban
21	—	reflexive	—	_aasiwangwaaban
2p	_isiwaangiban	—	reflexive	_aasiwegwaaban
3p	_isiiwangidwaaban	_isinowangwaaban	_isinowegwaaban	reflexive
0p	?	?	?	?
X	_igoosiwaangiban	_igoosiwangiban	_igoosiwegiban	_aasiwindwaaban

7.7.15 VTA, Conjunct Order, Dubitative Mode, Negative

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	reflexive	_siinowaanenh	_aasiiwagenh	
2s	_isiiwanenh	reflexive	_aasiiwadenh	
3s	_isiigwenh	?	reflexive	_aasiigwenh
3'	?	?	_igosiigwenh	reflexive
0s	?	?	?	
1p	—	_igoosiwanenh	_aasiiwangidenh	
21	—	—	_aasiiwangenh	
2p	_isiiwegwenh	—	_aasiiwegenh	
3p	_isiiwaagwenh	?	—	_aasiiwaagwenh
0p	?	?	?	
X	_igoosiwaanenh	_igoosiiwanenh	_aasiiwindenh	?

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	—	—	?	_aasiiwagwaawenh
2s	_isiiwaangenh	—	—	_aasiiwadwaawenh
3s	_isiiwangidenh ?	_isinoowangenh	_isinoowegwenh	—
3'	?	?	?	_igosiiwaagwenh
0s	?	?	?	?
1p	reflexive	—	_igoosiwegwenh	_aasiiwangidwaawenh
21	—	reflexive	—	_aasiiwangwaawenh
2p	_isiiwaangenh	—	reflexive	_aasiiwegwaawenh
3p	_isiiwangidwaawenh ?	_isinoowangwaawenh	_isinoowegwaawenh	reflexive
0p	?	?	?	?
X	_igoosiwaangenh	_igoosiwangenh	_igoosiiwegwenh	_aasiiwindwaawenh

7.7.16 VTA Participles, Indicative Mode, Positive (Incomplete)

Participles theoretically exist in both polarities, positive and negative, and all modes and actor-goal combinations. Participles require initial change, and only show formal differences from an initial-changed conjunct when the goal is third person plural or obviative.

	1s	2s	3s	3'
1s	?	?	_ag	
2s	?	?	_ad	
3s	_id	_ik	reflexive	_aajin, _aanijin
3'	?	?	_igojin	
0s	_igoyaanh	_igoyin	_igod	
1p	?	?	?	
21	?	?	?	
2p	?	?	?	
3p	_ijig	_igoyinig (?)	—	_aajig, _aawaajig, _aawaajin
0p	_igoyaanin	_igoyinin	_igojin	
X	?	?		_iminjin

	1p	21	2p	3p
1s	?	?	?	_agig
2s	?	?	?	_ajig
3s	?	?	?	?
3'	?	?	?	_gojin
0s	?	?	?	?
1p	reflexive	?	?	?
21	?	reflexive	?	?
2p	?	?	reflexive	?
3p	_igoyaangig	_igoyangig	_igoyegog	reflexive
0p	_igoyaangin	_igoyangin	_igoyegon	_igowaajin
X	?	?	?	?

THEME FOCUS DITRANSITIVE PARTICIPLES. Participles of ditransitives can focus on the normally uninflected theme, as in the following forms.

(1) Aapiish niwi(n) mzin'ignan gaa-miininaanin? | 'Where are the books I gave you?'

> **Aapiish** *av* 'where'; **niwi(n)** *pr 0p* 'those'; **mzin'ignan** *ni 0p* 'books'; **gaa-miininaanin** *vta ic part 1s»[0p]»2s* 'which (INpl) I gave to you (sg.).' (MC)

(2) Geyaabi go ndeyaanan niwi(n) mzin'ignan gaa-miizhyinin.

'I still have the books that you (sg.) gave me.'

> **Geyaabi** *av* 'still'; **ndeyaanan** *vti ind 1s»0p* 'I have INpl'; **niwi(n)** *pr 0p* 'those'; **mzin'ignan** *ni 0p* 'books'; **gaa-miizhyinin** *vta ic part 1s»[0p]»2s* 'which (INpl) you (sg) gave to me.' (MC)

The following example illustrates a form with an animate theme:

(3) Geyaabi go ndeyaawaag giwi(g) mshiimnag gaa-miizhyinig.

'I still have the apples that you (sg.) gave me.'

> **Geyaabi** *av* 'still'; **ndeyaawaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I have ANpl'; **giwi(g)** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **mshiimnag** *na 3pProx* 'apples'; **gaa-miizhyinig** *vta ic part 1s»[3pProx]»2s* 'which (ANpl) you (sg) gave to me.' (MC)

The structure of these particples seems relatively straightforward, in that they add /-in/ to index inanimate plural and animate obviative, and /-ig/ to index animate plural. These suffixes are in the outermost (last) position, so never have any affix attached to them. A stem-final /d/ is palatalized to /j/ by the /i/ of the suffix.

Theoretically, theme-focus participles exist for virtually every possible VTA inflectional combination in the language.

7.7.17 VTA Imperative, Immediate Mode

	1s	1p	3s	3p
2s	_i[1]shin	_ishinaang	_(i)[2], _in	_(i), _in
21	—	—	_aadaa	miinaadaanik
2p	_ishik	_ishinaang	_ik	_ik

1. Optionally induces palatalization of stem final N and S, e.g., *miizhishin* and *miinishin*, 'give it to me,' with stem /miiN/.
2. Normally deleted by Final Short Vowel and Glide Deletion, except when attached to stems containing of a single short vowel, Induces palatalization of stem final N and S, e.g., *miizh*, 'give it to AN,' with stem /miiN/.

7.7.18 VTA Imperative, Delayed Mode

	1s	1p	3s	3p
2s	_ishikan	?	_aakan	_aakan
21	—	—	?	?
2p	_ishiikek	?	_aakek	miinaakek

7.7.19 VTA Imperative, Prohibitive

	1s	1p	3s	3p
2s	_ishike	?	_aake	_aake
21	—	—	_aasiidaa	_aasiidaanig
2p	_ishikego	?	?	?

8

Transitive Inanimate Verb Inflection

Transitive inanimate verbs (VTI) are transitive verbs which take inanimate goals. Because of a requirement that any transitive verb have at least one animate argument, VTI verbs do not manifest reflexive or reciprocal forms, which only arise when the subject and object are the same (reflexives), or when they act upon each other (reciprocals).

8.1 VTI Theme Suffixes

There are three distinct subclasses of transitive inanimate verbs, morphologically defined, based on the element of their structure traditionally called a THEME SUFFIX (or THEME SIGN), because it occupies a structural position analogous to that of transitive animate (VTA) theme suffixes (see discussion, Chapter 7.2.2, VTA Theme Suffixes, beginning on page 270). If we compare pairs of transitive animate and inanimate verbs, the presence of the theme suffix becomes clear:

	VTA stem	VTI stem	VTI theme sign
see X	waabam	waaband-am	-am
like X	mnwenim	minwend-am	-am
use X	aabjih	aabjit-oo	-oo
lose X	naajih	naajit-oo	-oo
get X	naaN	naad-i	-i

Note that the first two VTA and VTI stems listed here appear to be structurally related, in that the VTI stems resemble the VTI but with a /d/ added to the end of the stem, for example, to the VTA stem *waabam*, 'see AN,' /d/ is added, and the final /m/ of the stem adjusts its place of articulation (ASSIMILATES) to become more like the /d/, so that /waabam+d/ becomes /waaband/. But after this derived stem an additional element occurs, which I have

indicated with /-am/ in the table above. This is a VTI theme suffix. In the case of *aabjih*, 'use AN,' once more a /d/ is added to the VTA stem to produce the VTI, that is, /aabjih+d/, which is spelled /aabjit/, with the segments /h/ and /d/ combining to produce /t/. To this VTI stem there is added a VTI theme different from that of /waaband/, in this case /-oo/. Lastly, there is apparently a VTI theme suffix /-i/ that shows up on a very small number of verbs, such as *naadin*, 'fetch it.' Every transitive inanimate verb has one of these three theme suffixes associated with it, either /am/, /oo/, or /i/, and the theme suffix never changes for a given verb. In VTI stem structure, then, the theme suffix is essentially a basic part of the verb, and is not nearly as contextually cued as are the VTA theme suffixes, which vary depending on the configuration of actors and goals, as in *nwaabmig*, 'ANsg sees me,' with theme /-igw/, versus *nwaabmaa*, 'I see ANsg,' with theme /-aa/. But it should not surprise us that the theme suffix never changes in VTI verbs, because their action always involves a higher ranking (animate) actor acting upon a lower ranked (inanimate) goal, given that the goals of VTI verbs are obligatorily grammatically inanimate, and given that VTI verbs cannot have inanimate actors. So the VTI theme suffix simply means "inanimate goal acted upon by an actor that outranks it," and thus never changes. There are three theme suffixes for VTI verbs, usually labeled as followed:

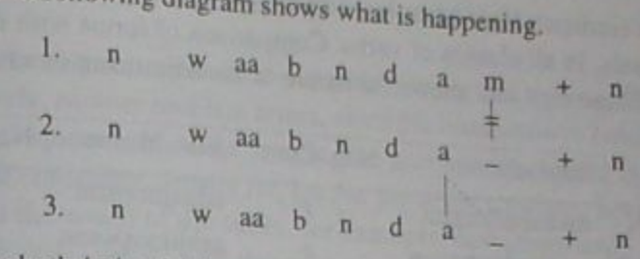
VTI Theme 1	/-am/
VTI Theme 2	/-oo/
VTI Theme 3	/-i/

Most VTI verbs with theme 2 have instrumental/causative finals, and as a result have stems ending in /d/ or /t/, with a few exceptions, most notably *mmoon*, 'remove IN, take IN away' (M), and related *bmoon*, 'remove IN, take IN away' (M). VTI theme 3 verbs are very few in number, the most common being *naadin*, 'fetch IN,' and *miijin*, 'eat IN.' Both of these verbs are irregular in showing (partially) suppletive relationships to their corresponding VTA's, which are *naazh* (/naaN/) and *mo(n)* (/amw/), respectively. The verb *yaan*, 'have IN,' is sometimes treated as the sole member of a fourth theme class of VTI's, but it's behaviour is very similar to a regular /-am/ theme VTI. It is distinct, though, in having a vowel-final stem. All other transitive stems end in consonants.

8.1.1 Patterned Variation in Theme Suffix /-am/

The theme suffix /-am/ shows several quirks. For example, in the independent order of transitive inanimate verbs, when the actor is singular, there appears on the verb a suffix, /-n/, which has sometimes been analyzed as a non-plural, since it only occurs with singular actors, or alternatively, as a marker of an inanimate goal. The theme suffix /-am/ before this /-n/ is realized as /aa/, by a phonological process of DELETION and COMPENSATORY

LENGTHENING. The following diagram shows what is happening.



First, because both /m/ and /n/ are NASALS, problems arise, since a syllable in Nishnaabemwin can only contain one nasal after the vowel. To resolve this problem, the first nasal, the /m/ of the theme suffix, is deleted. Next, to compensate for the loss of the nasal, the short /a/ of the stem is lengthened, as if it were actually moving into the vacated 'slot' left by the departed /m/. This spreading of /a/ to occupy two slots lengthens it, making it long. So, nearly everywhere in the transitive inanimate paradigm that the theme sign is followed by a suffix that begins with a nasal, the nasal of the theme sign is lost and its vowel is compensatorily lengthened. This same process applies, for example, in the plural actor forms, as can be seen from the following forms (where the theme sign is underlined).

1p » 0	nwaabnd<u>aa</u>naa(n)	'we (excl.) see it' (most dialects)
1p » 0	nwaabnd<u>aa</u>min	'we (excl.) see it' (other dialects)
2p » 0	gwaabnd<u>aa</u>naawaa	'you (pl.) see it'
3p » 0	wwaabnd<u>aa</u>naawaa	'they see it'

These facts can be captured with the following rule:

VTI /-am/ Theme Vowel Lengthening
The /m/ of VTI theme /-am/ is lost before a suffix beginning with a nasal, and the vowel lengthens in compensation

In the second person singular actor imperative form, it appears that the /m/ of the theme sign is deleted before the /n/ of the imperative suffix, and in this case there is no compensatory lengthening of the theme sign vowel, as can be seen from the example, *gnawaabndan*, 'look at IN!' (which has the structure gnawaabndam+n).

VTI /-am/ Theme Nasal Deletion I
The /m/ of VTI theme /-am/ is lost before imperative suffix /n/

Another phonological effect of the /m/ of this theme sign is that it 'softens' (LENITES, VOICES) FORTIS (HARD, VOICELESS) consonants associated with the negative suffix in all

three verbal orders (independent, conjunct, imperative). This is a consistent property of stems ending in nasals, in all classes of verbs. Comparison of forms with theme sign /am/ versus a verb with theme sign /oo/ shows the nature of the adjustment in VTI verbs.

	/am/ -theme	Neg. Cons.	/oo/ - theme	Neg. Cons.
I do not see IN	nwaabndanziin	z	ndaajitoosiin	s
if I do not see IN	waabndanzwaan	z	aabjitooswaan	s
don't see IN!	waabndangen!	g	aabjitooken!	k

In each case where there is a fortis (voiceless) consonant associated with a negative suffix occurring with a verb having /-oo/ theme suffix, there is a corresponding lenis (voiced) consonant following the /-am/ theme (realized in these forms by /an/). In these cases the voiceless /s/ of the negative has become like the nasal in being voiced, [z], and the voiceless /k/ of the prohibitive has become voiced [g]. The nasal too, originally /m/, has partially ASSIMILATED to the following sound by changing its place of articulation to be DENTAL/ALVEOLAR like that of /s, z/, and is spelled with an «n». There is thus voicing assimilation of /s/ and /k/ to that of the preceding nasal, and place (of articulation) assimilation of the nasal to that of the following consonant.

These observations can be captured with the following informal rules:

Nasal Lenition
A consonant following a stem-final nasal is voiced.

Nasal Place Assimilation
A stem-final nasal consonant assimilates its place of articulation to that of a following consonant.

This rule also accounts for the form of the theme sign /-am/ when it precedes the third person singular actor conjunct inflection /g/, as in *waabndang*, 'that ANsg sees IN,' where the nasal of the theme suffix is realized as /ŋ/, that is, a VELAR NASAL.

OPTIONAL LOSS OF THEME SUFFIX NASAL IN INDEPENDENT NEGATIVE FORMS. Many contemporary speakers of Nishnaabemwin pronounce and spell independent negative VTI forms as if the nasal of the theme sign were deleted, for example, *nwaabdasiin*, 'I do not see it,' as opposed to the more traditional form *nwaabdanziin*. If we hypothesize a deletion rule at work here, then we can explain why the negative suffix continues to show an /s/, instead of /z/, since the trigger for the change of /s/ to /z/, the nasal, is deleted. We need only order the deletion rule before the rule of Nasal Lenition.

VTI /-am/ Theme Nasal Deletion II (Optional)
The /m/ of VTI theme /-am/ is lost before negative suffix /-sii/

8.1.2 Glide Insertion after Theme Suffixes /-oo/ and /-i/

Since the theme signs /-oo/ and /-i/ end with vowels, and many suffixes following them begin with vowels, another problem arises, since Nishnaabemwin (and Ojibwe in general) does not permit sequences of unlike vowels. The problem is resolved in Nishnaabemwin by inserting a glide consonant, usually /y/, but /w/ for some speakers, between the final vowel of the stem and the vowel of the suffix, for example, *aabjitooyaanh*, '(if) I use it,' versus *waabndamaanh*, '(if) I see it,' with the same terminal inflectional suffix, /-aan/.

8.2 Pseudo-Intransitive (Objectless TI) Verbs

A striking feature of the transitive inanimate verb is that there is no inflectional distinction between singular and plural goals in the CONJUNCT ORDER. Some analysts of Ojibwe have pointed out that transitive inanimate verbs are inflectionally almost indistinguishable from animate intransitive verbs (VAI) in the conjunct order. Furthermore, there is a class of animate intransitive verbs that structurally resemble VTI verbs with /-am/ themes, but which are not transitive. Often these verbs have forms identical with a VTI verb, though with an intransitive meaning, as can be seen from the following examples:

AI Form	Gloss	VTI Form	Gloss
ndi-nendam	'I decide, think, vote'	ndi-nendaan	'I think IN'
nda-mnwendam	'I am glad, content'	nda-mnwendaan	'I like IN'
ndebwetam	'I believe'	ndebwetaan	'I believe IN'
ndi-naabndam	'I have a vision'	ndi-naabndaan	'I see IN in such a way'
nda-bzindam	'I listen, obey'	nda-bzindaan	'I listen to IN'
nnoondam	'I am able to hear, I hear about things'	nnoondaan	'I hear IN'
nda-nsitam	'I understand'	nda-nsitaan	'I understand IN'
nda-nkwetam	'I answer'	nda-nkwetaan	'I respond to IN'
ndi-ntam	'I hear things so'	ndi-nitaan	'I hear x so'

This class of verbs is sometimes called PSEUDO-INTRANSITIVES, or OBJECTLESS VTI's. Most of these verbs have meanings relating to mental processes, sensory impressions, or emotional states. The verbs are only 'pseudo-' in the sense that many of them structurally resemble VTI verbs in their appearing to have a VTI theme suffix. They are inflected as animate intransitive (VAI) verbs, however. Their final element corresponding to the VTI theme /-am/ shows the same processes that it does with respect to the loss of /n/ and compensatory lengthening before suffixes that begin with /n/, as can be seen from the following examples:

ndi-mnwendaami*n*	'we (excl.) are glad'
gdi-mnwendaam	'you (pl.) are glad'
ngii-mnwendaanaaba*n*	'I had been glad'

Since they inflect as VAI verbs, this class of verbs is treated in Chapter 5, grouping with other nasal-final VAI stems, except in their behaviour before nasal-initial suffixes.

8.3 VTI Inflectional Templates

INDEPENDENT. VTI verbs, being transitive, have theme signs, though in VTI's the theme signs are lexically specified and invariant for a given verb. Otherwise, their inflectional slots correspond closely to those of the VTA verb.

Prefix	Stem	Theme	Neg.	Pron. Plural	Mode	Nominal
ni- 1		-am Theme 1	-sii	-naa*n* | -min 1	-ba*n* pret.	-an 0p
gi- 2		-oo Theme 2		-waa 2/3	-dig dub.	
«w» 3		-i Theme 3				

An. Obv.	3
-ini	-w

INDEPENDENT ORDER SUFFIX /-N/. The suffix /-n/ on the end of singular (non-obviative) actors in the independent order indicative, as in *nwaabndaan*, 'I see INsg,' has been variously analyzed as a non-plural suffix (since its presence is not obvious with plural actors, all of which are indexed by suffixes beginning with a nasal) or as an inanimate third person goal inflection. See O'Meara 1990 for more detail.

CONJUNCT AND IMPERATIVE ORDERS. Other than PARTICIPLES, the conjunct VTI paradigms are identical to those of VAI's. Other than the theme sign, there is no inflectional reference to properties of the goal, e.g., its NUMBER.

Imperatives of VTI's, too, are very similar to VAI's. The theme sign /-am/, however,as mentioned above, loses its nasal before the singular suffix /-n/, with no compensatory lengthening of the vowel.

8.4 VTI Paradigms

Transitive inanimate verbs with theme sign /-i/ pattern identically to those with theme sign /-oo/ in their inflection, so there is no need to list them separately. In paradigm charts which follow, forms for both /-am/ theme and /-oo/ theme VTI verbs are given, where they differ.

8.4.1 VTI Independent Order, Positive

		waabndan, 'see IN'	Singular Goal	Plural Goal
Independent	1s	nwaabndaan	n_n	n_nan
Indicative	2s	gwaabndaan	g_n	g_nan
Positive	3s	wwaabndaan	w_n	w_nan
	3'	waabndamni	_*ini*	
	X	?		
	1p	nwaabndaanaa*n*	n_naa*n*	n_naanin
		nwaabndaamin	n_mi*n*	n_mi*n*
	21	gwaabndaanaa*n*	g_naa*n*	g_naanin
	2p	gwaabndaanaawaa	g_naawaa	g_naawaan
	3p	wwaabndaanaawaa	w_naawaan	w_naawaan
Independent	1s	nwaabndaanaaba*n*	n_naaba*n*	n_naaba*n*iin
Preterit	2s	gwaabndaanaaba*n*	g_naaba*n*	g_naaba*n*iin
Positive	3s	wwaabndaanaaba*n*	w_naaba*n*	w_naaba*n*iin
	3'	?		
	X	?		
	1p	nwaabndaamnaaba*n*	n_mi*n*aaba*n*	n_mi*n*aaba*n*iin
	21	gwaabndaamnaaba*n*	g_mi*n*aaba*n*	g_mi*n*aaba*n*iin
	2p	gwaabndaanaawaaba*n*	g_naawaaba*n*	g_naawaaba*n*iin
	3p	wwaabndaanaawaaba*n*	w_naawaaba*n*	w_naawaaba*n*iin
Independent	1s	nwaabndaanaadig	n_naadig	n_naadigenan
Dubitative	2s	gwaabndaanaadig	g_naadig	g_naadigenan
Positive	3s	wwaabndaanaadig	w_naadig	w_naadigenan
	3'	?		
	X	?		
	1p	nwaabndaamnaadig	n_mi*n*aadig	n_mi*n*aadigenan
	21	gwaabndaamnaadig	g_mi*n*aadig	g_mi*n*aadigenan
	2p	gwaabndaanaawaadig	g_naawaadig	g_naawaadigenan
	3p	wwaabndaanaawaadig	w_naawaadig	w_naawaadigenan
Independent	1s	?		
Preterit	2s	?		
Dubitative	3s	waabndamgoba*n*	_ goba*n*	
Positive	3'	waabndamnigba*n*	_ *ini*goba*n*	
	X	?		
	1p	?		
	21	?		
	2p	?		
	3p	waabndamgwaaba*n*	_ gwaaba*n*	

8.4.2 VTI Independent Order, Negative

			Singular Goal	Plural Goal
Independent	1s	nwaabndanziin	n_ziin	n_ziinan
Indicative	2s	gwaabndanziin	g_ziin	g_ziinan
Positive	3s	wwaabndanziin	w_ziin	w_ziinan
	3'	?		
	X	?		
	1p	nwaabndanziinaa*n*	n_ziinaa*n*	n_ziinaanin
		nwaabndanziimin	n_ziimi*n*	n_ziimi*n*
	21	gwaabndaanaa*n*	g_naa*n*	g_naanin
	2p	gwaabndaanaawaa	g_naawaa	g_naawaan
	3p	wwaabndaanaawaa	w_naawaan	w_naawaan
Independent	1s	nwaabndaanaaba*n*	n_naaba*n*	n_naaba*n*iin
Preterit	2s	gwaabndaanaaba*n*	g_naaba*n*	g_naaba*n*iin
Positive	3s	wwaabndaanaaba*n*	w_naaba*n*	w_naaba*n*iin
	3'	?		
	X	?		
	1p	nwaabndaamnaaba*n*	n_mi*n*aaba*n*	n_mi*n*aaba*n*iin
	21	gwaabndaamnaaba*n*	g_mi*n*aaba*n*	g_mi*n*aaba*n*iin
	2p	gwaabndaanaawaaba*n*	g_naawaaba*n*	g_naawaaba*n*iin
	3p	wwaabndaanaawaaba*n*	w_naawaaba*n*	w_naawaaba*n*iin
Independent	1s	nwaabndaanaadig	n_naadig	n_naadigenan
Dubitative	2s	gwaabndaanaadig	g_naadig	g_naadigenan
Positive	3s	wwaabndaanaadig	w_naadig	w_naadigenan
	3'	?		
	X	?		
	1p	nwaabndaamnaadig	n_mi*n*aadig	n_mi*n*aadigenan
	21	gwaabndaamnaadig	g_mi*n*aadig	g_mi*n*aadigenan
	2p	gwaabndaanaawaadig	g_naawaadig	g_naawaadigenan
	3p	wwaabndaanaawaadig	w_naawaadig	w_naawaadigenan
Independent	1s	?		
Preterit	2s	?		
Dubitative	3s	waabndamgoba*n*	_goba*n*	
Positive	3'	waabndamnigba*n*	_inigoba*n*	
	1p	?		
	21	?		
	2p	?		
	3p	waabndamgwaaba*n*	_gwaaba*n*	

8.4.3 VTI Conjunct Order, Positive

			/-am/ Theme	/-oo/, /-i/ Themes
Conjunct	1s	waabndamaan*h*	_aanh	_yaan
Indicative	2s	waabndaman	_an	_yan
Positive	3s	waabndang	_g	_d
	3'	waabndamnid	_nid	_nid
	X	waabndaming	_ing	_ng
	1p	waabndamaang	_aang	_yaang
	21	waabndamang	_ang	_yang
	2p	waabndameg	_eg	_yeg
	3p	waabndamwaad	_owaad	_waad
Conjunct	1s	waabndamaamba*an*h	_aamba*an*h	_yaamba*an*h
Preterit	2s	waabndamamba*n*	_amba*n*	_yamba*n*
Positive	3s	waabndamngiba*n*	_angiba*n*	_yangiba*n*
	3'	waabndamnipa*n*	_anipa*n*	_yanipa*n*
	X	waabndamngiba*n*	_ingiba*n*	_wingiba*n*
	1p	waabndamaangba*n*	_aangiba*n*	_yaangiba*n*
	21	waabndamngiba*n*	_angiba*n*	_yangiba*n*
	2p	waabndamegiba*n*	_egiba*n*	_yegiba*n*
	3p	waabndamwaapa*n*	_owaapa*n*	_waapa*n*
Conjunct	1s	wyaabndamwaanen	_owaanen	_waanen
Dubitative	2s	wyaabndamwanen	_owanen	_wanen
Positive	3s	wyaabndamgwen*h*	_ogwen*h*	_gwen*h*
	3'	wyaabndamnigwen*h*	_inigwen*h*	_inigwen*h*
	X	wyaabndamwiingen	_owiingen	_wiingen
	1p	wyaabndamwaangen	_owaangen	_waangen
	21	wyaabndamwangen	_owangen	_wangen
	2p	wyaabndamwegwen*h*	_owegwen*h*	_wegwen*h*
	3p	wyaabndamwaagwen*h*	_waagwen*h*	_waagwen*h*
Conjunct	1s	waabndamwaambaanen	_owaambaanen	_waambaanen
Preterit	2s	waabndamwambanen	_owambanen	_wambanen
Dubitative	3s	waabndamgobanen	_ogobanen	_gobanen
Positive	3'	waabndamnigobanen	_inigobanen	_nigobanen
	X	waabndamwiingibanen	_owiingibanen	_wiingibanen
	1p	waabndamowaangibanen	_owaangibanen	_waangibanen
	21	waabndamwangibanen	_owangibanen	_wangibanen
	2p	waabndamwegibanen	_owegibanen	_wegibanen
	3p	waabndamwaagobanen	_owaagobanen	_waagobanen

8.4.4 VTI Conjunct Order, Negative

			/-am/ Theme	/-oo/, /-i/ Themes
Conjunct Neutral Negative	1s	waabndanzwaan*h*	_ ziwaanh	_ siwaan*h*
	2s	waabndanzwan	_ ziwan	_ siwan
	3s	waabndanzig	_ zig	_ sig
	3'	waabndanznig	_ zinig	_ sinig
	X	waabndanzing	_ zing	_ sing
		waabndanzwing	_ ziwing	_ siwing
	1p	waabndanzwaang	_ ziwaang	_ siwaang
	21	waabndanzwang	_ ziwang	_ siwang
	2p	waabndanzweg	_ ziweg	_ siweg
	3p	waabndanzgwaa	_ zigwaa	_ sigwaa
Conjunct Preterit Negative	1s	waabndanzwaambaan*h*	_ ziwaambaan*h*	_ siwaambaan*h*
	2s	waabndanzwamba*n*	_ ziwamba*n*	_ siwamba*n*
	3s	waabndanzgoba*n*	_ zigoba*n*	_ sigoba*n*
	3'	waabndanznigba*n*	_ zinigoba*n*	_ sinigoba*n*
	X	waabndanzngiba*n*	_ zingiba*n*	_ singiba*n*
	1p	waabndanzwaangba*n*	_ ziwaangiba*n*	_ siwaangiba*n*
	21	waabndanzwngiba*n*	_ ziwangiba*n*	_ siwangiba*n*
	2p	waabndanzwegba*n*	_ ziwegoba*n*	_ siwegiba*n*
	3p	waabndanzgwaaba*n*	_ zigwaaba*n*	_ sigwaaba*n*
Conjunct Dubitative Negative	1s	wyaabndanziiwaanen	_ziiwaanen	_siiwaanen
	2s	wyaabndanziiwanen	_ziiwanen	_siiwanen
	3s	wyaabndanziigwen	_ziigwen	_siigwen
	3'	wyaabndanziin*i*gwen	_ziin*i*gwen	_siin*i*gwen
	X	wyaabndanziiwiingen	_ziiwiingen	_siiwiingen
	1p	wyaabndanziiwaangen	_ziiwaangen	_siiwaangen
	21	wyaabndanziiw*a*ngen	_ziiw*a*ngen	_siiw*a*ngen
	2p	wyaabndanziiwegwen	_ziiwegwen	_siiwegwen
	3p	wyaabndanziiwaagwen	_ziiwaagwen	_siiwaagwen
Conjunct Preterit Dubitative Negative	1s	waabndanziiwaambaanen	_ziiwaambaanen	_siiwaambaanen
	2s	waabndanziiw*a*mbanen	_ziiw*a*mbanen	_siiw*a*mbanen
	3s	waabndanziig*o*ba*n*en	_ziig*o*ba*n*en	_siig*o*ba*n*en
	3'	waabndanziin*i*g*o*ba*n*en	_ziin*i*g*o*ba*n*en	_siin*i*g*o*ba*n*en
	X	waabndanziiwiing*i*ba*n*en	_ziiwiing*i*ba*n*en	_siiwiing*i*ba*n*en
	1p	waabndanziiwaang*i*ba*n*en	_ziiwaang*i*ba*n*en	_siiwaang*i*ba*n*en
	21	waabndanziiw*a*ng*o*ba*n*en	_ziiw*a*ng*o*ba*n*en	_siiw*a*ng*o*ba*n*en
	2p	waabndanziiweg*o*ba*n*en	_ziiweg*o*ba*n*en	_siiweg*o*ba*n*en
	3p	waabndanziiwaag*o*ba*n*en	_ziiwaag*o*ba*n*en	_siiwaag*o*ba*n*en

8.4.5 VTI Participles, Positive

		Actor Focus	Goal Focus (Plural)
Conjunct Participle Indicative Positive	1s	wyaabandamaan	
	2s	wyaabndaman	
	3s	wyaabndang	
	3'	wyaabndamnijin	
	X	wyaabndaming	
	1p	wyaabndamaang	
	21	wyaabndamang	
	2p	wyaabndameg	
	3p	wyaabndangig	
Conjunct Participle Preterit Positive	1s	wyaabndamaambaan*h*	
	2s	wyaabndamamba*n*	
	3s	wyaabndamngiba*n*	
	3'		
	X	wyaabndamngiba*n*	
	1p	wyaabndamaangba*n*	
	21	wyaabndamngiba*n*	
	2p	wyaabndamegiba*n*	
	3p	wyaabndangbaniig	
Conjuct Participle Dubitative Positive	1s	wyaabndamwaanen	
	2s	wyaabndamwanen	
	3s	wyaabndamgwen	
	3'	?	
	X	wyaabndamwiingen	
	1p	wyaabndamwaangen	
	21	wyaabndamwangen	
	2p	wyaabndamwegwen	
	3p	wyaabndamgwenag	
Conjunct Participle Preterit Dubitative Positive	1s	wyaabndamwaambaanen	
	2s	wyaabndamwambanen	
	3s	wyaabndamgobanen	
	3'		
	X	wyaabndamwiingibanen	
	1p	wyaabndamowaangibanen	
	21	wyaabndamwangibanen	
	2p	wyaabndamwegibanen	
	3p	wyaabndamgobanenag	

8.4.6 VTI Participles, Negative

		Actor Focus	Goal Focus (Plural)
Conjunct	1s	wyaabndanzwaan*h*	
Participle	2s	wyaabndanzwan	
Indicative	3s	wyaabndanzig	
Negative	3'		
	X	wyaabndanzing	
	1p	wyaabndanzwaang	
	21	wyaabndanzwang	
	2p	wyaabndanzweg	
	3p	wyaabndanzgog	
Conjunct	1s	wyaabndanzwaambaan*h*	
Participle	2s	wyaabndanzwamba*n*	
Preterit	3s	wyaabndanzgoba*n*	
Negative	3'		
	X	wyaabndanzngiba*n*	
	1p	wyaabndanzwaangba*n*	
	21	wyaabndanzwngiba*n*	
	2p	wyaabndanzwegba*n*	
	3p	wyaabndanzgobniig	
Conjuct	1s		
Participle	2s		
Dubitative	3s		
Negative	3'		
	X		
	1p		
	21		
	2p		
	3p		
Conjunct	1s	wyaabndanziiwaambaanen	
Participle	2s	wyaabndanziiwambanen	
Preterit	3s	wyaabndanziigobanen	
Dubitative	3'	*wyaabndanziinigobanenan	
Negative	X	wyaabndanziiwiingibanen	
	1p	wyaabndanziiwaangibanen	
	21	wyaabndanziiwangobanen	
	2p	wyaabndanziiwegobanen	
	3p	*wyaabndanziigobanenag	

8.4.7 VTI Iteratives

			/-am/ Theme	/-oo/, /-i/ Theme
Conjunct	1s	enso-waabndamaanin	_aanin	_waanin
Iterative	2s	enso-waabndamnin	_anin	_wanin
Positive	3s	enso-waabndangin	_gin	_jin
	3'	enso-waabndamnjin	_inijin	_inijin
	X	?		
	1p	enso-waabndamaangin	_aangin	_waangin
	21	enso-waabndamngin	_angin	_wangin
	2p	enso-waabndamegon	_egon	_wegon
	3p	enso-waabndamwaajin	_owaajin	_waajin
Conjunct	1s	enso-waabndanzwaanin	_ziwaanin	_siwaanin
Iterative	2s	enso-waabndanzwanin	_ziwanin	_siwanin
Negative	3s	?		
	3'	?		
	X	?		
	1p	enso-waabndanzwaangin	_ziwaangin	_siwaangin
	21	enso-waabndanzwingin	_ziwangin	_siwangin
	2p	enso-waabndanzwegon	_ziwegon	_siwegon
	3p	?		

8.4.8 VTI Imperative Order, Immediate, Delayed, and Prohibitive

			/am/ Theme	/oo/, /i/ Theme
Imperative	2s	waabndan	_n	_n
Immediate	2p	waabndamok	_ok	_ok, _og
Positive	21»0	waabndaa	_daa	_daa
	21»0p	waabndaanin	_daanin	_daanin
Imperative	2s	waabndamookan	_kan	_kan
Delayed	2p	waabndamookeg	_keg	_keg
Positive	21	waabndamookang	_kang	_kang
Imperative	2s	waabndamangen	_gen	_ken
Immediate	2p	waabndamangegon	_gegon	_kegon
Negative	21»0	waabndanziidaa	_ziidaa	_siidaa
	21»0p	waabndanziidaanin	_daanin	_daanin

9

The Derivation of Intransitive Verbs

9.1 Introduction and Background

In this chapter I will present in some detail the internal morphological properties of intransitive verb stems. In English, many common words consist of a single morpheme, such as *walk*, *run*, *fly*, and *sing*. There are many words in Nishnaabemwin too which consist of a single morpheme, most notably nouns, but the majority of verbs are made up of two or more morphemes. For example, the following intransitive verbs clearly consist of an initial, noun-like, element, and a final element that is sensitive to the gender of the subject, in that the words in the Animate column are used with grammatically animate subjects, while those in the Inanimate column represent the corresponding words used with grammatically inanimate subjects.

	Animate	Inanimate	
(1)	mshkikiiwi	mshkikiiwan	'be a medicine'
(2)	mskwiiwi	mskwiiwan	'be bloody, get bloody; bleed [VAI]'
(3)	ziitaagniwi	ziitaagniwan	'be salty'

Each word above consists of a noun, *mshkiki*, 'medicine,' in (1), *mskwi*, 'blood,' in (2), and *ziitaagan*, 'salt,' in (3), to which has been added an ending, /-wi/ to make animate intransitive (VAI) verbs, and /-wan/ to make inanimate intransitives (VII). Evidently virtually any noun can be used as the initial component of a verb formed in this way. We can summarize this relationship with the following simple chart, in which the first component, or structural position within the word, is labelled an INITIAL, and the second, a FINAL. These are in fact the terms used by Algonquianists in referring to these word components. The symbol N in the chart stands for any noun.

INITIAL	FINAL	
N	-wi	Animate Intransitive (VAI) Verb of Being
N	-wan	Inanimate Intransitive (VII) Verb of Being

These finals represent the common pattern, namely that, when semantically feasible, finals occur in pairs, a VAI and a VII. In the case of intransitive finals such as these, neither paired final is typically derived from the other, e.g., in the example above, it is unlikely that /-wi/ is derived from /-wan/ or vice versa. By contrast, transitive finals tend to show derivational relationships between animates and inanimates. See Chapter 10 for additional details.

WORDS AND STEMS. As discussed in in the section titled "Prefixes, Suffixes, Stems, Prenouns and Preverbs," beginning on page 59, basic word-stems are determined by removing all inflectional affixes, systematically restoring all deleted short vowels, and putting the restored form within slashes. This process allows one to more readily see relationships between words. For example, the words *bmose*, 'walk along' VAI and *nimse*, 'walk away' VAI, both contain the same FINAL element. The relationship between these words can be more easily determined by the speech of those speakers who say *ndanmose*, 'I am walking away,' as opposed to those who consistently say *ndoo-nimse*, because in the former case, the /o/ of the final element is pronounced, just as it is *bmose*, and the common identity of this element in these two words is more readily deduced. It is probable that for some speakers consistently using the /ndoo-/ first person prefix, the /o/ of this word is never pronounced. But based on the word's meaning, and comparison with other words having related meanings and structures, such as *bmose*, we can determine that the form of the final is /-ose/, and ultimately, that the form of the stem is /animose/. Determination of the stem forms of words is made easier by knowing their pronunciation in a dialect of Ojibwe which does not have the rule of syncope.[1] So when discussing the structure of word stems in this and subsequent chapters, I will take as the basis of analysis a somewhat abstract entity consisting of the word minus all of its inflections, and with all short vowels restored, placed within slashes, in order to distinguish it from actual spoken forms, which are subject to syncope. The alternative is to assume that morphemes have variable forms that are arbitrarily associated with particular words. For example, if we assume that the stem form of *nimse* is /nimse/ and *bmose* is /bmose/, we will have to say that the MOTION FINAL of walking has two forms, /-se/ and /-ose/, and that the former occurs in the word *nimse*, and the latter in *bmose*, with no apparent reason for this distribution of variant forms of the final. Another possibility is to say that for some speakers many word stems no longer have any internal structure, but this seems unlikely. But there is no doubt that syncope is resulting in fundamental changes in Nishnaabemwin, obscuring many relationships that were formerly much more transparent.

1. An indispensable tool for students of word structure is Nichols and Nyholm 1995, a dictionary of a non-syncopating dialect of Ojibwe, spoken in Minnesota.

PREVERB LEXICALIZATION. While the basic stem form of many verbs can be straightforwardly determined by removing their prefixes, suffixes, and preverbs, there are some cases in which a preverb has become LEXICALIZED, that is, has become intimately connected with the stem in such a way as to form a complex (compound) word-stem with it. To determine if this is so, we must consider the meaning of the word, and the consistency with which a given preverb is used with the word for a particular meaning. For example, the preverbal element *zhi-* /izhi-/, 'to, there, in a particular way,' occurs very frequently with vast numbers of verbs. In the following sentence, for example, it occurs twice, once with the verb *zhiitaa*, 'prepare, get ready' VAI and another with the verb *mno-yaa*, 'be well, be well situated' VAI.

(1) Kina dash gegoo ***zhi-zhiitaawag*** gonda Fair Company ***ge-zhi-mno-yaawaad*** giw waa-bi-zhaajig.

'The Fair Company is preparing everything for the enjoyment of those who will be coming.' (AM18.4)

> **Kina** *av* 'every'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **zhi-zhiitaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANPL are getting ready'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **ge-zhi-mno-yaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANPL will thus be contented'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **waa-bi-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who ANPL will come here.'

Here preverbal element *zhi-* is attached to *mno-yaa* for grammatical reasons, namely that Mr. Medler is directly relating the preparations of the Fair Company to the enjoyment of those who will arrive, and the element *zhi-* provides an explicit grammatical linkage between the two CLAUSES. In fact, preverb *zhi-* is one of a small class of linking elements called RELATIVE PREVERBS. The following chart more explicitly illustrates the linking association that *zhi-* provides.

Kina dash gegoo *zhi-zhiitaawag* gonda Fair Company

↕

ge-zhi-mno-yaawaad giw waa-bi-zhaajig.

There is a direct link between the well-being of the visitors and the preparations of the Fair Company. This relationship is made explicit by the use of preverb /zhi-/ in ge-zhi-mno-yaawaad.

At the same time, when there is no linkage of this sort, we find *mno-yaa* occurring without the preverbal element *zhi-*, as in the following example.

(2) Gii-mno-yaawag gye go gii-maajiishkaawag binoojiinyan eshkam gii-baatiinhaawaad.

'They lived happily and were fortunate and in the course of time had many children.' (AM29.16)

> **Gii-mno-yaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANPL were well'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **gii-maajiishkaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANPL fared well'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren)'; **eshkam** *av* 'gradually'; **gii-baatiinhaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANPL had many of ANOBV.'

Here Mr. Medler is making a simple statement about the well-being of a group of people, and chooses not to explicitly link it grammatically with other clauses or sentences in his discourse.

As a point of contrast, I now address the status of another preverbal element, *mno-*, 'good, well,' in combination with the VAI verb *yaa*, 'be (in a place).' The reason that I consider this word to have a stem consisting of both the preverb and the verb, namely /mino-ayaa/ (with all syncopated vowels restored), is semantic, that is, is based on meanings. The verb *yaa* in its most basic form refers to being in a particular physical location, and so might be translated into English 'be (in a place), remain in a place,' as can be seen from the following examples.

(3) Maanoo miinwaa jina ***gii-yaa***. | 'He did stay a little longer.' (AM21.15)

> **Maanoo** *av* 'deliberately'; **miinwaa** *av* 'more'; **jina** *av* 'a short time'; **gii-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANSG was there.'

(4) Pane biindig ***gii-yaa***, ge go gii-wezhho kakzhe maa wnowaang.

'He always stayed in the hut, and he painted his cheeks with charcoal.' (AM31.3)

> **Pane** *av* 'always'; **biindig** *av* 'inside'; **gii-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANSG was there'; **ge** *av* 'and'; **gii-wezhho** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANSG painted self'; **kakzhe** *ni 0s* 'charcoal'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wnowaang** *ni 3sProx(0) loc* 'on ANSG's cheek(s).'

However, when the preverb *mno-* occurs with *yaa*, the meaning is not 'be in a good place, remain well in a place,' but rather refers to states of physical comfort, health, and associated states of mental disposition. The verb is no longer a verb of physical location, as can clearly be seen from the two examples above (sentences (1) and (2) on page 320). This is true of many preverbs in combination with the VAI verb *yaa*. For example, the preverb *zhi-* that we examined above, in combination with *yaa*, *zhi-yaa*, does not usually mean 'be in a location in such a way, be in a location in such a place,' as might be suggested by the individual meanings of its component parts, *zhi-* and *yaa*, but rather, 'be in a particular physical

or emotional state,' or even 'be in a troubled physical or emotional state,' as can be seen from the following examples.

(5) Wgii-gkenmaan dash maaba mshkikiiwnini gegoo ***zhi-yaanid*** niw shkiniigkwen.

'The doctor knew that there was something wrong with the young woman.'

> **Wgii-gkenmaan** *vta ind nas»nao* 'ANSG knew about ANOBV'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this (an.)'; **mshkikiiwnini** *na 3sProx* 'doctor'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **zhi-yaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANOBV felt so'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkiniigkwen** *na 3obv* 'young woman/women.' (AM30.18)

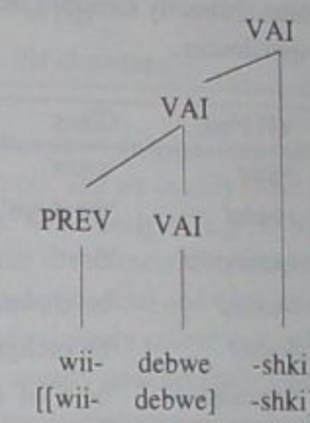
(6) Mii dash gii-ggwejmaad, Aanii-sh ***ezhi-yaayan***?

'Then he asked her, "What is ailing you?"' (AM30.19)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-ggwejmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANSG asked ANOBV'; **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **ezhi-yaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) are you (SG.) thus feeling.'

In fact, many physical, emotional, and psychological states are expressed by means of preverbs in combination with the basic verb of location, *yaa*. This phenomenon reflects a consistent METAPHORICAL use of language, in which something abstract, a state of mind or health, is expressed by means of a more concrete concept, that of being in a particular place, of being situated in a particular location. Metaphor is discussed in more detail below (section 9.6, beginning on page 335). Many physical and emotional states are expressed by means of the locational verb *yaa* in conjunction with various preverbs, such as in *gchi-zhi-yaa*, 'be proud; feel good; be wound up' (VAI), where it is not merely one, but two preverbs that form the word. Many other words have lexicalized preverbs, for example, *nda-zhichge*, 'do one's utmost' (VAI), *bbaa-nendan*, 'worry about IN' (VTI), *bbaa-yzhaa*, 'go places and stay' (VAI), *gchi-nendam*, 'be glad, be in good spirits,' (VAI) *mno-piichbii*, 'be mildly inebriated' (VAI), and *aanji-giisiwe*, 'menstruate' (VAI). Such expressions must be memorized as complete units, since there is no obvious way to determine the meaning of the complex expression on the basis of its component parts, as for example in *mno-piichbii*, 'be slightly inebriated,' which has preverb *mno-*, 'good, well,' and an apparent independent word, **piichbii*, with root /apiit/, 'to a particular extent,' and final /-bii/, '[be in a state produced] by some liquid,' as in *giiwshkwebii*, 'be drunk,' but with component morphemes that literally mean, 'be in disoriented state by means of some liquid.' But there happens to be no independent word **piichbii*, and the complex word *mno-piichbii* is probably better associated with *mnobii*, 'be a little high [on alcohol].'

In summary, when a preverb and verb combination have a meaning that does not represent merely the sum of their component parts, then the combination must represent a separate word of the language, and be listed in the dictionary, with a stem form that includes both the preverb and the verb. If a meaning can be easily determined from the combination of components, such as in *gchi-gwiiwzenswi*, 'be a big boy,' (preverb *gchi-*, 'big'; *gwiiwzens* 'boy' /-wi/ VAI final, 'be a(n)...') then there is no need to list the word in the dictionary. The same goes for preverbs that serve particular grammatical purposes in particular grammatical contexts, such as *gii-*, 'past tense' or *daa-* 'should, could (modal).' Even the most clearly grammatical preverbs can become lexicalized, however, as in the case of humorous expression *wii-debweshkid*, 'be the kind of person who always wants to have the last word' (VAI), which has preverb *wii-*, 'FUTURE TENSE; VOLUNTATIVE.' This word is also interesting in the fact that the secondary suffix /-(i)shki/, used to form so-called VERBS OF ADDICTION, is clearly added to a comple stem containing both the preverb and verb stem. The following diagram shows the structure of this word.



ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE FINALS. The initial and final components of stems contribute different kinds of information to the meaning of the stem. The initial component in each example word in (1)-(3), for example, provides a nominal concept, whose properties are being attributed to some other entity, the subject of the verb. For example, in *mshkikiiwi*, 'be a medicine' (VAI), the medicinal properties of medicine are attributed to the verb's subject, and in *ziitaagniwi*, 'be salty' (VAI), the saltiness of salt is attributed to the subject. The final elements in these words, however, serve to categorize the entire word as belonging to a particular subclass of verbs, either animate intransitive (VAI) or inanimate intransitive (VII). In addition, they can be said to carry a meaning somewhat equivalent to the English verb 'be.'[1] Generally, this is the case, namely that a final usually has the dual function of both defining a word's part of speech class (as a verb) and subclass (as VAI, VII, VTA, or VTI), while at the same time often adding some additional meaning, such as 'be' in these cases. For example, *mnogi*, 'grow well' (VAI), has a final /-gi/ that simultaneously identifies the verb as animate intransitive and adds the meaning component 'grow.' Finals vary in how specific the additional meaning they provide is: those which have a clearly definable additional meaning component, such as 'grow' in the case of final /-gi/, are often called CONCRETE FINALS, and

1. In fact, Peter Denny 1984 has argued that abstract finals specify a small number of aspectual distinctions, such as states, events, and processes. O'Meara 1990 rejects this proposal.

those which function more generally mostly to define a word's part of speech are called ABSTRACT FINALS, though even these may have a very general meaning component, such as 'be,' as in *biinzi*, 'be clean' (VAI). Note that the additional meanings supplied by concrete finals are for the most part verbal or adverbial in nature, as opposed to the nominal meaning provided by the initial components in examples (1)-(3). Initials also often contribute adjectival and adverbial meanings, but they are distinct from finals. The identity of the whole word as a verb most directly reside in the final.

Since the final determines the part of speech and subclass of the whole word, it is sometimes referred to as the HEAD of the word. Nishnaabemwin words almost always have their head elements in final position, in agreement with most languages in the world.

FINALS WITH BIPARTITE STRUCTURE. While some finals are morphologically unitary, many have a bipartite structure, in which the first portion of the final adds some concrete meaning, and the second portion more abstractly identifies the verbal subclass. The following examples illustrate some correspondences.

VAI Final	VII Final	Gloss
/-gi/	/-gin/	'grow'
/-bizo/	/-bide/	'fly, drive'
/-aaboozo/	/-aaboode/	'float'
/-aashi/	/-aasin/	'be blown; sail'
/-aaso/	/-aate/	'by sunlight, by heat'
/-igaazo/	/-igaade/	'be X'ed' (PASSIVE)

So, for example, the finals /-bizo/ and /-bide/ can be divided into two parts, an element /-bi/ that contributes the meaning 'fly, drive,' shared by both the VAI and VII verbs, and elements /-zo/ and /-de/ that assign each word to the class of VAI or VII verbs, respectively. Note that these latter components also occur in the final pairs /-aaboozo/ and /-aaboode/, and /-igaazo/ and /-igaade/. The initial, more concrete components of complex finals are often called PRE-FINALS (also, SIGNIFICANT PRE-FINALS), and the more abstract component is considered to be the final proper.[1] The following chart summarizes these structures.

Pre-Final	Final
More Concrete	More Abstract
/-bi/	/-zo/
/-aaboo/	/-zo/

1. Peter Denny (Denny 1989) uses the terms concrete sub-final and abstract sub-final to refer to the component parts of finals. These terms have obvious value in not using 'final' so ambiguously as here.

There is a relatively small number of abstract finals, e.g., O'Meara 1990 lists six "major" VAI finals for Delaware (/-əsii/, /-ii/, /-aa/, /-ee/, /-əl/, and /-iin/). Undoubtedly, Nishnaabemwin too has a limited number of abstract VAI finals. The following words all contain abstract finals, attached directly to roots, except in the case of /-in/ in (9), which only occurs with prefinal /-S/.

	A.F.	Nish.	Gloss	Initial
(4)	/-ii/	niigaanii	'be at start, head of line'	/niigaan-/ 'front'
(5)	/-ii/	mnwii	'be in a good position'	/minw-/ 'good, well'
(6)	/-i/	gaji	'be shy'	/agad-/, 'ashamed'
(7)	/i/	gtaaji	'be afraid'	/gotaad-/, 'afraid'
(8)	/-izi/	mskozi	'be red'	/miskw-/, 'red'
(9)	/-in/	aanjshin	'lie elsewhere'	/aand-/ 'different'

Particular abstract finals often show distributional restrictions, in that they attach directly to only a limited number of roots, and are usually more productive when used in combination with particular pre-finals. Some analysts (e.g., O'Meara) do not consider the pre-final to be part of the final, but rather to represent a separate suffix. At the same time, there is an intimate relationship between the pre-final and final, and the two together form a unit very convenient for exposition, and relatively salient to speakers. In my presentation in the following three chapters, I will usually treat prefinal+final complexes as units, calling them "finals," without comment.

Many VAI verbs have uncertain analysis as to the presence of a particular abstract final. The verbs in the following list all end in vowels, but their derivational structure is opaque at best: *aadsooke*, 'tell a story'; *bgizo*, 'swim'; *bke* 'turn off (from road); *boodwe*, 'build a fire'; *boozi*, 'get aboard, embark'; *daa*, 'live in some place, live there'; *gbaa*, 'land, go ashore'; *giiwe*, 'go home'; *googii*, 'dive'; *gpii*, 'go inland'; *mwi*, 'cry'; *mwizo*, 'pick berries'; *nbaa*, 'sleep'; *nbo*, 'die'; *nese*, 'breathe'; *niimi*, 'dance'; *wiisini*, 'eat.'

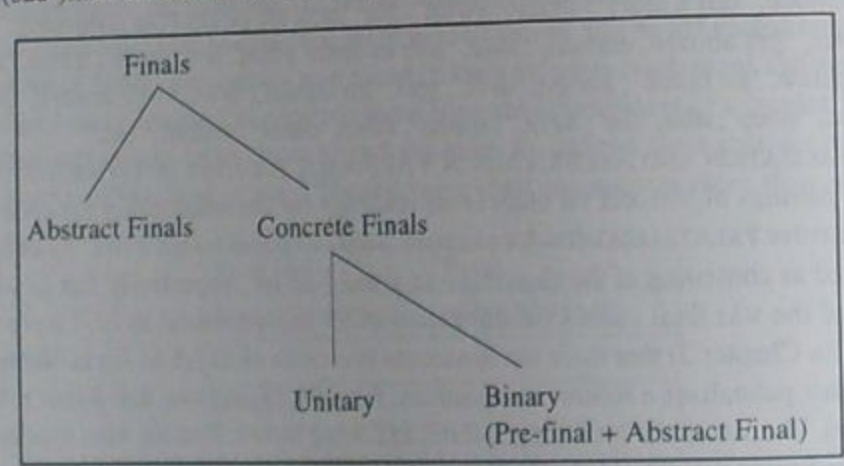
PALATALIZATION AND ASSIBILATION IN VAI FINALS. Another observation to make about the pairings of VAI and VII finals is the tendency for the relationship between the two finals to involve PALATALIZATION, for example, /-aji/ (VAI) and /-adin/ (VII), 'by cold,' could be analyzed as consisting of the elements /-ad-i/ and /-ad-in/, respectively, but in which the final /-i/ of the VAI final causes palatalization of /d/ in its prefinal to /j/. I have already observed (in Chapter 2) that there are in essence two types of /i/ (short /i/) in Nishnaabemwin, one that palatalizes a following consonant, from PA *i, and one that doesn't, from PA *e (short e). The VAI finals for falling, /-shin/, and being blown, /-aashi/, also appear to have a palatalized segment, /ʃ/, where the VII equivalents have /s/, yielding /-shin/ versus /-sin/ and /-aashi/ versus /-aasin/. This is a characteristic pattern of variation of the MORPHOPHONEMIC element /S/. Furthermore, the difference between VII /d/ and /t/ and VAI /z/ and /s/ found in some VII and VAI final pairs represents a similar phonological relationship, though

it cannot strictly be called palatalization, since a shift from /t/ to /s/ does not involve a more palatal articulation. This sound shift is sometimes called ASSIBILATION, and in many languages, occurs in phonological contexts that are similar to those of palatalization.

In sum, there appear to be very structured relationships between the segments that occur in many VII and VAI finals, such that where the VII finals show /s/, /d/, or /t/, corresponding VAI finals show /ʃ/, /dʒ/, and /s/ respectively. The following table summarizes some of these relationships between the two classes of finals. Careful exposition of such relationships is beyond the scope of the present study.

VII Final	Prefinal	Final	VAI Final	Prefinal	Final	Gloss
/-aasin/	/-aas/	/-in/	/-aashi/	/-aaS/	/-i/	'be blown; sail'
/-adin/	/-ad/	/-in/	/-aji/	/-ad/	/-i/	'by cold, by ice'
/-sin/	/-S/	/-in/	/-shin/	/-S/	/-in/	'fall, move'
/-agwinde/	/-agwind/	/-de/	/-agwinjin/	/-agwind/	/-in/	'float'
/-bide/	/-bi/	/-de/	/-bizo/	/-bi/	/-zo/	'fly, drive'
/-aaboode/	/-aaboo/	/-de/	/-aaboozo/	/-aaboo/	/-zo/	'float'
/-igaade/	/-igaa/	/-de/	/-igaazo/	/-igaa/	/-zo/	'be X'ed' (PASSIVE)
/-aate/	/aah/	/-de/	/-aaso/	/aah/	/-zo/	'by sunlight/heat'

SUMMARY OF FINAL STRUCTURAL TYPES. To summarize, finals can be conveniently considered to be of two structural types, abstract and concrete. Concrete finals can be further distinguished on the basis of whether they consist of a single morphologically unanalyzable unit, or a combination of a more concrete prefinal (sub-final) element and a more abstract (sub-)final element. The following chart shows the various types.



9.2 Roots and Initials

In examining a few VERBS OF BEING at the start of this chapter, I observed that there exist paired VAI and VII verbs with an initial + final structure. Many other verbal expressions show similar pairings, as can be seen by inspecting the following sample list.

	Animate	Inanimate	
(10)	dkoozi	dkwaa	'be short'
(11)	giin'zi	giinaa	'be sharp (of tongue)' [VAI]; 'be sharp'
(12)	mnotaagzi	mnotaagod	'sound good'
(13)	ndawendaagzi	ndawendaagod	'be needed, wanted'
(14)	ziiwmaagzi	ziiwmaagod	'smell sour'
(15)	aazhgidshin	aazhgidsin	'lie face up'
(16)	debweweshin	debwewesin	'ring, sound in the distance'
(17)	bkobiise	bkobiise	'fall into the water, slip into the water'
(18)	gtigse, gdigse	gtigse, gdigse	'roll'
(19)	bmaashi	bmaasin	'sail along; be carried along by wind'
(20)	zhaabbizo	zhaabbide	'drive, fly through'

Examples (10) and (11) represent physical attributes; (12), (13), and (14), perceptual properties; and (15) through (20), either physical states or motion. In each case we find a shared initial component, and paired finals, one for VAI's and one for VII's, except in the case of (17) and (18), where the finals appear to be identical. The initial components in the words in this list, however, are not nouns, as in the verbs of being in (1)-(3)) (on page 318), but rather here seem to encode ideas similar to English adjectives, adverbs and prepositions. For example, the initial in (10)) is /dakw-/, 'short'; in (11), /giin-/, 'sharp,' and in (12), /minw-/, 'good.' All of these concepts correspond to English adjectives. In (19), though, the initial is /bim/, 'along, by,' and in (14), /zhaab/, 'through,' which are like English adverbs or prepositions. However, these elements are different from the nouns in examples (1)-(3) in another way as well, in that they cannot function as independent words, but rather must be associated (bound) with a final in order to form a word. Such bound elements occurring in initial position are often referred to as ROOTS, as opposed to the general term INITIAL, which includes both roots and elements based on free (independent) word-stems. There are actually two quite distinct types of word-formation in Nishnaabemwin, called PRIMARY and SECONDARY derivation. Word-formation processes that add a transparent final to a free word-stem are secondary. The formation of verbs of being, for example, is secondary, since a final, either /-wi/ (VAI) or /-wan/ (VII) is added to a noun to derive a verb. In primary derivation, sub-components of complex words need not be free word-stems. Primary and secondary derivation are discussed in more detail in section 9.5 below.

POST-RADICAL ELEMENTS. Sometimes different roots appear to show similar formal extensions that may or may not have any meaning, such as /(w)aas/ in /ningodwaas/ 'six,' and /niizhwaas/, 'seven.' Beside these extended roots exist /ningod/, 'one,' and /niizh(w)/, 'two.' Here the extensional element might be inferred to itself be a meaningful unit meaning 'five.' In other cases, there is no discernible meaning to extensions, as in the root meaning 'two,' which has the extended form /niizhoo-/ in *nizhootooge*, 'have two ears' (VAI), alongside unextended /niizh/, as in *niizhwag*, 'be two in number' (VAI). Extensional elements such as these are called POST-RADICALS or post-radical elements. A list and discussion of such elements in Nishnaabemwin can be found in Bloomfield 1958:128-29.

RESTRICTED AND GENERAL ROOTS. There are said to be two basic classes of roots in Algonquian languages, what I will call RESTRICTED ROOTS, mostly noun roots but some verb roots as well, which enter into primary derivational relationship with medials and finals, and GENERAL ROOTS, which occur with finals to form nouns, adverbs, and verbs. So, for example, in *mik*, 'beaver,' a restricted root /amikw-/, 'beaver,' occurs, whereas in the word *mskwi*, 'blood,' a general root, /miskw-/, 'red,' occurs, which is also found widely in verbs, as in *mskwegzi*, 'be red (of a clothlike object)' VAI. Note, though, that the word stem /amikw/, as opposed to the root /amikw/, can serve as a component of another word, as in *mikgamig*, 'beaver lodge,' where it combines with the concrete noun final /-gamigw/, 'room; habitation.' The final /-gamigw/ freely combines with both roots and independent word stems. Because of the freedom with which some finals accept initial elements, both from roots (a part of a word) and word stems, the distinction between restricted and general roots may sometimes be obscured.

ROOT REDUPLICATION. Some initials show various processes of REDUPLICATION, as in *nnaamdabi*, /nanaamadabi/ 'ANsg sits awhile, sits and sits' (VAI) beside *nmadbi*, /namadabi/, 'ANsg sits.' Reduplication to express plurality is commonly found in certain STATIVE VERBS, as in *mmaachaanoon*, 'they (inan.) are big' (VII), and *mmaandidwag*, 'ANpl are big' (VAI). As suggested, reduplication of this sort seems to be associated with specific roots, such as /mang/, 'big,' /dakw/, 'short,' and /ginw/, 'long.' Reduplication has two main functions in such cases, one of which, as here, is to pluralize the SUBJECT. Another function is to pluralize an INCORPORATED element, as in *ggaangaade*, 'have long legs' (VAI). Sometimes detecting the exact form of reduplication is made more difficult in Nishnaabemwin by the effects of the vowel-deleting rule of SYNCOPE.

(21)	ddaakwaakgaade	'have short legs' VAI (root /dakw/ 'short')
(22)	ggaan'gaade	'have long legs' VAI (root /ginw/ 'long')
(23)	mmaachaanoon	'they (inan.) are big' VII (cf. mchaa 'be big')
(24)	mmaandidwag	'they (anim.) are big' VAI (cf. mdido 'be big')
(25)	maangaashkaa	'be big waves' VII (root /mang/ 'big')
(26)	mmaangden'gome	'have big nostrils' VAI
(27)	mmaangnike	'have big arms' VAI

(28)	mmaangninjii	'have big hands' VAI
(29)	mmaangshe	'have big ears' VAI
(30)	mmaangshkiizhgwe	'have big eyes' VAI
(31)	mmaangzide	'have big feet' VAI
(32)	yaakgaade	'have legs of a certain length' VAI (root /aakw/)

FINALS THAT CAN OCCUR WITHOUT INITIALS. A few VAI finals involving motion are somewhat fluid in that they can appear with or without any initial element. Examples include *gwaashkni*, 'jump' (VAI) and *gzi* /gozi/, 'move camp, residence' (VAI). For example, *gzi* by itself means 'move camp, move [residence],' but also appears as a final in words such as *bgamoodegzi*, 'arrive with one's things' (VAI) and *maajiiyoodegzi*, 'cart off one's belongings' (VAI), which appear to have initials /bagam-/, 'arrive' and /maajii-/, 'start off,' and possibly medial /-oode-/, 'household,' which may also be present in *oodenaw*, 'town,' and the widely found dependent noun for traditional clan, /-oode/, as in *ndoodem*, 'my clan.' When *gwaashkni* is used without an initial, it means 'climb out [of a vehicle], disembark' (VAI) (Odawa dialect), but it also occurs in combination with initials, as in *gjigwaashkni*, 'jump off [a vehicle],' *bkobiigwaashkni*, 'jump into the water' (M), and *mbigwaashkni*, 'jump up,' and *googiigwaashkni*, 'jump and dive in,' with VAI verb *googii*, 'dive,' as initial.

DEVERBAL FINALS. A few roots seem to have the capacity to attach themselves as initials to a few independent verbs, in essence, converting the independent word into a complex, derived final.[1] One root with this capacity is the RELATIVE ROOT /iN-/, 'in a particular way; to, toward,' which, for example, attaches to the VAI verb *nokii*, /anokii/ 'work,' to produce *nankii*, /inanokii/ 'act in a particular way' VAI. Another example is *naabdizi* /inaabadizi/, 'be put to a particular use, be useful in a particular way' VAI, which is derived by attaching /iN-/ to the independent VAI verb *aabdizi*, 'be useful; be used.' Another root which shows this behaviour is relative root /ond-/, 'from, source,' as in *ndagoode*, /ondagoode/ 'it falls form a certain place' (VII), which has the free verb *goode* /agoode/, 'hang,' as a derived final. The root /dagw-/, 'together,' attaches directly to the transitive animate (VTA) verb *maw* /amw/, 'eat AN' to produce *dgamaw* /dagamw/ 'eat AN with something else.'

As can be seen from these several examples, the independent verbs capable of becoming derived (deverbal) finals often begin with the sounds /a/ or /aa/, and even among verbs beginning with these sounds, only a very few submit to this sort of treatment.

In the most extreme cases the boundaries between preverbs and roots is somewhat fluid and arbitrary. For example, alongside *naabdizi*, /inaabdizi/ 'be used in a particular way' (VAI), with relative root /iN-/ in root position and an independent verb functioning as a DERIVED FINAL, there is *zhi-yaa* /izhi-ayaa/, 'feel a certain way,' in which the relative 'root'

1. Bloomfield 1958:13 analyzes these forms as producing derived finals that contain root elements as prefinals. The example he cites is /inaabandang/, 'he sees it so,' which he analyzes as having a complex final consisting of prefinal /aab/, 'see,' and VTI final /and/.

shows up as a preverb, *zhi-* /izhi-/, because the verb /ayaa/ does not have the capacity to function as a derived final, even though it begins with /a/. The preverb form /izhi-/ arises from attachment of particle (adverb) final /-i/ to the relative root /iN-/, and subsequent PALATALIZATION of /N/, which gives /zh/ (IPA /ʒ/). Yet in both of these verbs, the relative element /iN-/ is present, and contributes a very similar meaning, that of allowing a manner ('way') expression relating to the basic verb, whether *aabdizi*, 'be used' (VAI) or *yaa*, 'be (in a location)' (VAI).

Another productive deverbal final comes from the VAI verb *baapi*, 'laugh.' When serving as a final, the verb loses its initial consonant, as can be seen from examples such as *boonaapi*, 'stop laughing' (VAI) and *maadaapi*, 'start laughing' (VAI).

The verb *mooshkine*, 'be full' (VAI/VII) appears to become a deverbal final in *aabtooshkne*, 'be half full' (VAI/VII), in which case it loses its initial /m/, a very common process with noun derivation.

9.3 Medials

INCORPORATED NOUN MEDIALS. One last word component remains to be introduced, that of the MEDIAL. Medials, as their name suggests, appear between initials and finals, in the structural 'middle' of a word, as in the following examples, both of which are VAI verbs:

(33) dewnike 'have an ache in one's arm'
(34) bookjaane 'have a broken nose'

These words have a similar structure, consisting of an initial, medial and final.

INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
dew 'sore'	nik 'arm	e 'have/VAI'
book 'broken'	jaan 'nose'	e 'have/VAI'

Medials are typically NOMINAL in character, as in these cases, where they are very similar in form and function to BODY-PART DEPENDENT NOUNS. Other medials fall into well-defined subclasses as well, including (INDEPENDENT) INCORPORATED NOUNS, NOUN CLASSIFIERS, and ENVIRONMENTAL MEDIALS, among others. Incorporated nouns are (usually) independent (free) nominal elements inside a word that correspond to the goal (object) of a transitive verbal action. The following examples illustrate verbs with incorporated nouns.

Word		INITIAL		MEDIAL		FINAL
naajmiijme	'fetch food'	/naad/	'fetch'	miijim	'food'	e VAI
moon'hapnii	'dig potatoes'	/moonah/	'dig'	/apiny/	'potato'	e VAI

The first example contains the incorporated element, *miijim*, 'food,' which is an independent noun; the second contains the noun *pin* /apiny/ 'potato,' in medial position. The final /y/ of the noun stem and the /e/ of the final coalesce to /ii/.

CLASSIFICATORY MEDIALS. There is a rather large set of medials which classify objects on the basis of various physical properties. A prominent set of these reflects an ancient system of NOUN CLASSIFICATION, in which nouns are classified by their physical properties of shape, substance, and consistency. The following CLASSIFIERS are common.

Classifier Medials	
-aabiig-	stringlike
-aabik-	metal/stone/plastic (inorganic solid)
-aak(w)-	wooden, pole-like (organic solid)
-eg-, -iig-	sheetlike, cloth-like
-minag-	round, berry-like

These morphemes create a system of classification that indexes properties of flexibility and dimensionality. For example, classifiers /-aabiig-/ and /-aak-/ both refer to long, two-dimensional objects, but differ as to the relative flexibility of the objects. The finals /-aabiig-/ and /-eg-, -iig-/ both refer to relatively flexible objects, but differ in that the latter group refers to objects having two dimensions, that is, sheetlike objects. Another basis of contrast in these medials can be seen in the distinction between /-aak-/ and /-aabik-/, the former referring to organic (solid, non-flexible) objects, such as bones and branches, and the latter to inorganic (solid, non-flexible) objects, such as rocks and metal objects of manufacture.

Peter Denny (1976) has pointed out that the classifier system of Ojibwe (of which Nishnaabemwin is a dialect group) has categories for classes of raw materials traditionally used in manufacture. The following table shows these relationships.

Traditional Technology & Classificatory Medials	
-aabiig-	vines, ropes
-aabik-	rocks, stone
-aak-	wooden poles, branches
-eg-, -iig-	sheets of bark
-minag-	berries

Although classificatory medials occur widely, they are most commonly used contrastively with a limited set of descriptive roots, such as /ginw-/, 'be long,' as in *gnwegzi*, 'be a long clothlike object' (VAI), or *gnwaakzi*, 'be a long sticklike object' (VAI), and *gnwaabiigzi*, 'be a long stringlike object.'

ENVIRONMENTAL MEDIALS. There is an extensive set of medial-like elements referring to natural features, such as snow conditions /-aagonag-/, hills /-adin-/, and rivers /-itigwe-/. These medials most commonly occur in impersonal inanimate intransitive (VII) verbs, such as *shpaagnagaa*, 'be deep snow' and *bmadnaa*, 'be a range of hills,' though some occasionally show up in other verb constructions as well, e.g., *bmaagnagii*, 'walk by in deep snow' (VAI). These elements are sometimes analyzed as PRE-FINALS[1], because their distribution is often restricted to occurrence with a very limited number of finals, suggesting that they form a unit with the finals they occur with. I treat them in this work as medials because they often have some correspondence with nouns or noun finals, as in /-itigw-e-/, 'river,' which shows up as a noun final on *mnitig*, 'an island in a river.' These elements are discussed in detail in section 9.11.1, beginning on page 365.

OTHER CLASSIFICATORY MEDIALS. There are many other classificatory medials, such as /-isag-/, which refers to wood, wood products, and floors, as in, for example, *bkosgaa* /bakosagaa/ 'be a hump in the floor, be a piece of the floor sticking up' (VII). Closely related is the medial /-is-/, 'wood,' which occurs in *mnise* /manise/, 'cut firewood' (VAI). Some of these medials blur the distinction between the classificatory system and incorporated nouns.

PRE-MEDIALS AND POST-MEDIALS. Medials often appear to have internal structure. For example, several medials have a terminal element /-ag/, as in /-aagon-ag-/, 'snow,' /-is-ag-/, 'wood, floor,' and /-min-ag-/, 'berry; round object.' Such isolatable elements are sometimes called POST-MEDIALS. Several medials have /aa/ before the obviously nominal portion of the medial, as in /-aa-gon-ag/, 'snow' (compare *goon*, 'snow') and /-aa-gam/, 'water body' (compare *gchigmi*, 'ocean, large lake,' with /gam-i/). This and similar elements are sometimes called PRE-MEDIALS.

9.4 Basic Word Structure

In summary, intransitive verbs typically consist of an initial and final element, though some words also have a medial component. The initial component is generally of the nature of a modifier, providing information similar to English adjectives and adverbs. Initials may consist of an element that is itself a word, as in *mshkikiiwi* (mshkiki+wi), 'be a medicine' (VAI), which contains the initial *mshkiki*, 'medicine,' or represent components that are not of themselves words, as in *mnotaagzi*, (/minw+itaagozi/), 'sound good' (VAI), which contains the initial /minw/, 'good.' Initials of this latter type are called ROOTS, which can be a bit misleading, since it is the final that determines the part of speech of the whole word and thus acts like the head or root element of the word. The class of initials is much larger in

1. Thanks to John O'Meara for pointing this out to me.

membership than that of finals. There is only a relatively small number of finals, but there is no logical limit to the number of initials, and the rate at which new initials are formed is much higher than that of finals. In this way, too, initials are similar to English adjectives and adverbs, which are also OPEN classes of words, meaning that new members can be freely added to them when necessary. In the same way, new initials can readily occur in Nishnaabemwin, and initials can represent components that are themselves morphologically complex, including independent words in the language.

We have also seen that many finals occur in pairs, one forming animate intransitive (VAI) verbs, and one forming corresponding inanimate intransitive (VII) verbs. The following chart summarizes the usual properties of each structural component within the word.

INITIAL (ROOT)	MEDIAL	FINAL
Primary • adjectival • adverbial Secondary • nominal • verbal	Nominal • body part • classifier • goal noun	Part of Speech Category / Verbal Meanings defines part of speech (abstract final) and may add additional meaning (concrete final)

A more articulated word structure takes cognizance of the following structural elements, which often grade into one another and show variable analysis by different theorists. Each of these components and sub-components is discussed below.

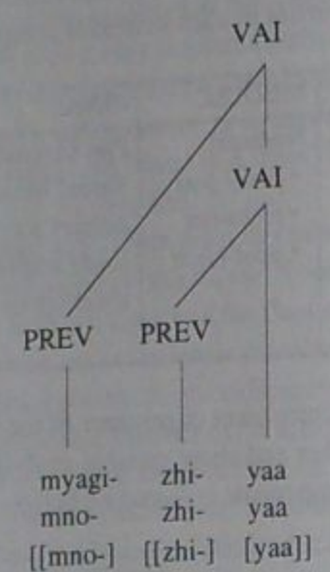
Initial		Medial			Final	
Root	Post-Radical	Pre-Medial	Medial	Post-Medial	Pre-Final	Final

INTERNAL WORD-STRUCTURE. Arguments can be made that within the word initials and classificatory medials show a closer connection to each other than either does to the final. For example, certain roots appear to select for the presence of medial classifiers, such as /ginw-/, 'long,' and /dakw-/, 'short,' whereas other roots, such as /aabad-/, 'be useful, be used' and /-ishp-/, 'high,' tend to occur in words lacking classifiers. Also, Rhodes 1981 points out that many initials that occur in verbs of breaking tend to be associated with specific classes of objects, such as /book-/, which is especially associated with the breaking of sticklike objects, and /baashk-/, which is associated with three-dimensional objects. But we rarely find finals that are associated with particular classes of objects, though in some cases, such as the element /-bii/, 'liquid, by means of liquid,' as in *giiwshkwebii*, 'be drunk' (VAI) (with initial /giiwashkw-/, 'be dizzy, disoriented,' the boundary does blur somewhat.

These observations suggest that initials and medials are more closely linked to each other than either is with finals. Perhaps this is true of roots and classificatory medials. On the other hand, certain medials seem to select for particular forms of finals, suggesting a close link between medials and finals. For example, the body part medials that end in /n/

often show up with a ZERO-FINAL, that is, with no apparent final at all, as in *gzhiibaawgan*, 'have an itchy back' (M), with body part medial /-aawgan-/ 'back,' and *gaagiijgondaagan*, 'have a sore throat' (M), with body part medial /-gondaagan-/, 'throat.' See also the forms in 9.11.13.2 below, which suggest medial + final fusion.

Preverbs show variable structural affinity in derivation. In the structure of verbs such as *mno-zhi-yaa*, 'be healthy' (VAI) and *myagi-zhi-yaa*, 'act strange,' the first preverb in each case would seem to be attached to a stem consisting of a preverb and verb, as articulated in the following diagram.



9.5 Primary and Secondary Derivation

There are two kinds (or levels) of derivation, or word-forming processes, in Nishnaabemwin, PRIMARY DERIVATION and SECONDARY DERIVATION. Primary derivation involves the formation of word stems using a ternary word-structure template, consisting of an initial, a medial, and a final. So, for example, the word *gaagiijndbe*, 'have a sore head' (VAI), has initial /gaagiij/ 'sore,' medial /-ndib-/ 'head' and final /-e/ VAI. Secondary word-formation creates new words by adding a final to an initial that is itself an independent word-stem in the language. An example is *gaagiijndbekaazo*, 'pretend to have a sore head' (VAI), which adds secondary derivational final /-kaazo/, 'pretend to…,' to the word-stem previously discussed. Secondary derivation has a binary structural template (initial-final). What is tricky about distinguishing primary and secondary derivation is that independent word-stems can serve as components in primary derivation as well as in secondary. For example, the final /-aadizi/ is used in primary derivation to create VAI verbs pertaining to living, such as *bmaadzi*, 'live,' with bound root /bim/, 'along, by.' However, the word *gookooshwaadzi*, 'live like a pig' (VAI) has a derived initial that is formed by adding /w/ to the independent word-stem

gookoosh, 'pig.' While it is thus sometimes hard to distinguish between primary and secondary derivation, the distinction is fundamental to Nishnaabemwin word-formation. Secondary derivation tends to be much more productive than primary derivation, and produces meanings that are more transparently derivable from the meanings of the component parts. COMPOUNDING, a very common process involving the combining of two word stems, is also a process of secondary derivation.

9.6 Meaning, Word Structure, and Metaphor

Given that Nishnaabemwin words have component parts, each of which may contribute a meaning to the word as a whole, we can ask what relationships exist between the meanings of word components and the meanings of the words of which they are constituents. In some cases, the meaning of a word is relatively straightforwardly determinable from its components, especially in cases of secondary derivation, as in *niniiwi*, 'be a man' (VAI), with noun initial *nini* /ininiw/ 'man' and VAI final /-wi/, 'be,' or *jiimaanke*, 'make a boat' (VAI), with noun initial *jiimaan*, 'boat,' and VAI final /-ke/, 'make, gather.' Many cases of primary derivation also show meanings computable in this way as well, such as *gwekshin*, 'turn around while lying,' with initial /gwek-/, 'turn,' and VAI final /-shin/, 'fall, lie,' or even *giiwshkweyaaso*, 'be dizzy from the heat of the sun,' with initial /giiwshkwe-/, 'be dizzy, be disoriented,' and VAI final /-aaso/, 'by action of sunlight.' However, many words have meanings that cannot be determined in this way, for example, *giiwshkwebii*, 'be drunk,' which consists of the elements /giiwshkwe-/, 'dizzy, disoriented' and VAI final /-bii/, 'having something to do with a liquid.' Being disoriented because of a liquid is not the same as being drunk. The element /-bii/ seems to have developed a secondary meaning, 'alcohol,' though, as in words such as *mnobii*, 'be slightly inebriated' (VAI), though here again there are problems of interpretation, since the initial /minw-/ has the meaning, 'good, well,' so the component parts suggest a meaning something along the lines of 'be (feeling) good by means of alcohol.' A similar process of specialization appears to have developed with the VAI motion final /-aaboozo/, 'move along the surface of water, float,' as in *waabnaaboozo*, 'drink (alcohol) until dawn' (VAI), with a derived initial /waaban/, 'be dawn, be day' (VII). Compare this word with *bmaaboozo*, 'float along, float by' (VAI), which is not used in reference to alcohol. Consider also the word *aangwaazim*, 'coax AN, reassure AN by talking.' On the basis of words such as *aangwaadzi*, 'be sane, be well-behaved,' we can surmise that the meaning of the initial is something like 'be mentally sound.' The final in this case seems to be /-im/, an INSTRUMENTAL CAUSATIVE FINAL (see next chapter) meaning 'using speech.' So the 'literal' meaning of *aangwaazim* is 'make AN be mentally sound by talking to him/her,' which is different from *coaxing*, which involves an element of persuasion, and *reassuring*, which implies an element of restoring confidence. There is thus a relatively clear relationship between the meaning of *aangwaazim* and the meaning of its component parts, but it is not a direct one. This is the way it is with many words in Nishnaabemwin.

Other words show more abstract relationships between the meaning of the word as a whole and the meaning of its component parts. For example, the word *ggwejim*, 'ask AN something, question AN' has an initial component /gagwed/ which means something like 'try' or 'test.' The final here is again the causative instrumental final /-(i)m/, which means something such as 'cause by using speech,' so the component parts of *ggwejim* suggest that its literal meaning is 'test someone by means of speech.' But this is quite different in meaning from 'asking,' though of course, again, we can see a connection between the constituent parts of the word and its meaning as a whole. Another example is the word *mnozo*, 'cook, be cooked' (VAI), which consists of the initial /minw/, 'good, well,' and the VAI final /-(i)zo/ 'be in a state by means of the application of heat.' All of these examples point to a common trend in Nishnaabemwin, namely that when words have meanings that are not simply the sum of their component parts, it is usually because the whole word has a meaning that is more specific than what is suggested by the component meanings.

In some cases, word components are used metaphorically. By this I mean that, rather than establishing a direct relationship of meaning components to the meaning of a word as a whole, an abstract concept is expressed by associating it with a more concrete concept. For example, in Nishnaabemwin, the concept of taking a liking to someone is expressed by the combination of the root /odaap/, 'take,' and the final, /-enim/, 'in thought,' that is, *daapenim*, 'take a liking to AN, take AN to one's heart' (VTA). One does not *literally* take someone in one's mind in liking them; rather, the meaning relationship is that of metaphor, in this case by expressing the relatively abstract concept of liking someone is by means of the more concrete concept of physical embrace. Other abstract concepts are expressed similarly, as, for example, when the concept of caring about someone is expressed by means of the DIRECTIONAL ROOT /bim/, 'by, along,' in concert with the finals /enim/ (VTA) and /end+am/ (VTI), 'mental perception, by means of thought,' producing VTA *bmenim*, 'care for AN,' and VTI *bmendan*. A different kind of mental engagement is expressed metaphorically with the DISTRIBUTIVE directional root /babaam/, derived from /bim/ by distributive REDUPLICATION, resulting in VTA *bbaamenim*, 'bother AN, worry about AN, pay attention to AN,' and its corresponding VTI form, *bbaamendan*.

In some cases, the meaning of a word simply cannot be related to its component parts, as in *dzhim*, 'gossip about AN,' which evidently consists of the RELATIVE ROOT /daN/, 'in a particular place,' and the final /-im/, 'cause using speech.' There is no way that the meaning 'gossip about AN' can be directly or even easily metaphorically derived from components that together mean 'cause AN to be in a particular place using speech.'

Thus, while we can recognize component parts of a word, assuming we do so correctly, we cannot always say that these parts constructively contribute to the meaning of the word as a whole. This is the case with many words in Nishnaabemwin, though perhaps the majority of words have meanings that relate in some reasonably consistent way to the meanings of their component parts. Also, words can have completely figurative interpretations, and commonly do, as in Odawa *wewebtoogese* VAI, which is used to mean 'eat quickly, eat like a pig,' but which literally means, 'make one's ears move back and forth' (/weweb-/ 'swing, move back and forth'; /-toog-e-/, 'ear(s)'; /-se/ 'move; act; process'). Here again, there is no

straightforward relationship between the meaning of the word its component parts.

It is sometimes not possible to determine whether a word has component parts. For example, the VII verbs for the seasons, *bboon*, 'winter' and *niibin*, 'summer,' both end with an /n/. Is this a final— it is not easy to know, because the elements remaining when /n/ is removed, /biboo/ and /niibi/, do not constitute recognizable morphemes. The VII verbs for spring, *mnookmi*, and autumn, *dgwaagi*, both end in /i/. Again we cannot readily determine the structure of these words without extensive comparative study. Sometimes a word may appear to have a recognizable component, but the suggested component does not fit regular patterns of word formation. For example, I have heard an explanation of the VAI verb *jiibaakwe*, 'cook, prepare food,' as involving the presence of the animate noun *kwe*, 'woman,' as a final component, since it was generally women who prepared food in traditional Nishnaabemwin society. But VAI verbs are never formed by putting a noun in final position, so this etymology is ruled out on structural grounds. This, of course, says nothing of other ends that might be achieved by such explanations, and etymologies such as this one are popular pedagogical tools.

9.7 Nishnaabemwin Ambiguity in Stative/Inchoative Senses of Verbs

Nishnaabemwin, in keeping with other dialects of Ojibwe, does not usually make a distinction between the onset and progress of an event and its resultant state. English uses the verb *become* in order to focus on the transition into a state, as in 'she *became* a doctor,' as opposed to the state itself, 'she *is* a doctor.' In Nishnaabemwin the two aspects of a verb reflecting a state or the shift into it are not typically morphologically distinguished, and the meaning of such verbs is ambiguous, resolved only on the basis of how the word is used in a particular context. Thus, the basic verb of identity *aawi*, 'be an X' (VAI) can refer to an ongoing state or a transition into that state, as in the following examples:

(7) Gbeyhiing gii-bbaa-nokii naangim go biimskwaabkagewnini gii-aawid.

'He went around working for a long time until he became an engineer on a tug.'

> **Gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **gii-bbaa-nokii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANSG went around working'; **naangim** *av* 'until'; **biimskwaabkagewnini** *na 3sProx* 'engineer on a tugboat'; **gii-aawid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANSG was/became.' (AK13.25)

(8) Boodewaadmii gii-aawi aw nmishoomis Wisconsin odi gii-dnizwag.

'My grandfather was a Potawatomi, they lived there in Wisconsin.' (AK15.1)

> **Boodewaadmii** *na 3sProx* 'Potawatomi'; **gii-aawi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANSG was'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-dnizwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANPL lived there.'

The ambiguity between STATIVE and INCEPTIVE interpretations of words results in many words having variable meanings in translation, such as VAI *nbo*, which means both 'die' and the resulting state, 'be dead,' VAI *bookjaane*, which means 'break one's nose' as well as 'have a broken nose,'[1] and VAI *mnozo*, which means both 'be cooking' and 'be cooked.'

Some finals appear to have more of a processual meaning than others, though. For example, consider the contrast between *ziiwzi*, 'be sour' VAI and *ziiwshin*, 'be sour, become sour' VAI. In the latter case there is a greater sense of process than in the former, though both can be used as statives or inchoatives.

9.8 The Structure of Morphemes; Link Vowels and Consonants

Simple (primary, root) initials, medials, and finals have somewhat characteristic phonological shapes. For example, most verbal roots consist of from one to three syllables, and many common ones have a monosyllabic CVVC or CVCw structure, as in /boon-/, 'stop,' /giizh-/, 'finish,' /maad-/, 'start,' and /web-/, 'begin,' which are comprised of CVVC syllables, and /dakw-/, 'short,' /ginw-/, 'long,' /minw-/, 'good,' and /dagw-/, 'together,' which all have a CVCw structure. Roots can end in consonant clusters, as in /ishp-/, 'high,' /zhooshkw-/, 'slippery, smooth,' /miskw-/, 'red,' /mang-/, 'big,' and /wiimb-/, 'hollow.' The phoneme /w/ shows an unusually high representation as a root-final consonant, both after consonants, as in /miskw-/, 'red,' /bikw-/, 'bump(y),' and /dakw-/, 'short,' and less commonly, after vowels, as in /mashkaw-/, 'hard, strong,' and /ozaaw-/, 'yellow, brown.' Roots may begin with vowels, as in /anim-/, 'away from speaker,' /ishp-/, 'high,' /ond-/, 'from, source,' and /aabt-/, 'half.' Very few roots in the language have initial /ii/, /e/ or /oo/; /ii/ and /oo/ are not common initial elements in any roots in the language, either verbal, particle, or nominal. When roots are three syllables long, it is common for the third syllable to contain /e/, or occasionally, /oo/, as in /niboode-/, 'lonely, depressing,' /makade-/, 'black,' /bagone-/, '(have a) hole,' and /aanikoo-/, 'link(ed).'

Sometimes when morphemes are juxtaposed, combinations of consonants and vowels arise that violate the basic PHONOTACTIC patterns of the language, that is, the phonologically acceptable sequences of consonants and vowels within a word. For example, the components of the word meaning 'fetch food,' *naajmiijme*, on the basis of the comparison of many words, can be determined to be the following:

INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
/naad/	/miijim/	/e/
fetch	food	VAI

1. Some speakers prefer to add /-shin/ for a specifically process reading, regardless of whether or not falling is involved. So the system may be changing for some words, and distinct stative and process interpretations developing for particular words.

A problem that arises here is that the initial ends with a consonant and the medial begins with one, and the combination of /d/ + /m/ was not found historically in the language, prior to syncope. To accommodate the basic phonotactic requirements of the language a simple short vowel /i/, is inserted between the initial and the medial, producing /naad+i+miijim+e/. This /i/, called a LINK VOWEL, causes the preceding /d/ to PALATALIZE as well, shifting its pronunciation from /d/ to /j/, producing /naaj+i+miijim+e/. This form can be compared to another word having the same initial, but with a medial that does not require a link vowel, *naadsabii* /naadasabii/, 'go check one's net,' which has the following structure:

INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
/naad/	/asaby/	/e/
fetch	net	VAI

Because the medial in this case begins with a vowel, /a/, there is no need for a link vowel, since the combination /d/ + /a/ is an acceptable sequence of phonemes in Nishnaabemwin. Tracing the behaviour and effects of link vowels is sometimes tricky, however, because of SYNCOPE, which freely deletes unstressed vowels, and produces combinations of consonants that historically were not found in the language. But on the basis of comparison of large sets of words sharing morphemes, it is often possible to determine the presence of link vowels, even when they are not pronounced because of syncope. For example, in the word *naadsabii*, we know that a weak vowel has been deleted by the very fact that an /a/ appears as the next vowel after /aa/— some other vowel *must* be filling the weak position, and is itself being deleted, in this case the first /a/ of the UNDERLYING FORM for 'net,' /asaby/. Note that this vowel is also deleted in the usual pronunciation of the word when it stands alone, *sab* /asaby/, since it is also situated in a weak position. Ultimately the pronunciation of Nishnaabemwin words is based on many different levels of phonological patterning, including the underlying level, *before* syncope applies, and the level of pronunciation, *after* syncope applies.

LINK VOWEL /O/. In the cases of stems ending in /n/ or /m/, that is, NASAL consonants, the link vowel often appears to be /o/, as in *dgoshnoomgad*, 'arrive' (VII), which is formed from VAI verb /dagoshin/, 'arrive' and VII final /-magad/. Because two nasal consonants stand adjacent in /dagoshin+magad/, a link vowel is evidently inserted. This vowel is then lengthened before the final /-magad/, producing /oo/. One reason that nasal-final stems might show link vowel /o/ has to do with the INFLECTION of such verbs, particularly the THIRD PERSON PLURAL and OBVIATIVE INDEPENDENT ORDER (VAI) forms, which have the structure /dagoshin+w+ag/ and /dagoshin+w+an/, respectively, but which are pronounced (and spelled) as *dgoshnoog* and *dgoshnoon*, due to a COALESCENCE of /w+a/ to /oo/ after a consonant. Perhaps speakers of Nishnaabemwin have interpreted the /oo/ in these forms to be a link vowel.

LINK CONSONANTS. Sometimes it happens in the juxtaposing of morphemes that two long vowels stand side by side, as in the word for 'INsg has a hole,' *bgoneyaa*, which has

the following morphological structure:

INITIAL	FINAL
bagone	aa
hole	VII

Nishnaabemwin does not generally allow the pronunciation of two long vowels in a row, without an intervening consonant, so in this case, a LINK CONSONANT is inserted, /y/. However, there seems to be some unpredictable variation in the form of link consonants. For example, the link consonant in *maajiiwaaboozo*, 'float away, start floating away' (VAI) appears to be /w/, rather than /y/, since its component parts are initial /maajii/, 'start, begin,' and VAI final /-boozo/, 'float,' though it may also be that the /w/ here is a derivational element used for unknown reasons to derive (or mark) a specific initial, /majiiw/. The VAI verb *maajiihoode*, 'start to crawl off, crawl off,' appears to have a link consonant /h/ (glottal stop), which can be compared with *biindgeyoode*, 'crawl inside,' which has the more common linker, /y/.

LINK CONSONANT /d/ WITH PERSONAL PREFIXES. Link consonants between initials and finals must be distinguished from the element /d/ that occurs with personal prefixes, as in *gdaakoz*, 'you are ill' (with VAI verb /aakozi/), which has the second person prefix /gid/, which is reduced by syncope to /gd/, as opposed to *gniim*, 'you are dancing,' (with VAI verb /niimi/) where the prefix is /gi/, reduced by syncope to /g/. The link consonant /d/ only occurs with personal prefixes.

LOSS OF SHORT VOWELS. When the joining of two morphemes juxtaposes a short vowel and a long vowel, the short vowel is deleted, as in *bkemo*, 'the road forks' (VII), which contains the morphemes /bake+amo/. This word can be compared with *zhaashdamo*, 'be a slippery road' (VII), and *namo*, 'be a road leading in a particular direction' (VII), both of which show the /a/ of VII final /amo/.

LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS. Short vowels lengthen before some finals, for example, *wiisni*, 'eat' (vai) lengthens its final vowel to /ii/ in construction with /-mgad/, *wiisniimgad*, 'it eats' (VII). Noun stems that end in /i/, such as *mshkiki*, 'medicine' (NI), or /ıw/, such as *nini* /ininiw, aniniw/, 'man' (NA), are particularly prone to showing their final short /i/ lengthened when serving as initials, as in *mshkikiiwi*, 'be a medicine, be medicinal' (VAI) and *niniiwi*, 'be a man' (VAI).

SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS. Very occasionally, long vowels are shortened in derivational processes, as in VTA *giiwshkwebin (~zh)*, 'get AN drunk,' which has as initial VAI verb *giiwshkwebii*, 'be drunk,' but the final vowel of the initial appears to have been shortened from /ii/ to /i/.

VOWEL SHIFTS. Another process that occasionally occurs involves an alternation of a stem-final vowel between /ii/ or /aa/ and /e/, or /e/ and /aa/. For example, the classificatory medial /-iig-/ has a variant /-eg-/ that occurs after initials ending in /w/, as in VAI *mskwegzi*, 'be red (of cloth),' and VAI *gnwegzi*, 'be long (of cloth),' alongside VAI *bbagiigzi*, 'be light, be thin (of cloth).' An example of /aa/ to /e/ correspondence can be seen by comparing VAI *nbaa*, 'sleep,' with the causative form, *nbeh*, 'put AN to bed, make AN go to bed' (VTA). Alongside the VAI verb *mnikwe*, 'drink,' is VTI *mnikwaadan*, 'use s.t. to get a drink,' showing a shift from /e/ to /aa/ in the transitive form.

LOSS OF CONSONANTS. Occasionally, when morphemes combine, consonants are lost, as in *zaagdaabiishin*, 'come out (stringlike object)' (VAI), which contains a form of the classificatory medial /-aabiig-/ that lacks a final /g/. Also, stem-initial /m/ is lost when the stem is used as a suffix in derivational forms, as can be seen in the correspondence between VAI/VII *mooshkne*, 'be full,' and VAI/VII *aabtooshkne*, 'be half-full.'

9.9 Problems in Identifying and Segmenting Morphemes

The presence of link vowels and link consonants creates potential indeterminacies in the segmenting of words into their component morphemes. For example, both of the following words have the same final element:

biin'zi	'be clean' (VAI)
niinmizi	'be weak' (VAI)

A question immediately arises as to which morpheme, if any, the /i/ after the /m/ in *niinmizi* should be assigned. There are three possibilities:

1. The /i/ belongs with the initial, /niinami+zi/.
2. The /i/ belongs with the final, /niinam+izi/.
3. The /i/ is a link vowel, /niinam+i+zi/.

Often, when there is a large set of words sharing a given morpheme, its exact form can be determined on the basis of comparison. Sometimes we can appeal to general patterns concerning of shape of morphemes filling particular slots in a word, such as, for example, the observation that most initials end in consonants or long vowels. Sometimes the effect a given segment has on neighbouring sounds allows us to make an educated guess. For example, we saw in the case of *naajmiijme*, 'ANsg fetches food,' that the link vowel causes the /d/ of the initial /naad/ to PALATALIZE, converting it to /j/.We would then assume that link vowels should have this effect on any preceding /d/. However, in the case of the word *aabdizi*, 'be useful,' the final /d/ of the initial /aabad/, 'useful,' does not show palatalization (to /j/) before the /i/. This fact allows us to analyze /i/ as part of the final, which is then /-izi/. Recall that there are two kinds of short /i/ in Nishnaabemwin, those that palatalize a following consonant, which come historically from Proto-Algonquian */i/, and those which do not, which come from Proto-Algonquian */e/ (short e). More commonly the link vowel comes from PA *i, while the /i/ in /-izi/ evidently comes from PA */e/. While overly simple, when there is uncertainty, I will assume that /i/'s from PA *i are link vowels, and that those

from PA *e are not. Goddard 1990, however, argues that link vowels come from both historical sources. Very little is at stake in this grammar.

In summary, accurately segmenting words into their component morphemes is a complex task involving the careful study of many words sharing the same morphemes, looking for structural patterns in morpheme shapes, and examining the phonological behaviour of adjacent segments. In the lists which follow, I strive to be as accurate as possible in my determinations, but there are undoubtedly errors, simply because I lack diagnostic forms and the depth of knowledge in the language necessary to recognize all patterns.

9.10 Paired VAI and VII Finals

I begin the presentation of intransitive verb structure with organized lists of paired VAI and VII finals, followed by those that are specific to VII verbs, and lastly, examine VAI finals that do not have VII correspondents. In all charts presented below, where both VAI and VII forms are listed, the VAI forms are listed to the left of the VII. I will focus on the more productive finals, or those which belong to productive families (semantic groups) of finals. Those wishing a more exhaustive list of finals can consult Bloomfield 1958.

9.10.1 Attributive (Descriptive) Expressions

Most ATTRIBUTIVE (ADJECTIVAL, descriptive) concepts are expressed by means of intransitive verbs having a DESCRIPTIVE INITIAL (or complex initial), an optional classificatory medial, and a final sensitive to gender. The most common VAI descriptive final is /-izi/, which may be paired with VII finals /-aa/, /-an/, or /-ad/. In cases where the stem ends in a long vowel, the first /i/ of /-izi/ is deleted; in cases where the stem ends in a long vowel, /y/ is inserted before VII /-aa/. Note that the initial /i/ of the VAI final does not cause palatalization of a root-final /d/, as can be seen from the form *aabdizi*, 'be useful, be used' (VAI), which has root /aab[a]d/.

1	VAI /-izi/	VII /-aa/	'have the attribute of being…'

(35)	mkadewzi	mkadewaa	'be black'
(36)	mskozi	mskwaa	'be red'
(37)	waabshkizi	waabshkaa	'be pale/white'
(38)	zaawzi	zaawaa	'be brown/yellow'
(39)	zhaawshkozi	zhaawshkwaa	'be blue/green'

Example (41) has the MEDIAL /-isag-/, 'board,' and examples (49) and (58) the CLASSIFICATORY MEDIAL, /-minag-/, used to make reference to round objects. The terms *gnoozi*, 'be tall/long' (VAI), *dkoozi*, 'be short' (VAI), and *koozi*, 'be a certain length/height' VAI, all

appear to have an enigmatic medial element of uncertain provenience (e.g., /dakw+oo+izi/?).

(40)	bbagzi	bbagaa	'be thin'
(41)	bkosgizi	bkosgaa	'have a hump (of a board)'
(42)	bzagzi	bzagwaa	'be sticky'
(43)	dkizi	dkwaa	'be cold to the touch'
(44)	dkoozi	dkwaa	'be short'
(45)	giin'zi	giinaa	'be sharp (of tongue)' [VAI]; 'be sharp'
(46)	gnoozi	gnwaa	'be tall/long'
(47)	gpagzi	gpagaa	'be thick'
(48)	koozi	kwaa	'be a certain length/height'
(49)	mngimnagzi	mngimnagaa	'be big (round obj.)'
(50)	mshkawzi	mshkawaa	'be strong, be hard'
(51)	nbagzi	nbagaa	'be flat'
(52)	piitzi	piitaa	'be a certain height, length; be a certain age'
(53)	shpizi	shpaa	'be high'
(54)	waagzi	waagaa	'be bent/crooked/warped'
(55)	wiimbnakzi	wiimbnakaa	'be hollow (e.g. a tree)'
(56)	zhaashzi	zhaashaa	'be slippery'
(57)	zhooshkzi	zhooshkwaa	'be slippery/smooth'
(58)	ziigmin'gizi	ziigmin'gaa	'be dried up; be wrinkled (round obj.)'
(59)	ziigzi	ziigaa	'be dried up; be wrinkled'

The following stems end in a long vowel, and show insertion of /y/ in the VII forms. The forms in (61) and (62) appear to have their initials extended by the addition of an element /-ade/, of unknown meaning. The extended initial /gaachade/ also shows up in the IMPERSONAL VERB *gaachdeyaagmaa*, 'be straits' (VII).

(60)	bgonezi	bgoneyaa	'have a hole'
(61)	gaachdezi	gaachdeyaa	'be narrow'
(62)	mngadezi	mngadeyaa	'be wide'
(63)	nakdezi	nakdeyaa	'be a certain width'
(64)	waabjiizi	waabjiiyaa	'be whitish/grey; be pale'

The following two forms appear to show the addition of a final of the opposite class to a fully-formed word in order to derive the corresponding paired verb. In (65), /aa/ is added to a

fully-formed VAI verb, and in (66), /-izi/ is added to a fully-formed VII verb.

(65)	ggaanwaakgaade	ggaanwaakgaadeyaa	'have long legs'
(66)	waaseyaazi	waaseyaa	'be radiant (e.g. sun, saint); be shiny'

Example (65) is also interesting in its having two medial elements, first, the classificatory medial /aakw-/, 'rigid organic solid,' and secondly, the body part medial /-gaade-/, 'leg.' This construction is not uncommon with body part terms, especially those making reference to limbs or digits (fingers and toes).

2	VAI /-izi/	VII /-an/	'have the attribute of being…'

This set with VII final /-an/ paired with VAI /-izi/ has far fewer members than the classes of VII verbs in /-aa/ and /-ad/.

(67)	gaapzi	gaapan	'be brittle; crumble easily'
(68)	naangzi	naangan	'be light (in weight)'
(69)	wiisgizi	wiisgan	'be bitter'
(70)	wiishkbizi	wiishkban	'be sweet'
(71)	ziiwzi	ziiwan	'be sour'
(72)	zoongzi	zoongan	'be strong, firm, sturdy'

3	VAI /-izi/	VII /-ad/	'have the attribute of being…'

Many words belonging to this class have classificatory medials, though there are many forms without medials as well. Example (79) shows how meanings relativize to animate and inanimate referents, where initial /niboodew-/ suggests the emotion of loneliness in animate entities, but the capacity to evoke loneliness when applied to inanimates.

(73)	aabdizi	aabdad	'be useful; be used'
(74)	beshwizi	beshwad	'be close, be near'; 'be near one's time'
(75)	biin'zi	biinad	'be clean'
(76)	bkaan'zi	bkaanad	'be different'
(77)	gbookzi	gbookad	'be damp'
(78)	naabdizi	naabdad	'be put to such a use'
(79)	nboodewzi	nboodewad	'be depressed, lonely' [VAI]; 'be deserted' [VII]
(80)	niinmizi	niinmad	'be weak'
(81)	nookzi	nookaa	'be soft'

(82)	wenpan'zi	wenpanad	'be easy; be inexpensive'
(83)	wiin'zi	wiinad	'be dirty'
(84)	zhiwebzi	zhiwebad	'happen (to AN)'
(85)	znagzi	znagad	'be difficult; be competitive [VAI]'

The complex elements VAI /aadizi/ and VII /aadad/ show up in many words referring to living, one's state or condition, and appearance. I am not sure what the element /-aad/ represents. See more extensive discussion below on p. 397.

(86)	aakwaadzi	aakwaadad	'be strict; be menacing'
(87)	maanaadzi	maanaadad	'be ugly; be unpleasant; be in bad condition'

EXAMPLES WITH CLASSIFICATORY MEDIALS. The following examples illustrate various classificatory medials in combination with the finals VAI /-izi/ and VII /-ad/.

WITH CLASSIFIER /-AABIIG-/, 'STRINGLIKE OBJECT'

(88)	dkwaabiigzi	dkwaabiigad	'be short (string-like obj.)'
(89)	gaachaabiigzi	gaachaabiigad	'be small (string-like obj.)'
(90)	gnwaabiigzi	gnwaabiigad	'be long/tall (string-like obj.)'
(91)	kwaabiigzi	kwaabiigad	'be a certain length (string-like obj.)'
(92)	mskwiiwaabiigzi	mskwiiwaabiigad	'be all bloody (string-like obj.)'
(93)	nbagaabiigzi	nbagaabiigad	'be flat (string-like obj.)'
(94)	nwaabiigzi	nwaabiigad	'be long (string-like obj.)'

WITH CLASSIFIER /-AABIK-/, 'METAL/STONELIKE OBJECT'

(95)	bpagaabkizi	bpagaabkad	'be light/thin (metal/stone-like obj.)'
(96)	dkwaabkizi	dkwaabkad	'be short (metal/stone-like obj.)'
(97)	gnwaabkizi	gnwaabkad	'be long (metal/stone-like obj.)'
(98)	gpagaabkizi	gpagaabkad	'be thick (metal/stone-like obj.)'
(99)	mngaabkizi	mngaabkad	'be/get big(ger) (metal/stone-like obj.)'
(100)	nbagaabkizi	nbagaabkad	'be flat (metal/stone-like obj.)'
(101)	zhaashaabkizi	zhaashaabkad	'be slippery (metal/stone-like obj.)'

WITH CLASSIFIER /-AAKW-/, 'WOODEN, STICKLIKE OBJECT'

(102)	bbagaakzi	bbagaakod	'be thin (wooden/pole-like obj.)'
(103)	dkwaakzi	dkwaakod	'be short (wooden/pole-like obj.)'
(104)	gnwaakzi	gnwaakod	'be long (wooden/pole-like obj.)'
(105)	gpagaakzi	gpagaakod	'thick (wooden/pole-like obj.)'
(106)	kwaakzi	kwaakod	'be a certain length (wooden/pole-like obj.)'
(107)	mshkawaakzi	mshkawaakod	'be hard (wooden/pole-like obj.)'
(108)	nwaakzi	nwaakod	'be long, be tall (of sticks)
(109)	zhaashaakzi	zhaashaakod	'be slippery (wooden/pole-like obj.)'

The classifier /-aakw/ also occurs in some words where it appears to add a component of thoroughness or intensity, or, conversely, attenuation of the root. The general status of the element /aak/ in (110) is unclear, as it does not have a final /w/, and is used in many verbs involving the instrumentality of flame (see Chapter 10, p. 448).

(110)	jaagaakzo	jaagaakde	'be burnt up completely '
(111)	nbiiwaakzi	nbiiwaakod	'be dripping wet; be drenched (from dew)'
(112)	waabaakzi	waabaakod	'be grey in colour'

WITH CLASSIFIER /-IIG-/, /-EG-/, 'CLOTH, SHEETLIKE OBJECT'

The variant form /-eg/ is most common after /w/; elsewhere /-iig/ is found.

(113)	gnwegzi	gnwegad	'be long (sheet-like obj.)'
(114)	mskwegzi	mskwegad	'be red (sheet-like obj.)'
(115)	nbiiwegzi	nbiiwegad	'feel wet; be wet (of cloth)'

(116)	bbagiigzi	bbagiigad	'be light, be thin (sheet-like obj.)'
(117)	gbookiigzi	gbookiigad	'be damp (sheet-like obj.)'
(118)	ggaapgiigziwag	ggaapgiigadoon	'be thick (sheet-like obj.) (plural)'
(119)	gpagiigzi	gpagiigad	'be thick (sheet-like obj.)'
(120)	zhkiigzi	zhkiigad	'be damp (sheet-like obj.)'

WITH CLASSIFIER /-MINAG-/, 'ROUND, BERRYLIKE OBJECT'

(121)	gaachmin'gizi	gaachmin'gad	'be small and roundish'
(122)	mgimnagzi	mgimnagad	'be big (round obj.)'

(123)	mngijiimnagzi	*mngijiimnagad	'be big (round obj.)' M
(124)	waabmin'gizi	waabmnagad	'be ripe; be pale (round obj.)'
(125)	zhaashmin'gizi	zhaashmin'gad	'be round and slippery'

Other medial elements occur with these finals, as in the following.

(126)	ngodoon'gizi	—	'be a boatload' (M)
(127)	ngodoopwin'gizi	ngodoopwin'gad	'be a tableful' (M)

9.10.2 Verbs of Physical Location and Motion

Some finals form verbs of physical location and motion. In the following section I will present a common one that occurs with paired VAI and VII finals. Verbs of physical location and motion grade into those having CAUSATIVE finals in which the actor brings about a given state or movement in the goal. Such forms are discussed in section 9.10.4, beginning on page 349.

4	VAI /-se/	VII /-se/	'fall, move, change state…'

The final /-se/ has the same form for both animate and inanimate verbs. It generally indicates motion or explicit change of state. It occurs with CLASSIFICATORY MEDIALS (e.g., (130), (131) and (141)). A medial-like element, /-aag-/, also occurs in (143).

(128)	bkobiise	bkobiise	'fall into the water, slip into the water'
(129)	gbaakse	gbaakse	'close, shut'
(130)	gdagmin'gise	gdagmin'gise	'roll over (of round obj.)'
(131)	gtigmin'gise	gtigmin'gise	'roll (of round obj.)'
(132)	gtigse	gtigse	'roll'
(133)	gwaakse	gwaakse	'fall over'
(134)	gwekse	gwekse	'change, alter'
(135)	gwise	gwise	'fall over'
(136)	jaagbiise	jaagbiise	'be all used up (of containers of liquid)'
(137)	mookse	mookse	'rise up; come out; surface'
(138)	niisaakse	niisaakse	'lie dismantled/taken apart'
(139)	nsaakse	nsaakse	'come open'
(140)	zgise	zgise	'be stuck; be attached firmly'
(141)	zhaashaabkise	zhaashaabkise	'slip off (of metal/stone-like obj.)'

(142)	zhise	zhise	'move [quickly] thus; fly somewhere; have opportunity/time to do s.t. [VAI]'
(143)	zhoobaagse	zhoobaagse	'bend (of flexible objects)'
(144)	ziigse	ziigse	'spill out'

9.10.3 Verbs of Motion

There are several finals that specify various kinds of locomotion, such as running, walking, flying, paddling, swimming, and so on. Because most motions imply agency on the part of the mover, that is, the choice and the will to move in a particular way, only a few motion finals are commonly used with inanimate subjects, such as /-aaboode/, 'float' and /-bide/, 'fly, drive, run (of machines).' For more information on motion finals, see section 9.12.1, beginning on page 374, which deals specifically with those associated with animate intransitive verbs. In this section I will list only a couple of common motion finals which have paired VAI and VII forms.

5	VAI /-aaboozo/	VII /-aaboode/	'float, move in current…'

(145)	bmaaboozo	bmaaboode	'float along'
(146)	maajiiwaaboozo	maajiiwaaboode	'float/flow along'
(147)	wiikwaaboozo	wiikwaaboode	'be pulled along by the current'

6	VAI /-bizo/	VII /-bide/	'fly, drive, run (of machines), move…'

(148)	bgambizo	bgambide	'arrive driving, flying'
(149)	biijbizo	biijbide	'come driving, flying'
(150)	biimskobzo	biimskobde	'spin; turn; rotate; fly, drive around'
(151)	bkobiibzo	bkobiibde	'drive/fall/plunge into water'
(152)	bmibzo	bmibde	'drive, fly by'
(153)	bmwewebzo	bmwewebde	'drive, fly (by) making noise'
(154)	bskaabbizo	bskaabbide	'drive/fly back'
(155)	dgobzo	dgobde	'drive up/fly up/be tied up with others'
(156)	giiwaajbizo	giiwaajbide	'be inaccurate (e.g. a watch); run off schedule (e.g. bus, train); run off schedule; be defective (e.g. an engine, a vehicle)'
(157)	gtigbizo	gtigbide	'tip/keel over while driving, flying'
(158)	gwekbizo	gwekbide	'turn around driving; do a U turn [VAI]'

(159)	maajiibzo	maajiibde	'start/leave flying, driving; start running (of mechanical devices)'
(160)	mbibzo	mbibde	'fly up; take off (e.g. airplane)'
(161)	mbiigwewebzo	mbiigwewebde	'make noise while driving, flying'
(162)	nimbizo	nimbide	'fly, drive (away from observer)'
(163)	njibzo	njibde	'fly, drive, fall from a certain place'
(164)	pizo	pide	'drive, fly along a certain route/direction'
(165)	zaagewebzo	zaagewebde	'drive, fly into view'
(166)	zhaabbizo	zhaabbide	'drive, fly through'
(167)	zhiibaabzo	zhiibaabde	'fly through a narrow opening'
(168)	zhyaawebzo	zhyaawebde	'travel straight on'

9.10.4 Goal Focus Verbs with Instrumental Causative Finals

Some finals specify an INSTRUMENT or an AMBIENT FORCE (that is, action of the wind, the sun, ice or cold, etc.) acting upon the subject of the verb, and the verb refers to the state or motion resulting from application of the instrument or force, for example, *mshkawji*, 'freeze, be frozen' (lit., 'be made hard by cold'), which has the final element /-aji/, 'be acted upon by ice, by cold.' Instrumental finals are prominent in the structure of many transitive verbs, but many occur with intransitive GOAL FOCUS VERBS associated with the corresponding transitives, in which the SUBJECT of the INTRANSITIVE is the GOAL of the TRANSITIVE CAUSATIVE. They are thus somewhat PASSIVE in their semantics. Some relatively common intransitive verbs with these structures are those involving the instrumentality of falling (VAI -shin/VII -sin), the wind (VAI -aashi/VII -aasin), cold (VAI -aji/VII -adin), and heat (VAI -zo/VII -de). These forms are particularly interesting, given that Nishnaabemwin does not allow a transitive predication to fill both macroroles with an inanimate.

7	VAI /-aashi/	VII /-aasin/	'move by wind, sail…'

(169)	bmaashi	bmaasin	'sail along; be carried along by wind'
(170)	bnaashi	bnaasin	'be blown off'
(171)	bookwaashi	bookwaasin	'be broken by the wind'
(172)	bskaabaashi	bskaabaasin	'sail back'
(173)	gwaashi	gwaasin	'be blown down/over'
(174)	gzhibaawaashi	gzhibaawaasin	'float in circles, turn/spin in the wind'
(175)	kwaashi	kwaasin	'be blown away'
(176)	maadaashi	maadaasin	'sway in the wind'
(177)	maajiiyaashi	maajiiyaasin	'be driven away by the wind; sail off'

(178)	mbaashi	mbaasin	'be blown upwards'
(179)	webaashi	webaasin	'be blown away'
(180)	wewebaashi	wewebaasin	'sway in the wind'
(181)	zhoobaagaashi	zhoobaagaasin	'bend in the wind'
(182)	ziigaashi	ziigaasin	'gush/pour out'

8	VAI /-aaso/	VII /-aate/	'by heat, by sunlight…'

(183)	—	gzhaate	'be hot (weather)'
(184)	giiwshkweyaaso	—	'be dizzy from the sun's heat'
(185)	gtimaaso	—	'be lazy because of the heat'
(186)	mskwaaso	—	'be sunburned'
(187)	waabaaso	waabaate	'be faded (by heat, by sunlight)'
(188)	zaawaaso	zaawaate	'be tanned (VAI); be browned by heat'

The following VAI verb uses /-aaso/ not so much as cause as instrument, because here the effect is not on the subject of the verb, but rather, the subject's use of heat to accomplish the drying of something.

(189) baasnaaso 'hang clothes to dry' (lit., dry by means of heat)

9	VAI /-agoojin/	VII /-agoode/	'hang…'

These complexes are related to the transitive verbs VTA *goo(ni)zh* / VTI *goodoon*. The basic intransitive forms, VAI *goojin* and VII *goode* can serve as DEVERBAL FINALS, to which can be attached initials, which can be either root forms or independent lexemes.

(190)	goojin	goode	'hang'
(191)	ndagoojin	ndagoode	'fall (from a height)'
(192)	gwaashkndagoojin	gwaashkndagoode	'fall off (e.g. from a vehicle)'
(193)	bmagoojin	bmagoode	'topple over'
(194)	nagoojin	*nagoode	'fall in a certain way'
(195)	zaagewegoojin	zaagewegoode	'come into view falling'

10	VAI /-agwi(i)njin/	VII /-agwi(i)nde/	'float…'

These finals are closely related to VTA final /-agwinjim/ and VTI /-agwinjid+oo/, 'place in water,' as in *gwi(i)njim*, 'soak AN, float AN, put AN into water' (VTA), and *naanookgwi(i)njim*, 'place AN in water to soak' (VTA).

(196)	gwi(i)njin	gwi(i)nde	'float, soar (as a bird) [VAI]'
(197)	naanookgwi(i)njin	naanookgwi(i)nde	'be placed in the water to soften'

11	VAI /-aji/	VII /-adin/	'by ice, by cold, freeze'

(198)	mshkawji	mshkawdin	'freeze, be frozen (be made hard by cold)'
(199)	dkaji	—	'catch cold, have a cold'
(200)	—	gbadin	'freeze over'
(201)	gwaji	—	'get cold, be cold' (of people)
(202)	biingeji	—	'be cold, feel (oneself to be) cold'
(203)	nangji	—	'shiver from the cold'

The following examples all show /-waji/ attached to an initial describing a subject's having a particular body part literally hardened (with root /mashkaw-/, 'hard') by the instrumentality of cold, i.e., have a frozen or frost-bitten body part.

(204)	mshkaw(aak)jaanewji	'have frozen/frost-bitten nose'
(205)	mshkawiingwewji	'have frozen/frost-bitten face'
(206)	mshkawninjiiwji	'have frozen/frost-bitten hands'

12	VAI /-bii/	VII /-bii/	'involving liquid…'

The final element /-bii/, which expresses a variety of meanings pertaining to liquid, is difficult to characterize in simple terms. In the following examples it appears to function vaguely like a causative/instrumental.

(207)	aabtoobii	aabtoobii	'be half-full [of liquid]'
(208)	bkwenbii	—	'choke on water'
(209)	mooshknebii	mooshknebii	'be full of liquid'
(210)	ziigbii	ziigbii	'overflow'

The following verbs occur only in VAI forms, and show specialization of the element /-bii/ to refer specifically to the instrumentality of alcohol.

(211)	giiwshkwebii	'be drunk (i.e., dizzy by means of alcohol)'
(212)	mnobii	'be a little high [on alcohol]'
(213)	zaambii	'be drunk; have had too much to drink'
(214)	zhoowbii	'be slightly drunk' (W)

In the following examples, all of which are VAI verbs, /-bii/ appears to function as a classifier or incorporated goal.

(215)	ndahbii	'draw water from a certain place'
(216)	naadoobii	'fetch water'
(217)	aawzabii	'haul water'

The following examples suggest a more locational functional for /-bii/. I am uncertain of the appropriateness of including (220) here.

(218)	bkobiiyaabii	'extend into the water (VAI)'
(219)	mdaabii	'go to the beach, go to the shore (VAI)'
(220)	wewebaabii	'fish with a hook and line (M) (VAI)'

13	VAI /-izo/	VII /-ide/	'by heat, by fire, cook…'

(221)	dnizo	dnide	'cook in that place (of food)'
(222)	giizhzo	giizhde	'be finished cooking/boiling (of food)'
(223)	gzhaabkizo	gzhaabkide	'be hot (metal/stone-like obj.)'
(224)	gzhizo	gzhide	'be hot'
(225)	jaagaakzo	jaagaakde	'be burnt completely '
(226)	jaagzo	jaagde	'burn'
(227)	mnozo	mnode	'cook (of food); be cooked'
(228)	mshkawzo	mshkawde	'be made tough (by heat)'
(229)	n'gizo	n'gide	'melt'
(230)	nizo	nide	'cook in such a way (of food)'
(231)	nwadzo	nwadde	'catch fire'
(232)	nzo	nde	'boil'
(233)	piitzo	piitde	'be in process of being cooked'

14	VAI /-shin/	VII /-sin/	'fall, happen, lie, be situated…'

The finals /-shin/ and /-sin/ seem prototypically used with verbs pertaining to motion and/or location involving the concept of falling, or that of its resultant state, lying in a particular way or in particular orientation. Most of these verbs have morphologically related CAUSATIVE TRANSITIVE verbs associated with them, and often represent the state that results from the application of the causative action upon them. For example, the verbs *aazhgidshin* (VAI) and *aazhgidsin* (VII) 'lie face up,' have associated causatives *aazhgidshim* (VTA) and *aazhgidsidoon* (vti), 'place X face up.'

The VII final /-sin/ can be added as a secondary final to some stative verbs to produce a process reading, e.g., *dkaagami*, 'be cold (of liquids)' VII, versus *dkaagmisin*, 'cool off (of liquids)' VII.

CLASSIFICATORY MEDIALS sometimes occur with these finals, as in *mnwegshin*, 'be smooth, even' (VAI), in which case the medial /-eg-/ specifies that the subject is a sheetlike, or clothlike object. However, medials may contribute other kinds of meaning as well, as in *zhaashaabkishin*, 'slip, slide on a stone surface,' where the medial /-aabik-/ indicates the nature of the surface on which the action takes place.

Another element found in words with this final, as well as with many others, is /-wewe/, which indicates that sound is involved in the verbal predication, as in *debweweshin*, 'ring, sounds in the distance' (VAI) and *dpweweshin*, 'be heard through some opening' (VAI). While there is evidence for analyzing the element /-wewe/ as a post-radical, and these examples thus as being formed with a (derived) initial, the transparency and prevalence of /-wewe/ suggests that it has something of the status of an independent unit.

(234)	aadshin	aadsin	'be marooned; be cut off by an obstacle'
(235)	aanjshin	aanjsin	'lie elsewhere'
(236)	aankooshin	aankoosin	'be joined/interlocked'
(237)	aatwaashin	aatwaasin	'be/lie right side up'
(238)	aazhgidshin	aazhgidsin	'lie face up'
(239)	baapiiwshin	baapiiwsin	'be dispersed in small particles'
(240)	bkojiishin	bkojiisin	'lie there in a heap'
(241)	bngishin	bngisin	'fall'
(242)	bskishin	bskisin	'be bent/curved'
(243)	bzaanshin	bzaansin	'lie still; be still'
(244)	bzhishgoshin	bzhishgosin	'be empty/unoccupied'
(245)	debweweshin	debwewesin	'ring, sound in the distance'
(246)	dgoshin	dgosin	'arrive'; 'be in a group' (VII)
(247)	dpweweshin	dpwewesin	'be heard through some opening'
(248)	gawaateshin	gawaatesin	'cast a shadow'

(249)	gbaakshin	gbaaksin	'be closed; obstruct free passage'
(250)	gbookshin	gbooksin	'be/become damp'
(251)	giizhiitaawshin	giizhiitaawsin	'be prepared, be ready'
(252)	gwaakshin	gwaaksin	'stick fast, cling; turn moldy'
(253)	gwaashin	gwaasin	'be removed from fire'
(254)	gwekshin	gweksin	'be turned over/around'
(255)	jidkishin	jidkisin	'be upside down; lie face down'
(256)	kajgaateshin	kajgaatesin	'be in a shady place'
(257)	kajgishin	kajgisin	'be shaded'
(258)	kookshin	kooksin	'be arranged in rows to a certain depth'
(259)	koshin	kosin	'be piled/heaped up; be a certain height'
(260)	mshkawshin	mshkawsin	'be hard; be stuck hard (e.g. in snow)'
(261)	mnwegshin	mwegsin	'be smooth/even (sheet-like obj.)'
(262)	myaawshin	myaawsin	'be set/placed in the right way'
(263)	naabshin	naabsin	'cling to; be hooked to'
(264)	nakdeshin	nakdesin	'be placed so far apart'
(265)	nakshin	naksin	'be arranged in line thus'
(266)	negshin	negsin	'be placed in/under (s.t.)'
(267)	niizhooshin	niizhoosin	'be two lying together'
(268)	nimkoshin	nimkosin	'lie upside down/face down'
(269)	nsaakshin	nsaaksin	'open; be opened'
(270)	shaweshin	shawesin	'be on one's side; be tilted'
(271)	weshoowshin	weshoowsin	'be prepared/ready'
(272)	zaagaakshin	zaagaaksin	'stick out; protrude'
(273)	zaagdaabiishin	zaagdaabiisin	'come out (string-like obj.)'
(274)	zewaabiishin	zewaabiisin	'dangle out'
(275)	zgishin	zgisin	'be attached (lying close together)'
(276)	zhaashaabkishin	zhaashaabkisin	'slip/slide and fall on stone'
(277)	zhaashaakshin	zhaashaaksin	'slip off; slide and fall'
(278)	zhishin	zhisin	'lie thus; be in such a state'
(279)	sheyaabiishin	zhzheyaabiisin	'be arranged in a row'
(280)	ziindaakshin	ziindaaksin	'be rammed/jammed in (a hole/crack)'
(281)	ziiwshin	ziiwsin	'be sour; become sour'

15	VAI /-shkaa/	VII /-shkaa/	'move, go, become, be acted upon'
(282)	bgoneshkaa	bgoneshkaa	'develop hole; have hole worn through'
(283)	biigshkaa	biigshkaa	'break to pieces, tear, be torn'
(284)	biimskoshkaa	biimskoshkaa	'spin; rotate'
(285)	bmishkaa	bmishkaa	'break off; come off (of something)'
(286)	bookshkaa	bookshkaa	'break in two (of sticks)'
(287)	gtigshkaa	gtigshkaa	'roll, tip'
(288)	sweshkaa	sweshkaa	'be dispersed; be scattered about'
(289)	zhoobshkaa	zhoobshkaa	'be bent, bend (of flexible objects)'

OTHER GOAL-FOCUS INSTRUMENTAL CAUSATIVE FORMS. The following PAIRED FINALS focus on the GOAL of the action and have corresponding CAUSATIVE TRANSITIVE forms. They are gathered here for convenience, and in order to highlight their structural similarities. The transitive verbs associated with each intransitive verb is also provided below. The structural relationships between verb forms is straightforward, in that all four verb sub-types may share the same relatively CONCRETE PRE-FINAL element, e.g., /-(i)nikaa/, 'name,' to which is then added the appropriate ABSTRACT FINAL for each SUBCLASS of verbs, /-zo/ for VAI, /-de/ for VII, /N/ for VTA and /-d+am/ or /-d+oo/ for VTI. The following diagram summarizes the forms of different stem sub-classes, with examples below.

Pre-Final		VAI Final	VII Final	VTA Final	VTI Final
/-inikaa/	'name'	/-zo /	/-de/	/-N/	/-d+am/
/-iko/	'cut'	/-zo/	/-de/	/-N/	/-d+am/
/-ipi/	'tie'	/-zo/	/-de/	/-N/	/-d+oo/
/agoo/	'hang'	/-zo/	/-de/	/-N/	/-d+oo/

16	VAI /-zo/	VII /-de/	'be Xed...'
(290)	zhinkaazo	zhinkaade	'be called thus'
	VTA zhinkaazh	VTI zhinkaadan	
(291)	boodwaazo	boodwaade	'be fired up' (e.g. train, boiler)
	VTA boodwaazh	VTI boodwaadan	
(292)	nikzo	nikde	'be cut in a certain way'
	VTA nikozh	VTI nikdan	
(293)	nbagshkoozo	nbagshkoode	'be flattened'
	VTA nbagshkoozh	VTI nbagshkoodoon	

(294)	nbagjiishkoozo	nbagjiishkoode	'be flattened'
	VTA nbagjiishkoozh	VTI nbagjiishkoodoon	
(295)	baaskoozo	baaskoode	'split, break; be broken'
	VTA baashkoozh	VTI baaskoodoon	
(296)	nsoozo, dsoozo	nsoode, dsoode	'be cornered, be trapped'
	VTA nsoozh	VTI nsoodoon	
	VTA dsoo(ni)zh	VTI dsoodoon	
(297)	dgopzo	dgopde	'be tied with others'
	VTA dgopizh	VTI dgopdoon	
(298)	aankoopzo	aankoopde	'be tied together'
	VTA aankoopizh	VTI aanikoopdoon	
(299)	nimaangzo	nimaangde	'be spread out in a thin line'
	VTA nimaangon	VTI nimaangdoon	
(300)	goozo	goode	'balance, hang'
	VTA goozh	VTI goodoon	
(301)	mnogzo	mnognde	'fetch a good price'
	VTA gim 'price'	VTI gindan	

17	VAI /-aa/	VII /-aa/	'be Xed…'

Some TRANSITIVE CAUSATIVES such as VTA /-kaw/ ~ VTI /-k+am/, and VTA /-ih/ ~ VTI /-it+oo/, have goal focus verbs with VAI/VII finals /-aa/.

(302)	baaskaa	baaskaa	'split; break; be broken'
	VTA baaskaw	VTI baaskan	
(303)	giizhtaa, giizhiitaa	giizhtaa, giizhiitaa	'be finished, be ready'
	VTA giizhih	VTI giizhtoon	

9.10.5 Object of Perception Verbs

Object-of-perception verbs are those which describe an entity in terms of the way it is perceived by the senses, such as *mnotaagzi*, 'sound good' (VAI) or *mnopgwad*, 'taste good' (VII). There are classes of object-of-perception verbs for each of the senses of taste, hearing, sight, and smell, as well as for thought processes. The sense of touch is given little explicit lexical representation in Nishnaabemwin (and Ojibwe in general).

The finals used with these verbs are complex, consisting of a morphological element that resembles the PASSIVE morpheme, /-igw/ or /-igoo/, presumably because these verbs are a type of GOAL FOCUS VERB, derived from TRANSITIVE constructions (see VERBS OF PERCEPTION, in section 10.6 of the following chapter). The component parts of the different final complexes appear to be as follows, though I am somewhat uncertain of the precise analysis.

	VAI Structure	VAI Form	VII Structure	VII Form
thought	-end -aw -igw -zi	-endaagzi	-end -aw -igw -ad	-endaagod
sound	-it -aw -igw -zi	-itaagzi	-it -aw -igw -ad	-itaagod
smell	-im -aw -igw -zi	-imaagzi	-im -aw -igw -ad	-imaagod
sight	-in -aw -igw -zi	-inaagzi	-in -aw -igw -ad	-inaagod
taste	-ip -igw -zi	-ipigozi	-ip -igw -ad	-ipigod

Based on the verb of thought final complex /-end-aw-igw/, it appears that the INTRANSITIVE FINALS of both the VAI and VII forms are formed from a VTI-like final structure, in that the VTI final for verbs of thought is /-end+am/, while the VTA is /-enim/. Both intransitive finals have /-end/, like the VTI. However the element /-aw/ is typically associated with VTA finals, as in *nitwaad*, 'hear AN in a certain way,' with VTA final /-itaw/, compared to VTI *nitang*, 'with final /-it+am/. So the relationships between forms is not straightforward.

18	VAI /-endaagzi/	VII /-endaagod/	'seem, be thought…'

(304)	aakwaadendaagzi	aakwaadendaagod	'be considered dangerous'
(305)	gkendaagzi	gkendaagod	'be evident; be known'
(306)	ndawendaagzi	ndawendaagod	'be needed, wanted'
(307)	nendaagzi	nendaagod	'seem thus'
(308)	nigaawendaagzi	nigaawendaagod	'be thought to be in bad shape [VAI]; be sad (e.g. occasion, event) [VII]'

19	VAI /-itaagzi/	VII /-itaagod/	'sound…, be heard as…'

(309)	debtaagzi	debtaagod	'be within earshot'
(310)	mnotaagzi	mnotaagod	'sound good'
(311)	nitaagzi	nitaagod	'sound so, sound thus'

20	VAI /-imaagzi/	VII /-imaagod/	'smell…'

(312)	biijmaagzi	biijmaagod	'smell, give off a smell'
(313)	mnaagmaagzi	mnaagmaagod	'stink'
(314)	mnomaagzi	mnomaagod	'smell good'
(315)	ziiwmaagzi	ziiwmaagod	'smell sour'

21	VAI /-imaaso/	VII /-imaate/	'smell…'

These final complexes do not have the structure of the other members of this group, but they are included here because of their compatible meanings.

(316)	nchiiwmaaso	nchiiwmaate	'smell bad'
(317)	mnomaaso	mnomaate	'smell good (of food cooking)'

22	VAI /-inaagzi/	VII /-inaagod/	'appear, seem, look…'

(318)	beshwinaagzi	beshwinaagod	'seem near'
(319)	biinnaagzi	biinnaagod	'look clean'
(320)	debaabminaagzi	debaabminaagod	'be seen/visible in the distance'
(321)	gezbinaagzi	gezbinaagod	'look tidy'
(322)	maanaaznaagzi	maanaaznaagod	'look bad'
(323)	mnonaagzi	mnonaagod	'look good; look beautiful'
(324)	naagzi	naagod	'appear; be visible'
(325)	nboodewnaagzi	nboodewnaagod	'appear depressing'
(326)	niinminaagzi	niinminaagod	'seem weak'
(327)	nooknaagzi	nooknaagod	'seem soft'
(328)	waabnaagzi	waabnaagod	'look pale/white'
(329)	zhinaagzi	zhinaagod	'look like'
(330)	zoongnaagzi	zoongnaagod	'seem strong/firm/sturdy'

23	VAI /-ipogozi/	VII /-ipogod/	'taste…'

The form of (337) is particularly interesting, which translates a coordinate compound from English, by simply using one verb as a derived (DEVERBAL) final to which an initial (root) is then attached (wiishkbi- + ziiwpogzi). Other forms of interest are (331) and (338), which have nouns as initials, *giigoonh* 'fish' and *ziitaagan* 'salt,' respectively.

(331)	giigoon(y)pogzi	giigoon(y)pogod	'taste like fish'
(332)	mno-piichpogzi	mno-piichpogod	'taste just right'
(333)	mnopgozi	mnopgod	'taste good/nice'
(334)	pogzi	pogod	'taste thus; have such a taste'
(335)	wiisgipgozi	wiisgipgod	'taste bitter'
(336)	wiishkbipgozi	wiishkbipgod	'taste sweet'
(337)	wiishkbiziiwpogzi	wiishkbiziiwpogod	'taste sweet and sour'
(338)	ziitaagnipgozi	ziitaagnipgod	'taste salty'
(339)	ziiwpogzi	ziiwpogod	'taste sour'

9.10.6 Overt Lexical Passive Verbs

The final complexes /-igaazo/ and /-igaade/ are used to derive PASSIVElike VAI and VII verbs, respectively. These complex finals may consist of the elements /-ig-aw-(i)zo/, though once again it isn't clear what the element /-aw/ might contribute to their meaning or structure. The element /-ig/ resembles the PASSIVE morpheme of transitive verbs, /-igoo/, and the INVERSE form used with actions involving third persons, /-igw/, though it seems to lack the final /w/ found in both of the other forms. The elements /-zo/ and /-de/ resemble other (ABSTRACT) INTRANSITIVE finals. As with verbs of thought, above, the stem used with both VAI and VII forms appears to be derived from the VTI stem, minus its theme suffix. So, for example, associated with VTA *jaagzaw* /jaagzw/ and VTI *jaagzan*, 'burn X' are VAI *jaagzigaazo* and VII *jaagzigaade*, both of which lack any evidence of the /w/ of the VTA final.

24	VAI /-igaazo/	VII /-igaade/	'be Xed…'

(340)	gbaakwigaazo	gbaakwigaade	'be closed; be blocked off'
(341)	gtigaazo	gtigaade	'be planted'
(342)	jaagzigaazo	jaagzigaade	'be burnt out'
(343)	nsaaknigaazo	nsaaknigaade	'be opened'

9.10.7 Other Paired Intransitive Finals

There are other paired finals that are not easily classified into notional groups in the same way that the preceding finals have been. I list a couple of these in this section, though the list is obviously by no means complete.

25	VAI /-aanzo/	VII /-aande/	'be coloured…'

Verbs specifying various colours can be formed by adding these finals to NOUN STEMS, as in (361), where *giizhig*, 'sky' (NI) occurs, and (363), where *miin*, 'berry' (NI), occurs. In other cases, these finals are added to ROOTS, as in (365), where relative root /iN-/ occurs as initial. Verbs with these finals often have a PASSIVE sense, in which their colour is implied to have come about through the action of an ACTOR. They are thus a kind of GOAL FOCUS construction. They appear too to be related to the final pair VAI/VII /-aanzhe/, 'shine, with lights on.'

(344)	boozaanzo	boozaande	'be a deep color' M
(345)	giizhgwaanzo	giizhgwaande	'be sky-coloured (i.e. sky-blue)'
(346)	giniiwaanzo	giniiwaande	'be rose-coloured'
(347)	miinaanzo	miinaande	'be the colour of blueberries'
(348)	miishkoonskwaanzo	miishkoonskwaande	'be green [grass colour]'
(349)	naanzo	naande	'be coloured a certain way'
(350)	waabaanzo	waabaande	'be coloured whitish/grey'
(351)	zaawaanzo	zaawaande	'be coloured brown/yellow'
(352)	zhaawshkwaanzo	zhaawshkwaande	'be coloured blue; be coloured green'

26	VAI /-(i)gi/	VII /-(i)gin/	'grow…'

(353)	gnibgi	gnibgin	'grow quickly'
(354)	waaggi	waaggin	'grow bent/crooked'
(355)	zhigi	zhigin	'grow thus'
(356)	shkigi	shkigin	'be a new growth (e.g. of trees, grass)'
(357)	mnogi	mnogin	'be growing well'
(358)	biitoogi	biitoogin	'be a second growth (e.g. of trees, grass)'

9.10.8 Paired Forms with Identical VAI and VII Finals

The following VAI and VII sets show identical finals, as do some of the finals listed above. These are grouped here simply because they do not fit into other categories.

27	VAI /-(aa)bagonii/	VII /-(aa)bagonii/	'have buds; be such a flower'

These elements are complex, having medial (or pre-final) /-bag-/, 'leaf, bud.'

(359)	mskobgonii	mskobgonii	'have red flowers'
(360)	niizhwaabgonii	niizhwaabgonii	'be two growing together' (of flowers)
(361)	zaawaabgonii	zaawaabgonii	'grow orange buds'

28	VAI /-aanzhe/	VII /-aanzhe/	'shine…'

These finals apply to lights or objects having lights, such as automobiles. They appear to be related to the final pair VAI /-aanzo/, VII /-aande/, discussed on page 360.

(362)	naanzhe	naanzhe	'shine in a particular way'
(363)	bmaanzhe	bmaanzhe	'go along with lights on' (of vehicles)
(364)	nimaanzhe	nimaanzhe	'head off with lights on' (of vehicles)
(365)	biidaanzhe	biidaanzhe	'come with lights on' (of vehicles)

29	VAI /-i/	VII /-i/	'be X in number…'

This final is used with number roots and the relative root /das-/, 'be so many,' deriving identical VAI and VII forms, which differ only in their inflection. Note that the VAI and VII verbs for 'be one in number,' *bezhgo* and *bezhgon*, respectively, do not use this final.

(366)	dashi	?	'be so many, such number'
(367)	niizhi	niizhi	'be two in number'
(368)	nsi	nsi	'be three in number'
(369)	niiwi	niiwi	'be four in number'
(370)	naanni	naanni	'be five in number'

30	VAI /-wewe/	VII /-wewe/	'sound so…'

(371)	mbiigwewe	mbiigwewe	'make noise'
(372)	mdwewe	mdwewe	'crackle; make noise'

OTHER FORMS WITH IDENTICAL VAI AND VII FINALS. A variety of other intransitive pairs show identical finals for VAI and VII verbs. The following list illustrates some of these.

In some cases it is difficult to discern the exact form of the final, i.e., whether the final is a distinguishable component of the word.

	VAI	VII	
(373)	njigaa	njigaa	'well up; leak'
(374)	yaa	yaa	'be [in a certain place]'
(375)	gzhizge	gzhizge	'make it hot'
(376)	goke	goke	'stick on; stick together'
(377)	bskane	bskane	'flare up; light up; catch fire; get angry'
(378)	mooshkne	mooshkne	'be full'
(379)	aabtooshkne	aabtooshkne	'be half full (of non-liquid)'
(380)	nwadkone	nwadkone	'catch fire'
(381)	bskaabii	bskaabii	'come back; turn about'
(382)	gz(w)aabii	gz(w)aabii	'sink, drown'
(383)	nokii	nokii	'work; start up (of machines)'

9.10.9 Final Pairs Showing Other than Standard Correspondences

Some VAI and VII verbs do not show the standard structured relationships that are commonly found with other intransitive verb pairs. In some cases, there is an evident initial+final structured pairing of forms, but the VAI and VII final pairs do not show the usual correspondences. For example, the forms in (386) below seem to pair a VII final in /-ad/ with a VAI ending in /o/. This is not a customary relationship.

(384)	mooshkhago	mooshkhan	'be flooded'
(385)	gomo	gwiinde	'float; soar (as a bird) [VAI]'
(386)	baatiino, baatiini	baatiinad	'be many; be numerous'
(387)	baagshi	baagsin	'be swollen'
(388)	bgashknani	bgashknad	'be rotten'
(389)	gzigwni	gzigwan	'be heavy'
(390)	nizhshi	nizhshin	'be good; be good looking'

In a few other cases, the initials as well as the finals show differences.

(391)	gaashiinyi	gaachin	'be small'

(392)	mdido	mchaa	'be big'
(393)	nigno, nigni	nigkwaa	'be a certain size'

9.10.10 Paired Finals in Secondary Derivation: Verbs of Being

31	VAI /-wi/	VII /-wan/	'be N-y, be a(n) N' (existential be)

These finals of secondary derivation create denominal verbs of being, or verbs of attribution involving association with some nominal idea, rather like the English construction *be N-y*, e.g., 'be bloody,' 'be fruity,' etc. The basic verb of identity, *aawi* (VAI)/*aawan* (VII), may have a general 'dummy' nominal base /aa/ as initial, to which the appropriate animate /-wi/ and inanimate /-wan/ finals are added. In the following examples, where there exist distinct NA and NI forms to serve as bases, such as in (395) and (396) (which have elements ending in the NA base /aa/ and NI /ii/), the noun of the appropriate gender is selected as initial to derive either an VAI or VII verb. So, for example, in (396), the VAI verb form has NA *shkihaa*, 'new thing,' as initial, and the VII verb form has NI *shkihii*, 'new thing,' as initial. In the other cases, corresponding to English N-y constructions, the appropriate final is added to an inanimate noun.

	VAI	VII	
(394)	aawi	aawan	'be (+ nominal)'
(395)	getehaawi	getehiiwan	'be old; be an old thing'
(396)	shkihaawi	shkihiiwan	'be new/fresh; be a new/fresh thing'
(397)	mshkikiiwi	mshkikiiwan	'be a medicine'
(398)	mskwiiwi	mskwiiwan	'be bloody, get bloody; bleed [VAI]'
(399)	ziitaagniwi	ziitaagniwan	'be salty'
(400)	miinwi	miinwan	'bear fruit (i.e., be fruity)'

Some additional VAI verbs of being are listed below. Note that nouns that end in /iw/ or /Cy/ lose the final glide (/y/) and lengthen the final short vowel, /i/, before the final, as in (405), (408), and (410). Note, however that link vowels do not lengthen, as can be seen from (407) and (411) for /i/, and from (404), for /o/ (from /w+i/). Note that when body part medial /-diy-/ occurs as initial, in (402), its extended form, with augment /-aa-/ is used.

(401)	dendewi	'be/become a bullfrog'; stem /dende/
(402)	diyaawi	'be an ass'; stem /-diy[aa]-/ 'bum, backside'
(403)	giigoonywi	'be/become a fish'; stem /giigoony/
(404)	gnebgowi	'be/become a snake; be changed into a snake'; stem /ginebigw/
(405)	mkomiiwi	'be/become ice'; stem /mikomy/

(406)	mnidoowi	'be/become a person of supernatural power'; stem /manidoo/
(407)	mzhwaagniwi	'be wounded; be a wounded man'; stem /mizhwaagan/
(408)	niniiwi	'be/become a man'; stem /ininiw/, /aniniw/
(409)	Nishnaabewi	'be an Indian'; stem /Anishinaabe/
(410)	pichiiwi	'be/become a robin'; stem /opichiw/ or /apichiw/
(411)	skoonwi	'study, be at school'; stem /skoon/ (from English *school*)
(412)	wiindgoowi	'be/become a monster, wendigo'; stem /wiindgoo/

The following two examples are interesting because they involve borrowing from English, and have structured meanings over the VAI and VII forms. It is not clear, however, where the /h/ in these forms comes from.

	VAI	VII	
(413)	mbiingoohwi	mbiingoohwan	'hold a bingo game' VAI, 'be a bingo game' VII
(414)	mbazaanwi	mbazaanwan	'hold a bazaar' (VAI), 'be a bazaar' (VII)

The following two words do not have recognizable nominal initials, and their meanings are attributive (see following section). They both contain the same root, /gonaad/, 'pretty.' In the first example, the vowel of the first syllable has undergone INITIAL CHANGE, producing /we/, and the initial /g/ subsequently dropped. Perhaps historically the initial change was related to a process rather like the formation of PARTICIPLES.

	VAI	VII	
(415)	wenaajwi	wenaajwan	'be pretty'
(416)	gnaajwi	gnaajwan	'look pretty'

Final /-wi/ is also evidently used to translate various English expressions with *be* and do, as in the baseball term (W) *aawtiwi*, 'be out.' Other examples include *practice-wi*, *skidoonwi*, 'drive a skidoo,' *skiinwi*, 'ski,' *gas-up-wi*, *warm-up-wi*, *exercise-wi*, and *roller-blade-wi*. See also forms listed under /-wit-(i)ge/ (p. 406, below).

9.11 Inanimate Intransitive Verbs

In this section we will examine finals whose semantics makes them appropriate only to inanimates. Many of these concepts have to do with states of the weather, landscape, seasons, days, and the properties of liquids.

9.11.1 Impersonal Verbs

There is a rich set of IMPERSONAL verb forms that are used to describe features of landscape and weather. Impersonal verbs are those which do usually have an explicit subject, cannot be made plural, and generally have no participial forms, as in the following.

*Shpaagnagaa maanda ki. | 'This land is deep in snow.'

Instead, impersonal verbs are quite similar to English weather constructions which use the dummy subject *it*, as in, 'it's raining,' or 'it's snowing.'

Impersonal landscape verbs tend to have a structure as follows.

Descriptive Initial	Environmental Medial	-aa Final

Most of these verbs have a medial (or pre-final) element specifying what feature of landscape is being described, for example, /-aagonag-/, 'snow,' /-akamig-/, 'ground, land,' and /-adin-/, 'hill, mountain.' Often there are free nouns that correspond to these medials (pre-finals) in meaning, but the morphological relationship between them and the corresponding free noun is usually very weak, as can be seen from the following examples.

	Medial/PF	Independent Noun
'snow'	/-aagonag-/	goon, 'snow'
'lake, water'	/-gam-/	zaaghigan 'lake'; nbiish 'water'; gamii 'lake' CL
'hill'	/-adin-/	(no shared common term), wajiw in other Ojibwe
'grass'	/-ashk(w)-/	miizhashk, 'blade of grass, stalk of hay'
'leaves'	/-bag-/	niibiish, 'leaf'

Some of these elements show up in noun derivation, however, associated with NOUN FINALS, as in the case of /-ashk(w)-/, which occurs in *miizhashk* NI 'blade of grass,' and *pakweyashk* NA 'cattail,' and /-bag-/, which shows up in *ziiwbag* NI 'rhubarb,' and *nimkiibag* NI 'poison ivy.' They usually occur with an abstract nominalizing final /-w/.

Note also that these impersonal verbs never have forms referring to people or animals as the medial element, such as 'be fish there' or 'have animals in a certain way' (both potentially used to describe some geographical area). Rather it appears that impersonal verbs always pertain to either features of inert landscape, such as snow, ice, and hills, or to vegetation, such as grass, leaves, bushes, and trees.

The initial elements of impersonal verbs are usually descriptive, that is, rather like English adjectives of physical description, for example, /ishp-/, 'high,' and /dak-/, 'cold,' though they may also be numbers, RELATIVE ROOTS, DIRECTIONAL ROOTS, or evaluative

morphemes, such as /minw-/, 'good.' A few examples illustrate:

(417)	relative root	piitaagnagaa	'be snow of a certain depth' (VII)
(418)	directional	bmadnaa	'be a ridge of hills going along' (VII)
(419)	evaluative	mnokmigaa	'be good/level ground' (VII)
(420)	numeric	niizhgon'gad	'be two days ago, two days since' (VII)

In some cases, as illustrated in (418), there appear to be metaphors of motion not unlike those found in English, so there are expressions such as *bmadnaa*, literally, 'there are hills going along, hills going by,' that is, an initial indicating direction of movement is used with stationary objects such as a ridge. The only way a ridge can be said to 'go along,' is by having physical extension over space.

In the following sections I will outline some of the more common impersonal verbs, grouped into broad semantic classes.

9.11.1.1 Impersonal Verbs of General Conditions of Landscape

Nishnaabemwin is very rich is verbs which background features of landscape by making reference to them via medial elements and the VII final /-aa/, which is used to derive many impersonal verbs.

32	VII /-aagnagaa/	'pertaining to snow on the ground' (impersonal)

(421)	ggwetaanaagnagaa	'be a very heavy snowfall'
(422)	piitaagnagaa	'be snow of a certain depth'
(423)	shpaagnagaa	'be high (i.e. deep) snow'

33	VII /-akamigaa/	'specifying features of land, ground' (impersonal)

(424)	bkokmigaa	'have a bump/hump (e.g. the road/ground)'
(425)	bmakmigaa	'be a stretch of land'
(426)	bsakmigaa	'be a ditch'
(427)	bzhishgokmigaa	'be empty land'
(428)	bsagkamgaa	'be sticky ground'
(429)	dkakmigaa	'be cold ground'
(430)	gbookkamgaa	'be damp ground'
(431)	giizhookmigaa	'be warm ground'
(432)	gnookmigaa	'be a long stretch of land'
(433)	maanaadkamgaa	'be rough/uneven ground'

(434)	mnokmigaa	'be good/level ground'
(435)	mshkawkamgaa	'be hard ground'
(436)	mskokmigaa	'be red earth'
(437)	shpakmigaa	'be high ground'
(438)	wiimbkamgaa	'be a hole in the ground'
(439)	zhkakmigaa	'be damp ground'
(440)	zhooshkkamgaa	'be slippery ground'
(441)	zhyaawekmigaa	'be level ground'

34	VII /-adinaa/	'specifying features of hills or ridges' (impersonal)

(442)	bmadnaa	'be a long ridge'
(443)	shpadnaa	'be a high hill'
(444)	bkodnaa	'be high ground; be hilly'

35	VII /-jiishkwigaa/ VII /-jiishkweyaa/	'pertaining to mud, muddiness' (impersonal)

(445)	wiinjiishkwigaa	'be muddy'
(446)	zhooshkjiishkweyaa	'be slippery mud'

36	VII /-akamigise/	'pertaining to change in states of the ground' (impersonal)

(447)	zpakmigse	'open and close (said of the ground)'
(448)	baakkamgise	'be an opening of the ground'

37	VII /-amo/	'pertaining to roads, paths (impersonal)

(449)	zhaashdamo	'be a slippery road'
(450)	biimdamo	'be a crooked road; be a road with lots of curves'
(451)	namo	'be a road leading thither'
(452)	bkemo	'the road divides, separates, forks'
(453)	nkwemo	'be a place where the roads meet; be a crossroads'

9.11.1.2 Impersonal Verbs Pertaining to Bodies of Water

38	VII /-iindmaa/	'specifying features of bodies of water' (impersonal)

(454) dkwiindmaa 'be shallow water'

39	VII /-biigami/	'specifying properties of water' (impersonal)

(455) bkwebiigmi 'be dirty water' (W)

40	VII /-(aa)gamaa/	'specifying features of bodies of water' (impersonal)

The first form (456) has pre-medial /aa/, while the others do not.

(456) gaachdeyaagmaa 'be straits'
(457) mngagmaa 'grow, be large (body of water)'
(458) nigkogmaa 'be a certain size (body of water)'

41	VII /-aashkaa/	'pertaining to waves, wave action' (impersonal)

(459) mmaangaashkaa 'run in high/big waves (i.e. body of water)'

42	VII /-jiwan/	'pertaining to the flow of current' (impersonal)

(460) gzhiijwan 'flow fast, run fast' (of current, liquids)
(461) maajjiwan 'start to flow'
(462) bmijwan 'flow along (e.g. river)'

43	VII /-(i)tigweyaa/	'specifying features of rivers' (impersonal)

I am not sure whether the final has an initial /i/ or not.

(463) zhitgweyaa 'be a river running in a certain direction'

9.11.1.3 Impersonal Verbs Pertaining to Vegetation and Wood Products

44	VII /-ashk(w)aa/	'pertaining to grass' (impersonal)

(464) zhkashkwaa 'be damp grass'
(465) shpashkaa 'be high grass'
(466) dbasshkaa 'be low grass'
(467) dpashkaa 'be damp grass'
(468) gnibshkaa 'the grass grows quickly'

45	VII /-aakwaa/	'specifying features of foliage, forests' (impersonal)

(469) bzaanaakwaa 'be still in the forest'
(470) gnibaakwaa 'the bushes grow quickly'
(471) kawaakwaa 'be a shady forest'
(472) wiikweyaakwaa 'be an opening in the forest'

46	VII /-bagaa/	'pertaining to leaves' (impersonal)

The element /-bag/ occurs as a noun final in words such as *ziiwbag* NI, 'rhubarb' (Od), and *nimkiibag* NI 'poison ivy.'

(473) gnibbagaa 'the leaves grow quickly'
(474) nesoobgaag 'clover' NI, from VII participle, 'have three leaves'

47	VII /-isagaa/	'pertaining to floors, wooden surfaces' (impersonal)

Some of these forms have corresponding VAI forms in /-isagizi/, e.g., *bkosgizi*, 'have a hump' (of boards). The element /-sag/ also occurs as a noun final (or medial) in words such as *nbagsag* NA, 'board, plank,' and *biigjiisag* NA 'decaying wood' M.

(475) bkosgaa 'be a hump in the floor/piece of floor sticking up'
(476) biin'sagaa 'be a clean floor'
(477) wiin'sagaa 'be a dirty floor'

9.11.1.4 Impersonal Verbs Pertaining to Social Activities

48	VII /-akamigad/	'pertaining to activities, social events' (impersonal)

This final appears to make existential verbs of generalized activity, especially social activities, in which the initial, often a VAI verb, specifies the activity.

(478)	baapnakmigad	'be an occasion for fun/rejoicing'
(479)	dnakmigad	'be some activity at a given location'
(480)	ggwejkandiikmigad	'be a racing competition'
(481)	ggwengandiikmigad	'be a racing competition'
(482)	giikaandiikmigad	'be a quarrel taking place'
(483)	maadkamgad	'start (e.g. an event; party)'
(484)	nakmigad	'be news'
(485)	niibwikmigad	'be a wedding taking place'
(486)	shkwaakmigad	'be over/ended (e.g. event, party)'
(487)	webiichgediikmigad	'be racing competition'
(488)	wiikwiichgekmigad	'be a horse-pull competition'
(489)	wiisniikmigad	'be the activity of eating'

9.11.1.5 Impersonal Verbs Pertaining to Weather Conditions

49	VII /-aanmad/	'pertaining to wind' (impersonal)

(490)	bgandaanmad	'the wind strikes'
(491)	dkaanmad	'the wind blows cold'
(492)	gwiigshkweweyaanmad	'the wind whistles (W)'
(493)	wndaanmad	'the wind blows from a certain direction'
(494)	zhiibaayaanmad	'be drafty; be a stream of cold air coming in'

50	VII /-aate/	'pertaining to light, sun conditions'

(495)	aabwaate	'be mild and sunny weather'
(496)	ggwetaanaate	'be very hot'
(497)	gzhaate	'be hot weather; be sunny'
(498)	kajgaate	'be shady'
(499)	mnwaate	'be nicely sunny'
(500)	pagndaate	'be sunny; shine through (i.e. the sun)'
(501)	zhaabwaate	'filter through; shine through'

51	VII /-biikod/	'pertaining to the sky' (impersonal)

(502)	mskobiikod	'be red sky'

52	VII /-biisaa/	'pertaining to rain' (impersonal)

(503)	maajiibiisaa	'begin to rain'
(504)	mkomiibiisaa	'hail'
(505)	wanbiisaa	'drizzle during a mist'
(506)	ziigbiisaa	'be pouring rain'

53	VII /-ipo/	'pertaining to snow(fall)' (impersonal)

(507)	bgampo	'snow is coming'
(508)	zhkipo	'be wet snow'
(509)	zoogpo	'snow'

OTHER IMPERSONAL WEATHER VERBS. Other weather verbs occur, which do not show the clear structure of the preceding examples. Here I list a few such forms.

(510)	bgamad	'begin to storm' (impersonal)
(511)	gmiwan	'rain' (impersonal)
(512)	nchiiwad	'be stormy' (impersonal) Od
(513)	niisaakdad	'be stormy' (impersonal)
(514)	noodin	'be windy'

9.11.1.6 Impersonal Verbs of Days and Units of Time

54	VII /-gonagad/	'number of days (since)'

Numbers serve as initials in this construction, specifying the number of days' duration. The medial in these cases, /-gonag-/ suggests *goon*, snow, and thus aligns in a curious way with the medial for years, *biboon*, 'winter,' as if days are reckoned in terms of snow(fall)s, and years in terms of winters.

(515)	niizhgon'gad	'be two days (since)'
(516)	dsognagad	'be such a date; be a certain number of days ago'

55	VII /-giizhgad/	'be a day' (impersonal)

(517)	giizhgad	'be day'

(518) zhki-giizhgad 'be a damp day'
(519) mno-giizhgad 'be a nice day'
(520) gbookgiizhgad 'be a damp day'

56	VII /-biboon'gad/	'be X number of years' (impersonal)

This VII construction has a paired VAI form, *bboon'gizi*, which is used in reckoning the age (in years) of animates.

(521) ni-ngobboon'gad 'be a year going by, be one year [in the future]'

57	VII /-aaban/	'pertaining to dawn, the emergence of light' (impersonal)

(522) bebeshaaban 'be rays of light (e.g. at daybreak)'
(523) gwiidaaban 'the fog lifts [during the day'
(524) mskwaaban 'be a red glow of light'
(525) waaban 'be light; be dawn'

9.11.2 Verbs Describing Properties of Specific Classes of Objects

58	VII /-isagad/	'pertaining to wood'

(526) zhkisgad 'be damp (e.g. firewood)'

59	VII /-aagamide/	'specifying properties of liquids as the result of being heated'

(527) gzhaagmide 'be hot (liquid)'
(528) mno-piitaagmide 'be just the right temperature (liquid)'

60	VII /-aagami/	'pertaining to liquid'

(529) biinaagmi 'be clean (liquid)'
(530) dsigniwaagmi 'be a stained liquid' (W)
(531) mkomiiwaagmi 'be icy cold (liquid)'
(532) mwaagmi 'taste good; be good (liquid)'
(533) wiinaagmi 'be dirty liquid'
(534) wiisgaagmi 'be bitter (liquid)'

(535) wiishkbaagmi 'taste sweet (liquid)'
(536) ziiwaagmi 'be sour (liquid)'

9.11.3 Verbs of Abundance

61	VII /-kaa/	'specifying the presence of abundance of X' (impersonal)

The secondary final /-kaa/ can be added to a noun to DERIVE an IMPERSONAL verb specifying the presence or abundance of the entity represented by the noun. These forms are sometimes called VERBS OF ABUNDANCE.

(537) memengwaanykaa 'be many butterflies about'
(538) mtigoonskaa 'be a place with small trees; be many small trees'
(539) nbiikaa 'be a watery place; be lots of puddles'
(540) nimkiikaa 'be thundering'
(541) negwikaa 'be a sandy place; be full of sand'
(542) miinkaa 'be lots of blueberries'
(543) moodyikaa 'be lots of bottles'

The VAI verb *gigkaa*, 'have a cold,' is possibly due to morphological conversion of the VII verb, *gigkaa*, 'be an abundance of mucous.'[1]

9.11.4 The Augment /-magad/ or /-migad/

VII verbs can be readily derived from VAI verbs by addition of the final /-magad/ (or sometimes /-migad/), as in the following examples. Note that stem-final short vowels usually lengthen before /-magad/, as in (546), and that /oo/ appears after nasal stems, as in (544).

(544) dgoshinoomgad 'arrive (from VAI dgoshin)'
(545) giizhiitaamgad 'be finished; be ready (from VAI giizhiitaa)'
(546) kidoomgad 'mean, say (from VAI kido)'
(547) maajaamgad 'leave (from VAI maajaa)'
(548) nokiimgad 'work (from VAI nokii)'
(549) zhiwoomgad 'take shape' (Od)

The ending /-magad/ can also be redundantly added to VII verbs that end in a vowel, as in *gsinaamgad*,' from *gsinaa*, 'be cold (weather),' and *temgad*, from *te*, 'be [in a certain

1. Thanks to John O'Meara for this observation.

place].' In these cases, too, a stem-final short vowel is usually lengthened before this end-
ing, as in *zoogpoomgad*, from *zoogpo*, 'be snowing.' Addition of /-magad/ is much more
common with stems ending in long vowels.

9.12 Animate Intransitive Verbs

In this section I will present finals occurring exclusively or primarily with VAI verbs.

9.12.1 Verbs of Motion

Motion verbs customarily have a final specifying the nature of the motion, or the means of conveyance. Initials consist of DIRECTIONALS and other specifications of path, RELATIVE ROOTS, and a host of manner terms. The following table lists the common MOTION FINALS used with animate subjects. Following the table are examples of each final. Note that I have included a couple of examples of the paired motion finals listed in section 9.10.3, above, since they belong here as well.

/-aabono/	'by boat, floating'
/-aaboozo/	'float'
/-aadagaa/	'swim, wade'
/-aandwe/	'climb'
/-aashi/	'be blown, sail'
/-akawe/	'move leaving tracks'
/-akozhiwe/	'paddle, sail'
/-bagizo/	'move quickly, rapidly'
/-bahigo/	'ride on horseback'
/-bahiwe/	'flee, running'
/-batoo/	'run'
/-bizo/	'fly, drive'
/-daabaanigo/	by vehicle
/-daabii/	'dragging, by wagon, by sled'
/-gaa/	'dance'
/-gaashin/	'move leaving a trail'
/-ise/	'fly'
/-oode/	'crawl'
/-oomigo/	'on horseback'
/-ose/	'walk'
/-shimo/	'dance'

62 | VAI /-aabono/ | 'go by boat'

(550) dkamaabno 'cross [in a boat]'

63 | VAI /-aaboozo/ | 'float'

(551) bmaaboozo 'float'
(552) dnaaboozo 'obtain a drink in a certain place'
(553) waabnaaboozo 'drink until dawn'

The examples illustrate that this final is also used to derive metaphorical verbs pertaining to drinking.

64 | VAI /-aadgaa/ | 'swim, wade'

(554) bbaamaadgaa 'swim around; wade to and fro'
(555) bkobiiyaadgaa 'walk/wade into the water'
(556) bmaadgaa 'wade, swim'
(557) boonaadgaa 'stop swimming/wading'
(558) bskaabaadgaa 'swim back'
(559) dkamaadgaa 'swim across'
(560) ggwetaanaadgaa 'swim very fast'
(561) maajiiyaadgaa 'begin to swim; start wading'
(562) mshkawaadgaa 'be a strong swimmer'

65 | VAI /-aandwe/ | 'climbing'

(563) bbaamaandwe 'climb around'
(564) niisaandwe 'climb down'
(565) maajiiyaandwe 'start climbing'
(566) bmaandwe 'climb by, climb along'

66 | VAI /-aashi/ | 'be blown, sail'

(567) bskaabaashi 'sail back'
(568) dkamaashi 'sail across; blow across'

(569) gwaawaashi 'sail to shore; be blown ashore'

67	VAI /-akozhiwe/	'paddle, swim (esp. of fish), go by boat'

(570) bmakzhiwe 'row along; sail'
(571) bskaabkozhwe 'row back'
(572) zaagewehkozhwe 'sail into view'

68	VAI /-bagizo/	'move quickly, rapidly'

This final may be deverbal, since it looks identical to *bgizo*, 'swim' VAI, but it isn't clear how it could have developed the distinct meaning it has as a final.

(573) biimskobgizo 'spin around rapidly'
(574) bskaabbagzo 'hurry back, dash back [from a short ways away'
(575) gwekbagzo 'turn around quickly'
(576) maajbagzo 'jump [as when startled], make a quick move'

69	VAI /-bahigo/	'ride on horseback'

This final is probably historically derived from a VTA final, and appears to show the PASSIVE (or INVERSE) morpheme /-igw/. The VTA stem perhaps had a meaning something like, 'carry AN,' but now the meaning has specialized to horseback.

(577) bmibhigo 'ride along on horseback'

70	VAI /-bahiwe/	'run in flight'

(578) bmibhiwe 'flee; be on the run'
(579) bskaabbahwe 'retreat running'
(580) gjibhiwe 'run away'
(581) zaagjibhiwe 'run outside away from people'

71	VAI /-bahidi/	'run in a group'

This final complex has the element /-di/, rather like the RECIPROCAL suffix. All examples are given in plural form.

(582) biijbahdiwag 'approach together (running)'
(583) niizhoobhidiwag 'be a group of two running together'
(584) niiwoobhidiwag 'be a group of four running together'
(585) pahdiwag 'run thither together'

72	VAI /-batoo/	'run'

The final /-batoo/ is extremely promiscuous in its attachments. For example, it attaches to roots, such as in (587), where it occurs with directional root /babaam-/, and (588), with root /bagam-/, 'arrive.' In (586), however, the initial associated with it is an independent word having its own motion final, *bbaamaandwe*, 'go around climbing,' with root /babaam-/ and final /-aandwe/, 'climb.' In (589), its initial is *bmoode*, an independent motion verb meaning 'crawl along,' (root /bim-/, 'along,' final /-oode/, 'crawl.'). In (592) and (593), medials occur, in the former /-ganzhy-/, 'hoof,' and the latter, /-akizin-/, from independent noun *mkizin* /makizin/.

(586) bbaamaandwebtoo 'run around climbing'
(587) bbaambatoo 'run around'
(588) bgambatoo 'arrive running'
(589) bmoodebtoo 'scoot [along], scoot by'
(590) bgwaashaagdoobtoo 'run around naked'
(591) biidwewebtoo 'be heard approaching on the run'
(592) biidwewegnzhiibtoo 'be heard galloping up (by the sound of hooves)'
(593) biidwewekzinebtoo 'be heard coming (by the sound of one's shoes)'
(594) biijbatoo 'approach running'
(595) biimbatoo 'run awkwardly'
(596) biimskobtoo 'run around; circle'
(597) biindgebtoo 'run inside'
(598) bkobiibtoo 'run into water'
(599) bmibtoo 'run along, run by'
(600) boogjibtoo 'fart while running'
(601) bskaabbatoo 'run back'
(602) gshkibtoo 'be able to run'
(603) gzhiikaabtoo 'run fast'
(604) maajiibtoo 'start to run'
(605) maawnjibtoo 'run and gather in a crowd'
(606) mtaakzhebtoo 'run around naked'

(605) maawnjibtoo 'run and gather in a crowd'
(606) mtaakzhebtoo 'run around naked'
(607) nimbatoo 'run off/away'
(608) nimwewebtoo 'make noise while running away'
(609) nkwebtoo 'run to a point where the road passes'
(610) noogbatoo 'stop running; slow one's pace'
(611) waakaabtoo 'run around; circle'
(612) waannibtoo 'run around; circle'
(613) zaagjibtoo 'run outside'
(614) zhebtoo 'run backwards'
(615) zhyaawebtoo 'run straight on'

73	VAI /-bizo/	'fly, drive, move'

This motion final pairs with VII form, /-bide/, listed above (page 348).

(616) aabjibzo 'drive by constantly; keep on driving by'
(617) bkobiibzo 'fall/plunge into water'
(618) gbebzo 'drive straight through (i.e., non-stop) (M)'
(619) mnobzo 'drive well; run well; fly well (of mechanical devices)'
(620) nningbizo 'tremble, shake, shiver'
(621) zhiibaabzo 'drive through'

74	VAI /-daabaanigo/	'go in a vehicle'

This final is derived from VTA final /daabaaN/, as in *bmidaabaazh*, 'drag AN along,' apparently by application of the passive morpheme /-igw/. The meaning is now often specialized to motion involving a vehicle.

(622) bmidaabaan'go 'ride on a vehicle/wagon'
(623) maajiidaabaan'go 'drive away, start driving'
(624) zhidaabaan'go 'ride thither'

75	VAI /-daabii/	'motion involving a wagon, sled; dragging'

(625) bgamdaabii 'arrive dragging s.t. (e.g. a wagon)'
(626) bmidaabii 'pull a wagon'

76	VAI /-gaa/	'dance'

(627) bbaamgaa 'dance around'
(628) bsangwaabgaa 'dance with one's eyes closed' (M)
(629) zhigaa 'dance in a certain way'

77	VAI /-gaashin/	'move leaving a trail'

(630) biijgaashin 'come leaving a trail'
(631) nimgaashin 'move away leaving a trail'

78	VAI /-ise/	'fly, move'

(632) bmise 'go flying [along], fly by'
(633) zhise 'fly in a certain direction; fly to a certain place'

79	VAI /-ikawe/	'move leaving tracks'

(634) bbaamkawe 'go around making tracks' (NB surname at Wikwemikong)
(635) maajiikwe 'leave tracks while moving away'
(636) kokwe 'leave tracks thus far'

80	VAI /-oode/	'crawl'

(637) bbaamoode 'crawl about'
(638) biindgeyoode 'crawl inside'
(639) bmoode 'crawl along, crawl by'
(640) dpoode 'crawl through an opening'
(641) jiingnoode 'crawl on hands and knees'
(642) maajiihoode 'start to crawl; crawl off'
(643) negoode 'crawl under'
(644) noode 'crawl thither'
(645) piitoode 'crawl a certain distance; continue crawling'

81	VAI /-oomigo/	'move on horseback, move on another's back'

This final is derived from a VTA final, as in *bmoom*, 'carry AN along on one's back,' and seems to show the PASSIVE morpheme /-igw/.

(646) bmoomgo 'ride on horseback; ride piggy-back'
(647) kodoomgo 'mount'
(648) niisoomgo 'dismount'

82	VAI /-ose/	'walk, go on foot'

(649) aagmose 'walk in snowshoes'
(650) bbaamse 'go for a walk; walk around'
(651) biidaagmose 'approach walking on snowshoes'
(652) bmose 'walk'
(653) gzhiiwse 'walk fast'
(654) gzhizhwigaadewse 'become strong in the legs as one walks'
(655) nimse 'walk along/away'
(656) nkwewse 'walk out to where the road passes'
(657) shkwaa-bmose 'be finished walking'
(658) waakaawse 'walk around; circle'
(659) waannose 'walk around; circle in walking'

83	VAI /-shimo/	'dance'

(660) bsangwaabshimo 'dance with one's eyes shut'

9.12.2 Substance of Path Motion Verbs

There are motion verbs describing motion across a surface of a particular substance, such as ice or snow. These verbs have structures that are rather similar to verbs describing environmental features, though they have different finals, of course.

84	VAI /-akomii/	'walk on ice'

This final contains the independent noun /makomy/, 'ice,' which loses its initial /m/ when medialized, a very common process.

(661) bbaamkomii 'walk around on the ice'
(662) bmakmii 'walk by on the ice; walk along on the ice'
(663) dkamkomii 'cross the ice'

85	VAI /-aagonagii/	'walk through (deep) snow'

(664) biidaagnagii 'approach through deep snow'
(665) bmaagnagii 'walk in deep snow'
(666) nimaagnagii 'head off through the snow'

86	VAI /-aagone/	'walk through snow'

(667) biidaagne 'approach through snow'
(668) bmaagne 'walk through snow'
(669) naagne 'go through snow in a certain direction, way, or to a place'
(670) nimaagne 'go away through snow'

9.12.3 General Motion and Activity Verbs in /-(sh)kaa/, /-taa/, and /-ii/

The final /-shkaa/ has a rather vague meaning, being associated both with stative verbs, as in *bookwaabdeshkaa*, 'have a broken tooth/teeth,' and verbs indicating explicit motion, such as *gwekshkaa*, 'go rightly, goes accurately' and *mbishkaa*, 'rise up, ascend.'

87	VAI /-shkaa/	'move, have…, undergo…'

(671) aazhgijnikeshkaa 'have one's arm bent backwards'
(672) baashkjiishkaa 'burst'
(673) bdangshkaa 'turn sideways; be deflected'
(674) bmishkaa 'paddle along'
(675) bookgweshkaa 'have a broken neck'
(676) bookningwiigneshkaa 'have a broken wing (i.e. a bird)'
(677) bookwaabdeshkaa 'have a broken tooth'
(678) daabshkaa 'have convulsions'
(679) gbishkaa 'be blocked/obstructed'
(680) gwekshkaa 'go right; go accurately'
(681) gziibweweshkaa 'creak as one moves'
(682) maajiishkaa 'move, increase, spread, be pregnant; start (of car)'

(681) gziibweweshkaa 'creak as one moves'
(682) maajiishkaa 'move, increase, spread, be pregnant; start (of car)'
(683) mbishkaa 'go/rise up; ascend'
(684) mno-maajiishkaa 'succeed; get along well; progress well'
(685) ngishkaa 'shake, tremble'
(686) noogshkaa 'come to a stop; slow down (e.g. car)'
(687) waagshkaa 'be bent/bowed'
(688) waannishkaa 'follow a circuitous route'
(689) wewiibshkaa 'hurry [in a boat]'

88	VAI /-kaa/	'move, be engaged in an activity'

The VAI final /-kaa/ appears to indicate engagement in an activity, though some verbs expressing states occur as well.

(690) bbaa-nikaa 'go around on business'
(691) biimskokaa 'spin, rotate, go around (also VII)'
(692) dnikaa 'take a certain amount of time (on a trip)'
(693) dzhikaa 'take a certain amount of time (to do something)'
(694) giiwaazkaa 'be inaccurate (e.g. watch); be off schedule (e.g., bus)'
(695) gzhiikaa 'go quickly; hurry'
(696) mmaaskaa 'jiggle, move (also VII)'
(697) mmaazkaa 'jiggle, move (VII); go crazy; be agitated'
(698) piiskaa 'be a certain distance along; be at one's pace'

89	VAI /-taa/	'be engaged in an activity, move'

The final /-taa/ occurs with various initials suggesting activity, though it is also used to form some verbs of motion, especially those involving a change in vertical position, such as *gwetaa*, 'lie down,' and *jiingnitaa*, 'kneel.'

(699) aabjitaa 'keep doing; be occupied in some activity'
(700) bkidaaktaa 'lean over a wall'
(701) boontaa 'stop (doing s.t.) [VAI]; stop (of activities) [VII]'
(702) dzhitaa 'take a certain length of time'
(703) gwetaa 'lie down'
(704) jiingnitaa 'kneel; get down on the knees'

(705) nagaataa 'stop; stand still; hold back'
(706) ndamtaa 'be busy'
(707) wewiibtaa 'hurry [what one is doing]'

90	VAI /-bagizo/	'move quickly'

(708) biimskobgizo 'spin around rapidly'
(709) bskaabbagzo 'hurry back; dash back [from a short distance]'
(710) gwekbagzo 'turn around rapidly'
(711) maajbagzo 'jump [as when startled]'
(712) pagzo 'jump in (e.g., into the fray)'

91	VAI /-gaa/	'move, act'

(713) bbaamgaa 'whirl around; spin'
(714) gdaazhgaa 'pour out'
(715) kogaa 'go off'
(716) nimkogaa 'face away; have one's back turned'
(717) zhigaa 'act/do thus'

92	VAI /-ii/	'move'

(718) aanjii 'change location; move'
(719) boonii 'alight (e.g. a bird)'
(720) mmaajii 'begin to move'
(721) webii 'run off; race away'

93	VAI /-too/	'move, act, experience'

(722) aanwitoo 'be unable to walk (through exhaustion)'
(723) gdagtoo 'suffer'
(724) gshkitoo 'be able to [to do something]'
(725) nchiiwtoo 'be busy at; go hard at (some activity)'
(726) nmetoo 'leave signs of one's presence'
(727) oodetoo 'go to town'
(728) waabndetoo 'be out visiting until dawn'

(729) wiikjitoo 'try'
(730) wiisgitoo 'suffer; be in pain'

9.12.4 Motion Expressions Involving Directionals

In addition to the various motion finals listed above, motion can also be associated with other activities by the use of DIRECTIONAL INITIALS in combination with various activity finals. The following examples illustrate with various finals, including VAI /-ademo/, 'cry,' VAI /-aajimo/, 'narrate,' and VAI/VII /-aanzhe/, 'with lights on (of vehicles)'

	VAI Verb	Gloss	Directional	Directional Gloss
(731)	bmademo	'go along/by crying'	/bim-/	'along, by'
(732)	bbaamaajmo	'spread a rumour'	/babaam-/	'around; distributed'
(733)	nimaajmo	'walk away talking'	/anim-/	'away from speaker'
(734)	biidaajmo	'bring news'	/biid-/	'towards speaker'
(735)	biidaanzhe	'approach with lights on (of vehicles)'	/biid-/	'towards speaker'
(736)	bmaanzhe	'go along with lights on (of vehicles)'	/bim-/	'along, by'
(737)	nimaanzhe	'move away with lights on (of vehicles)'	/anim-/	'away from speaker'

DIRECTIONAL PREVERBS can also be used with the same force as initials, as in lexical forms such as *bbaa-bmaadzi*, 'travel,' formed with directional preverb *bbaa-*, 'around,' in combination with *bmaadzi*, 'live.' This form is particularly interesting in that it stands beside the form *bbaamaadzi*, 'travel,' which has the directional in ROOT position. Another example is *bbaa-mshkikiiwe*, 'go around looking for herbs' (M). Directional preverbs may also be used in nonce constructions to indicate that a given activity or state occurs while in motion, as in the following example from Rhodes 1985:70, where the directional *bmi-*, 'along,' indicates that the act of sleeping was related to motion.

(9) Megwaa go bminaazhhigeyaanh, gegaa go ***ngii-bmi-nbaa.***

'I almost fell asleep while I was driving along.' (W)

> **Megwaa** *av* 'while'; **go** *av* 'indeed'; **bminaazhhigeyaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I was driving along'; **gegaa** *av* 'almost'; **go** *pc* 'indeed'; **ngii-bmi-nbaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I fell asleep going along.'

9.12.5 Verbs Describing Body Part Attributes

Attributes of body parts and states pertaining to body parts are expressed by means of animate intransitive verbs in which the relevant body part is indexed with the appropriate medial, and the possessor of the body part functions as the subject of the verb. The following example illustrates the basic construction.

yekgaade	yek-	-gaad-	-e
'have tired legs'	tired	leg	have

If the body part represents a rigid object, especially a limb, hand, or foot, the classificatory medial /-aakw-/, 'rigid organic solid,' sometimes occurs as well. The following example illustrates this construction.

ddaakwaakgaade	dadaakw-	-aakw-	-gaad-	-e
'have short legs'	short (redup of /dakw-/)	rigid organic	leg	have

The presence of /-aakw-/ is optional, so that the lexeme *ddaakgaade*, lacking the element, also occurs. This example also illustrates the use of DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION with descriptive concepts such as /dakw-/, 'short' when the body part referent is plural, as it commonly is, given that human bodies show bilateral symmetry. The pattern of reduplication has the form /CaCaa/, where C is the first consonant of the descriptive initial, in this case /dakw-/, 'short.' If the stem begins with a vowel, such as /akw-/, 'be of such extent,' the pattern of reduplication is /ayaa/, as in *yaakwaakgaade*, 'have legs of a certain length,' with RELATIVE ROOT /akw-/, 'extent, degree.'

The final element in these body part possessor verbs is /-e/, which merges with stem-final /y/ to produce /ii/, e.g., *gaagiijninjii*, 'ANsg has sore hands,' with body part medial /ninjy-/. A few body part medials, most of which end in /n/, are followed by what is sometimes called a ZERO-FINAL, as in *bookwaawgan*, 'break one's back,' and *gaagiidaawgan*, 'have a sore back.'

Stems describing parts of the body may themselves function as initials, as in *shkaakdiyebi*, 'have a tired backside (from sitting),' which has the VAI verb *shkaakdiye*, 'have a tired backside,' as initial, and a final, /-abi/, 'sitting.' Such constructions are discussed in the next section.

Some body part medials have forms, or alternative forms, that are different from their corresponding DEPENDENT NOUN forms. These include the following, among others:

Nominal Form	Medial Form	Gloss
-kaad	-gaad-	'leg'
-ndib, -shtigwaan	-ndib-, -kwe-	'head'
-masad	-ashkad-, -masad-	'stomach'
-dengway	-iingwe-	'face'
-bikon	-aawgan-, -bikon-	'back'

94	VAI /-BP Medial-e/	'have a <body part> that is…'

The following list of examples is sorted according to reverse spelling, so that forms sharing the same medial occur together.

(738) migndibe 'have scabs on one's head' /-ndib-/ 'head'
(739) mgindbe 'have a big head'
(740) gaagiijndibe 'have a sore head'
(741) mtigndibe 'be a blockhead, be stupid (lit., have a wooden head)'
(742) zhoobgaade 'have crooked legs; have bowed legs' /-gaad-/ 'leg'
(743) miggaade 'have scabs on one's legs'
(744) jiibjigaade 'have stiff legs; be stiff-legged'
(745) gaagiijgaade 'have a sore leg'
(746) ddaakgaade 'have short legs'
(747) jiibdaakgaade 'be stiff-legged'
(748) ddaakwaakgaade 'have short legs'
(749) yaakwaakgaade 'have legs of a certain length'
(750) yaakgaade 'have legs of a certain length'
(751) yekgaade 'be tired in the legs'
(752) ggaangaade 'have long legs'
(753) baatiinoogaade 'have lots of legs'
(754) aakshkade 'have a stomach-ache' /-ashkade-/ 'stomach'
(755) bkomsade 'have a protruding stomach (e.g. in pregnancy)'
(756) gaagiidaabde 'have soreness around a tooth' /-aabid-/ 'tooth'
(757) waabshkaabde 'have white teeth'
(758) gaagiidzide 'have a sore foot' /-zid-/ 'foot'

(759) mngizde 'have a big foot'
(760) gzhiibnagaakzide 'itch on the sole of the foot'
(761) shkizde 'have tired feet'
(762) miishzhe 'have a hairy body' /-azh-/ 'body, skin'
(763) miishaakzhe 'have a hairy body'
(764) mignike 'have scabs on one's arm' /-nik-/ 'arm'
(765) jiibjinke 'have a stiff arm'
(766) gaagiijnike 'have a sore arm'
(767) gziibskomnike 'have a creak in the wrist'
(768) jiidninke 'have a stiff arm'
(769) dewnike 'have an ache in one's arm'
(770) yeknike 'have tired arms'
(771) mgibwaame 'have big thighs' /-bwaam-/ 'thigh'
(772) mnobwaame 'have nice thighs'
(773) mmaangdengome 'have large/wide nostrils' /-denigom-/ 'nostril'
(774) gzhiibjaane 'have one's nose itch' /-jaan-/ 'nose'
(775) gaaachjaane 'have a small nose'
(776) waagjaane 'have a curved nose'
(777) nbagjaane 'have a flat nose'
(778) gnwaakjaane 'have a long nose'
(779) wiinjaane 'have a dirty nose'
(780) mskwiiwjaane 'have a bloody nose'
(781) gaagiidaawgane 'have a sore back' /-aawigan-/ 'back'
(782) gaagiijdinmaangne 'have sore shoulders' /-dinimaangan-/ 'shoulder'
(783) miishdoone 'have hair around the mouth' /-doon-/ 'mouth'
(784) jiibjigwewe 'have a stiff neck' /-gwew-/ 'neck'
(785) gaagiijgwewe 'have a sore neck'
(786) jiidnigwewe 'have a stiff neck'
(787) dewgwewe 'have an ache in the neck'
(788) ggiibiingwe 'be blind' /-iingw-/ 'face, eyes'
(789) ziigiingwe 'have a wrinkled face'
(790) mskwiiwaangiingwe 'have a bloody face'
(791) miishiingwe 'have a hairy face'
(792) yaakwaankwe 'have hair of a certain length' /-aanikw-/ 'hair'
(793) baagniishkwe 'have swollen tonsils' /-niishkw-/ 'tonsil'

(794)	waabkwe	'be grey-haired' /-ikw-/ 'hair, head'
(795)	ggaanwaankwe	'have long hair'
(796)	dewkwe	'have a headache'
(797)	gaagiijnagskwe	'have a sore palate' /-nagaskw-/ 'palate'
(798)	baagnaskwe	'have a swollen palate'
(799)	miishbiiwye	'be hairy' /-biiway-/ 'hair'
(800)	gzhiibdiye	'have an itchy bum' /-diy-/ 'rump, bum'
(801)	miishdiye	'have a hairy bum'
(802)	gaagiijgazhii	'have soreness around a nail' /-gazhy-/ 'nail, hoof'
(803)	niizhoogzhii	'have twin hoofs (e.g. a deer)'
(804)	gbisgizhii	'be constipated'
(805)	mginjii	'have big hands' /-ninjy-/ 'hand, finger'
(806)	gaagiijninjii	'have a sore hand'
(807)	gzhiibnagaakninjii	'itch in the palm of the hand'
(808)	biinninjii	'have clean hands'
(809)	wiinninjii	'have dirty hands'
(810)	bzhishgonjii	'be empty-handed'
(811)	giizhninjii	'have warm hands'
(812)	bdagwaakninjii	'have one's hands clenched'
(813)	bookninjii	'have a broken hand/finger'
(814)	mshkawjaanewji	'have frozen/frost-bitten nose' /-jaan-/ 'nose'
(815)	mshkawiingwewji	'have frozen/frost-bitten face' /-iingw-/ 'face'
(816)	mshkawninjiiwji	'have frozen/frost-bitten hands' /-ninjy-/ 'hand'

The following verbs show an interesting process whereby incorporation is expressed not by means of appending /-e/, as in most of the examples above, but by the presence of /m/ in place of the expected final /n/ of the body-part medial.

(817)	gaagiijdinmaangam	'have sore shoulders'
(818)	gaagiijgondaagam	'have a sore throat'
(819)	gaagiidaawgam	'have a sore back'
(820)	giikiijgoondaagam	'have a sore throat'
(821)	gzhiibaawgam	'have one's back itch'
(822)	miishkaakgam	'have a hairy chest'

The following verbs are also irregular, in that they lack an INCORPORATING FINAL (or alternatively, can be said to have a ZERO-FINAL). This is most common with medials that end in /n/.

(823)	booskdaamkan	'have a dimpled chin'
(824)	dnaan'gidoon	'talk, give a lecture, give a talk (Ot)'
(825)	gaagiijbikon	'have a sore back'
(826)	mngidoon	'have a big mouth'

There tends to be variation in these less common structures, and verbs show up in other forms, in some cases varying by sub-dialect, as in the following:

(827)	mngidoone	'have a big mouth (Od)'
(828)	dnaan'gdooni	'talk, give a lecture, give a speech (CL)'

Note also the interesting internal structure of the word *mngijiimnagzi*, 'be fat; have a paunch,' which contains a medial element /-jii-/, 'belly,' along with the berrylike (round object) classifier /-minag-/, to which is then added the customary descriptive VAI final /-izi/.

VII BODY PART VERBS. Corresponding "body-part" VII verb forms can be made by adding secondary VII-final /-(y)aa/ to a VAI form, as in *ggaanwaakgaadeyaa*, 'have long legs' (Od).

9.12.6 Bodily Actions and Movements

Body part medials are also used in various expressions referring to actions or orientations of the body and its parts. These verbs encompass concepts such as washing, injury, and positioning or orienting, among others. Because of the systematic ambiguity that exists in Nishnaabemwin between states and the actions associated with entering the state, many verbs are, at least for some speakers, ambiguous in their meanings between states and the processes/events that give rise to the state, such as *bookjaane*, which for some speakers means both 'have a broken nose,' and 'break one's nose.'

(829)	baapiingwe	'smile' /-iingw-/ 'face'
(830)	bookgaade	'break a leg, have a broken leg' /-gaad-/ 'leg'
(831)	bookjaane	'break one's nose, have a broken nose' /-jaan-/ 'nose'
(832)	booknike	'break an arm, have a broken arm' /-nik-/ 'arm'
(833)	gziibiiggwewe	'wash one's neck' /-gwew-/ 'neck'
(834)	gziibiigninjii	'wash one's hands' /-ninjy-/ 'hand'
(835)	gziibiigzide	'wash one's feet' /-zid-/ 'foot'

(836)	gziinjii	'wash one's hands' /-ninjy-/ 'hand'
(837)	nmakndibe	'anoint one's head; rub one's head w/ grease' /-ndib-/ 'head'
(838)	ziingniingwe	'put drops in one's eyes' /-iingw-/ 'face'

9.12.7 Word Stems in Derivation with /-shin/, 'fall, lie'

Many forms expressing the concept of falling, or its resultant state, lying, are made by adding /-shin/ to a derived INITIAL consisting of an INITIAL and BODY PART MEDIAL.

95	VAI /-shin/	'fall and have (a)…, lie and have (a)…'

(839)	aatwaawiingweshin	'lie face up'
(840)	biijdiyeshin	'lie with one's backside facing observer'
(841)	bookgweshin	'fall and break one's neck'
(842)	bookningwiigneshin	'have a broken wing; fall and break one's wing'
(843)	bookninjiishin	'break one's hand/finger'
(844)	giishkgatgweshin	'fall and cut one's forehead'
(845)	giishkgidgweshin	'fall and cut one's knee'
(846)	gtikweshin	'hang one's head over water (to drink)'
(847)	gzhiibdiyeshin	'have an itchy backside'
(848)	gziinjiishin	'wash/wipe one's hands'
(849)	mziniingweshin	'have one's face sketched/imprinted'
(850)	nikweshin	'move one's head thus (while lying)'
(851)	shawedyeshin	'lie on side with backside sticking out'
(852)	wiinzideshin	'fall and get one's feet dirty'
(853)	zhidyeshin	'stick one's backside out thus'

The following verb shows interesting aspects of the semantics of /-shin/. Here /-shin/ is evidently used in reference to the change in vertical state that ensues from a flat tire, which is then extended METAPHORICALLY to humans.

(854)	nbagzideshin	'be flat-footed; have a flat tire (of vehicles)'

9.12.8 Word Stem Initials with /-jin/

96	VAI /-jin/	'undergo process…'

The following forms show derivation in which a DERIVED INITIAL has the form of a fully formed word-stem, to which the FINAL element /-jin/ is attached. The second example is particularly interesting as the secondary form itself contains a medial element, /-aakw-/, which specifies the instrumentality of a stick in the action of the verb.

(855)	baazgogaadejin	'get scratched on the leg'
(856)	baazgogaadewaakjin	'get scratched on the leg by a stick'

9.12.9 Physical Actions of Parts of the Body with /-ni/

97	VAI /-ni/	'act upon «a body part»…'

Physical actions applied to body parts are commonly expressed in construction with the final /-ni/. These forms show an interesting morphological structure, in that they have /-e/ (with variant /ii/ after stems ending in /y/), following the body part, to which is then suffixed /-ni/, but differ from processes of SECONDARY DERIVATION in that the complex initial is often not itself a free word. Thus, for example, *boodaakwenjiini*, 'put one's hands into the water,' appears to consist of a word *boodaakwenjii*, 'have one's hands in the water,' to which is added /-ni/, but there is no free word **boodaakwenjii*.

(857)	aazhgidkweni	'throw one's head back' /-ikw-/ 'head'
(858)	biimskokweni	'turn/twist one's head around'
(859)	boodaakwenjiini	'put one's hands into the water' /-ninjy-/ 'hand'
(860)	boodaakwezdeni	'put one's feet into the water' /-zid-/ 'foot'
(861)	daatgikweni	'tilt one's head backwards'
(862)	dpikweni	'stick one's head through an opening'
(863)	gwekkweni	'turn one's head'
(864)	jaachaangkweni	'nod one's head'
(865)	mmaadkweni	'move one's head'
(866)	mmigkweni	'shake one's head (from side to side)'
(867)	nikweni	'move one's head in a certain way'
(868)	zhiibgweni	'stretch one's neck'
(869)	zhoomiingweni	'smile' /-iingw-/ 'face, head'

The following words appear to have the same final, /-ni/, but do not have incorporated medials. The first two examples are also interesting in that they illustrate the use of reduplication to indicate the reversative nature of the action required to complete the process of

both opening and closing.

(870)	daawni	'open one's mouth, have one's mouth open'
(871)	ddaawni	'open and close one's mouth'
(872)	jiigeni	'belch, burp'

9.12.10 Middle Verbs with /-ho/

A few verbs, typically involving action upon the body with an instrument, show final /-ho/. Some of these verbs have corresponding TRANSITIVE (VTA) forms with final /-hw/, e.g., (877) has a corresponding VTA, *nskwew*, 'comb AN's hair.' Some forms, such as (874) and (876) are REFLEXIVES based on transitive verbs; verbs of this sort, in which an actor acts upon her/himself, are sometimes called MIDDLES.

98	VAI /-ho/	'act on the body with an instrument'

(873)	gziingweho	'wash/wipe one's face'
(874)	gziingwehdizo	'wash/wipe one's face'
(875)	nesegwaabdeho	'pick one's teeth'
(876)	nsikwehdizo	'comb one's hair'
(877)	nsikweho	'comb one's hair'

9.12.11 Verbs of Physical Orientation

There are large numbers of verb forms referring to physical states or actions of sitting and standing, rather analogous to verbs with final /-shin/, which specifies states and actions related to lying (down) or falling. Forms with body part medials occur, as in (881) and (895), both of which have medial /-diy-/, 'backside, rump.'

99	VAI /-abi/	'sit'

(878)	aandbi	'sit elsewhere; change seat'
(879)	bgwaashaagdoobi	'sit naked'
(880)	biidaasmabi	'sit facing observer'
(881)	bkijdiyebi	'sit with one's backside partly off the seat'
(882)	bkodbi	'sit up high; perch'
(883)	dgobi	'sit with others'
(884)	gwekbi	'turn from sitting position'

(885)	jiingnabi	'sit with legs tucked under oneself'
(886)	kobiwag	'sit crowded together (plural subject)'
(887)	mnobi	'sit comfortably'
(888)	naasmabi	'sit facing a given direction'
(889)	nahaangbi	'stay with one's in-laws'
(890)	nbaadbi	'adopt an indecent posture while sitting'
(891)	niibaabi	'sit up all night'
(892)	niigaanbi	'sit in front; sit first in line'
(893)	nimkobi	'sit with back turned'
(894)	nmadbi	'sit'
(895)	nsawaakdiyebi	'sit astride'
(896)	nshikewbi	'be alone'
(897)	nwebi	'rest'
(898)	wenaagdabi	'sit down; sit there'
(899)	weshoowdabi	'be seated and ready'
(900)	wwenbi	'sit down; seat oneself'

100	VAI /-gaabawi/	'stand'

(901)	bgwaashaagdoogaabwi	'stand naked'
(902)	biidaasmigaabwi	'stand facing observer'
(903)	dgogaabwi	'stand with others'
(904)	dzhigaabwi	'stand there'
(905)	gbigaabwi	'block an opening by standing before it'
(906)	gwekgaabwi	'turn around while standing'
(907)	jiibdaakgaabwi	'stand stiff-legged'
(908)	jiingnigaabwi	'kneel; position oneself on the knees'
(909)	jijkiigaabwi	'stand on one's head'
(910)	kogaabwi	'move out of the way'
(911)	kogaabwi	'stand crowded together (pl. subj.)'
(912)	mnogaabwi	'stand comfortably; adopt a comfortable stance'
(913)	nashpgaabwi	'stand so high (e.g. animals)'
(914)	nbaajgaabwi	'adopt an indecent posture while standing'
(915)	nboonkwegaabwi	'stand with head bowed'
(916)	niigaangaabwi	'stand first in line'

(917)	nimkogaabwi	'stand with back turned'
(918)	njigaabwi	'stand up for some reason; stand back from a place'
(919)	nsawaakdiyegaabwi	'stand astride'
(920)	ntamgaabwi	'stand first in line'
(921)	shkigaabwi	'be tired standing'
(922)	shkizdegaabwi	'have tired feet from standing'
(923)	waabshkaakgaabwi	'stand white (e.g. birch tree)'
(924)	zaagjigaabwi	'stand outside'
(925)	zhigaabwi	'stand in such a position'

9.12.12 Verbs of Sensory Experience

Two VAI finals refer to sensory acts of seeing and hearing, or to qualities and conditions pertaining to sight and hearing.

101	VAI /-aabi/	'see; look; pertaining to sight'

This final appears to be related to the VTA stem *waabam*, 'see AN'

(926)	maadaabi	'start looking; stare'
(927)	aabnaabi	'look back'
(928)	naabi	'see in a certain manner; look in a certain direction'
(929)	boonaabi	'stop looking'
(930)	dpaabi	'peep/look in'
(931)	waabi	'see; be able to see'
(932)	ndawaabi	'look around searching'
(933)	kawaabi	'stand guard'
(934)	negwaabi	'look out from under (s.t.)'
(935)	mnwaabi	'see well; have good eyes'
(936)	gchi-nyaabi	'have keen sight; see well'
(937)	nbaneyaabi	'see on one side; have vision from one eye'
(938)	waaseyaabi	'see light'
(939)	mmaazaabi	'see ghosts/spooks; 'see things''
(940)	zaabi	'look from a distance'

102	VAI /-ishe/	'pertaining to hearing, listening, sense of hearing'

(941)	ggiibshe	'be deaf'
(942)	nishe	'hear thus; hear in such a way'
(943)	bzinshe	'listen'
(944)	nenegshe	'eavesdrop'

9.12.13 Verbs of Speaking

103	VAI /-mo/	'speech, speaking'

A large number of verbs of speaking and vocalization exist, constructed with the final /-mo/, involving both free and bound elements as initials. When appended to a term of nationality, the verb means 'to speak the language of X.' Note that initials derived from nouns that end with a short /i/ often lengthen the /i/ to /ii/ before /-mo/, as in (947) and (948).

(945)	dendemo	'croak like a bullfrog' « dende, 'bullfrog'
(946)	Nishnaabemo	'speak the Indian language, speak Nishnaabemwin'
(947)	Wemtigoozhiimo	'speak French' « Wemtigoozh(i), 'Frenchman'
(948)	Zhaagnaashiimo	'speak English' « Zhaagnaash(i), 'Englishman'

The following verbs involving speech or oral activity appear to have the same final, though in most cases I am very uncertain.

(949)	giiwnimo	'lie, speak untruth'
(950)	jaachaamo	'sneeze'
(951)	nagamo	'sing'
(952)	nepaadoomo	'speak incorrectly'
(953)	waasmo	'flash lightning, make lightning (of the Thunderers)'

104	VAI /-aajimo/	'narrate, talk'

The element /-aajmo/ occurs with directional elements, such as /biid-/, 'coming towards speaker,' and /anim-/, 'away from speaker,' as well as many manner expressions.

(954)	biidaajmo	'bring news from afar'
(955)	bpagdaajmo	'tell about many things'
(956)	dbaajmo	'talk'
(957)	giimoodaajmo	'tell a secret'
(958)	maajiiyaajmo	'go off to make report'

(959) maamiikwaajmo 'give a memorable account; give a thrilling account'
(960) naajmo 'tell a story thus'
(961) nimaajmo 'walk away talking'
(962) sameyaajmo 'talk about different things'

9.12.14 Verbs of Thinking and Feeling

105	VAI /-endam/	'think, feel in the mind'

The VAI final /-endam/ is used to form verbs denoting mental processes and states. This final is identical in form to finals used with equivalent transitive inanimate verbs expressing the same concepts transitively, e.g., corresponding to VAI *mnwendam*, 'be content, be glad,' is VTI *mnwendan*, 'like IN, be pleased with IN' Note that the VAI final includes the VTI THEME SUFFIX, /-am/.

(963) bgosendam 'wish, hope, pray'
(964) ggwaan'sagendam 'be stricken (with something)'
(965) maamkaadendam 'be astonished'
(966) mnwendam 'be content; be glad'
(967) moonendam 'imagine, suspect'
(968) nendam 'decide [to do something]; think; vote'
(969) shkendam 'grieve deeply, mourn'
(970) wiisgendam 'suffer, feel acute pain; be sore'
(971) znagendam 'have a problem on one's mind'

9.12.15 Verbs Commonly Taking Number Roots

The following two finals are associated particularly with number roots. See also finals VAI /-i/ VII /-i/ on page 361, above, the finals for general verbs of number.

106	VAI /-ooshkne/	'be a maximum of <number> to each'

The number roots associated with this final show a REDUPLICATIVE SYLLABLE consisting of the first consonant of the stem plus long vowel /e/.

(972) nen'godooshkne 'be a maximum of one to each'
(973) nen'sooshkne 'be a maximum of three to each'
(974) neniiwooshkne 'be a maximum of four to each'

(975) nenaannooshkne 'be a maximum of five to each'
(976) nen'godwaasooshkne 'be a maximum of six to each'

107	VAI /-wewaan'gizi/	'be in <number> groups'

(977) niizhwewaan'gizi 'be paired; be in two groups'
(978) nswewaan'gizi 'form three groups'

9.12.16 Other Animate Intransitive Finals

108	VAI /-aadizi/	'life, mode of living, trait of character, psychological state'

Initials associated with this final may be INDEPENDENT LEXEMES, and both NOUNS and VERBS are found. Form (981) has a LEXEMIC INITIAL lacking the CONTEMPTIVE suffix /-iinh/ of the independent form.

Nouns

	VAI Form	Gloss	Noun Initial	Gloss
(979)	gimaawaadzi	'be born to be a chief'	gimaa	'chief' (NA)
(980)	gookooshwaadzi	'live like a pig'	gookoosh	'pig' (NA)
(981)	nimookaadzi	'be a dog' (Od)	nimookaajiinh	'dog' (NA) (Od)

Verbs

	VAI Form	Gloss	Verbal Initial	Gloss
(982)	aakziiwaadzi	'be in poor health'	aakzi	'be ill'
(983)	ggiinwishkaadzi	'lie continually; be a born liar'	ggiinwishki	'tell a lie'
(984)	giikiimngoshiiwaa=dzi	'be always sleepy'	giikiim=ngoshi	'be sleepy' (M)
(985)	gtimaadzi	'live a lazy life'	gtimi	'be lazy'
(986)	mnaabmewziiwaadzi	'be born lucky'	mnaabmewzi	'be blessed by a Higher Power; have good luck'

Some INITIALS show the addition of /w/ and lengthening of their final vowel, such as in (988) and (992); others do not insert /w/, in which case the final short vowel of the initial is deleted, as in (994), with an initial from VAI verb *ggiinwishki*, 'lie habitually.'

(987)	aagwaadzi	'be crazy; behave erratically'
(988)	aakziiwaadzi	'be in poor health'; initial /aakozi/ 'be ill'
(989)	bbaamaadzi	'travel around; go on a tour'
(990)	bekaadzi	'be quiet'
(991)	bmaadzi	'live'
(992)	gajiiwaadzi	'be inherently shy'; initial /agaji/ 'be shy'
(993)	ggiibaadzi	'be bad/wicked; be silly; be clumsy'
(994)	ggiinwishkaadzi	'lie continually; be a born liar'
(995)	giikiimngoshiiwaadzi	'be constantly sleepy'
(996)	giiwaadzi	'wander, ramble'
(997)	giiwnaadzi	'be crazy'
(998)	giiwshkwewaadzi	'be dizzy'
(999)	gimaawaadzi	'be born to be a chief'
(1000)	gookooshwaadzi	'live like a pig'
(1001)	gtimaadzi	'live a lazy life'; initial /gitimi/ 'be lazy'
(1002)	jepaadzi	'be agile/alert'
(1003)	maamkaadzi	'show off'
(1004)	maanaadzi	'be ugly; be unpleasant; be in bad condition'
(1005)	maanaaji-bmaadzi	'be in poor health'
(1006)	mgoshkaadzi	'be unsettled'
(1007)	miikwaadzi	'be amazingly good at; be very clever'
(1008)	mno-bmaadzi	'be well; be in good health; be fine'
(1009)	mnobmewziiwaadzi	'be born lucky'
(1010)	mnwaadzi	'live well'
(1011)	naadzi	'live thus; have a given way of life'
(1012)	ndaadzi	'be born in a certain place'
(1013)	nimookaadzi	'be a dog'
(1014)	nshkaadzi	'be angry'

109	VAI /-aangzhe/	'pertaining to work, jobs'

(1015)	aabdaangzhe	'keep a job; keep on working'

(1016)	mkwaangzhe	'find a job'
(1017)	ndawaangzhe	'look for a job'
(1018)	zezesaangzhe	'be driven to tears by work'

110	VAI /-aapi/	'laugh'

This final is DEVERBAL, from the VAI verb *baapi*, 'ANsg laughs.'

(1019)	boonaapi	'stop laughing'
(1020)	gwaapi	'laugh so hard one falls over'
(1021)	maadaapi	'start laughing'
(1022)	pagndaapi	'fall down from laughing'
(1023)	piitaapi	'laugh to a certain extent'

111	VAI /-aapne/	'be ill, be sick'

(1024)	aapne	'be crazy; be sick for/about (s.t.)'
(1025)	gondaagnaapne	'have a sickness in the throat'
(1026)	naapne	'be sick from s.t.; be hurt'
(1027)	kwewaapne	'be woman-crazy'
(1028)	niniiwaapne	'be man-crazy'

112	VAI /-ademo/	'crying'

The final /-ademo/ makes verbs specifying various aspects of crying. An unanalyzable verb, *mwi*, also exists with the meaning, 'cry, shed tears.'

(1029)	bmademo	'go around crying'
(1030)	maaddemo	'start/begin to cry'
(1031)	maamiikdemo	'cry excessively'
(1032)	ndademo	'cry for some reason'

113	VAI /-akamigizi/	'behave in a certain way, engage in an activity'

(1033)	dnakmigzi	'play; be busy at some activity'
(1034)	nshinaadkamgizi	'foul things up; do a bad job'
(1035)	zegkamgizi	'cause a scare'

(1036) znagkamgizi 'cause considerable difficulty'

114	VAI /-anjige/	'pertaining to eating, diet'

Although this ending appears structurally to be a detransitive form, based on the addition of /-ige/ to VTI stems, there is semantic specialization in some cases that suggests the ending is a semantic unit. For example, the VAI form *nanjge*, 'eat certain things, have a certain diet,' is derived from VTI *nandan*, 'bite s.t. in a certain way,' so the two verbs are rather different in their meanings.

(1037) bkwenjge 'bite [a piece of something] off'
(1038) jaagnjige 'eat everything'
(1039) nanjge 'have a given diet; eat certain things'
(1040) nwadnjige 'seize things with the teeth; bite things'

115	VAI /-bizo/, /-pizo/	'wear, dress'

The following two examples have classifier /-eg/, 'sheetlike.'.

(1041) dkwegbizo, dkwegpizo 'wear a short dress' (Od)
(1042) gnwegbizo, gnwegpizo 'wear a long dress' (Od)

116	VAI /-endi/	'be absent'

(1043) aapdendi 'be absent longer than expected'
(1044) ndendi 'be absent from a certain place'
(1045) nendi 'be absent for a certain length of time'
(1046) niizhgonendi 'be absent for two days'
(1047) mdaasgonendi 'be absent for ten days'
(1048) piitendi 'be away a certain length of time'

117	VAI /-gidaazo/	'be angry'

(1049) piichgidaazo 'be angry to a certain extent'
(1050) ggwaan'saggidaazo 'be fuming mad (CL)'
(1051) ggwetaan'gidaazo 'be terribly angry'

118	VAI /-angizo/	'be such a date; such a point in the month' (of months)

(1052) maadgizo 'be the beginning of the month'
(1053) shkwaagzo 'be the end of the month'

119	VAI /-gwaaso/	'sew'

(1054) gshkigwaaso 'sew'
(1055) maajgwaaso 'begin to sew'
(1056) yekgwaaso 'be tired from sewing'

120	VAI /-ine/	'pertaining to death, dying'

(1057) aapjine 'suffer one's last pang, be out of one's misery'
(1058) wiihgine 'die in one's prime; be killed in one's prime'

121	VAI /-jiizo/	'by means of, because of heat'

(1059) giiwshkwejiizo 'become dizzy because of the heat'
(1060) gtimjiizo 'be lazy because of the heat'

122	VAI /-jinazo/	'fight'

(1061) aabjin'zo 'keep on fighting'
(1062) njin'zo 'fight for a certain reason'

123	VAI /-ingoshi/	'sleep'

(1063) aabziingshi 'awake from a deep sleep'
(1064) giikiimgoshi 'be sleepy'
(1065) giiwaajngoshi 'be disturbed from sleeping'
(1066) gwingshi 'nod off; fall asleep'
(1067) jiibngoshi 'sleep softly; nap'

124	VAI /-ingwaam(oli)/	'sleep'

This final shows dialect variation in its form, either /-ingwaam/ or /-ingwaamo/ (at CL, for example). There is also variation as to what the first vowel is, sometimes /a/ and other times /i/.

(1068)	dningwaam	'sleep somewhere'
(1069)	giigdangwaam	'talk in one's sleep'
(1070)	mbiigwewejaaneyngwaam	'snore'
(1071)	miidngwaami	'defecate in one's sleep'
(1072)	zaamgwaam	'oversleep; sleep in'
(1073)	zoonggwaam	'sleep deeply'

125	VAI /-ishi/	'spend a season in a particular place'

(1074) bboon'shi 'spend the winter in a certain place'

126	VAI /ayaa/	'be [in a certain place], exist, act, feel'

The verb *yaa* has a semantic function similar to many finals, though it is an independent verb with the meaning, 'be [in a certain place],' that is a LOCATIONAL EXISTENTIAL verb. However, in combination with various preverbs, it is used metaphorically to refer to psychological states and conditions of health. Note, however, that with the directional preverb *bi-*, in *bi-yaa*, the meaning is 'come, arrive,' again testifying to the ambiguity in Nishnaabemwin between being in a state and entering the state.

(1075)	aakwaaji-zhi-yaa	'act mean' (M)
(1076)	bekaa-yaa	'be a quiet person'
(1077)	gaji-yaa	'act shy'
(1078)	gchi-zhi-yaa	'be proud; feel good; be wound up'
(1079)	ggwaan'sagi-yaa	'act disgusted'
(1080)	gtaamgo-yaa	'be cross' (W, CL)
(1081)	mno-yaa	'be content, be doing all right'
(1082)	mno-zhi-yaa	'be in good health'
(1083)	myagi-zhi-yaa	'act strangely'
(1084)	nboodewi-yaa	'act depressed, act lonely'
(1085)	zhi-yaa	'feel a certain way'

The equivalent VII verb has the same form and is occasionally used in metaphorical ways not unlike those of the animate verb, as in the following examples.

(1086)	giiwsaaji-yaa	'be a great loss'
(1087)	nboodewi-yaa	'be a lonely place' (W)
(1088)	zhi-yaa	'be a problem, be an issue'

9.12.17 Actor-Focus Detransitivizing Finals

A very common derivational process is that of DETRANSITIVIZATION, which derives an INTRANSITIVE verb from a TRANSITIVE, by eliminating or suppressing the GOAL role, which simultaneously focuses on the ACTOR by making it the only role. Both transitive animate (VTA) and transitive inanimate (VTI) verbs may be detransitivized. Detransitivization is particularly important in Nishnaabemwin, as only intransitive verbs may derive nouns, as in *naadmaagewin*, 'help, aid,' derived from VTA *naadmaw*, 'help AN,' by the addition of detransitivizing suffix /-ge/, then adding NOMINALIZING suffix /-win/.

9.12.17.1 Actor Focus Detransitive /-ge/

127	VAI /-ge/	actor focus detransitive

The suffix /-ge/, often preceded by LINK VOWEL /i/, is added to a host of transitive stems to produce DETRANSITIVE actor focus verbs. Transitive stems that end in /-aw/ coalesce /-aw/ and /-i-ge/ to produce /-aage/, as in the following examples.

(1089)	aankanootmaage	'interpret'
(1090)	bkinaage	'win a contest'
(1091)	bzindaage	'listen (to people)'
(1092)	dngishkaage	'kick people'
(1093)	jiibaakwaage	'do the cooking; be the cook (for others)'
(1094)	mgoshkaajiikaage	'be a bother'
(1095)	naadmaage	'help people'
(1096)	nataage	'play a certain game; gamble thus'
(1097)	nbendaage	'sleep over'
(1098)	nitaage	'hear people say thus'
(1099)	nootaage	'repeat what was heard'
(1100)	ntaage	'kill; butcher; commit murder'
(1101)	taage	'play at a game; gamble'

(1102) wiindmaage 'tell, relate, report'

The form *jiibaakwaage*, 'do the cooking, be the cook (for others)' illustrates another aspect of detransitive verbs, namely that they inherit some sense of the semantic role relationships of the transitive verbs they are derived from, even though the roles can no longer be explicitly stated. The verb *jiibaakwaage*, for example, is derived from a benefactive verb, *jiibaakwaw*, 'cook for AN,' and the detransitive verb retains some sense of doing cooking explicitly for the benefit of others. Similar effects can be seen with verbs that have incorporated elements, such as the following, all of which have the medial element /-ndib-/, 'head,' and which, as intransitive forms, retain the notion of action applied to the head of the goal.

(1103) bgaskiigndibehge 'knock people on the head'
(1104) bgaskndibehge 'slap people on the head'
(1105) bkitendbehge 'beat people on the head'

Many transitive verbs have incorporated elements that refer to an inanimate goal that is made secondary in the PREDICATION, for example, *daanzhewen*, 'dim the lights on AN,' in which the lights are secondary, or *naadaabkinan*, 'collect payment for IN,' in which the payment is secondary. When the PRIMARY GOAL role is absorbed through detransitivization, these SECONDARY GOALS might appear to become more primary, as, for example, in *daanzhewebjige*, 'dim the light, turn down the lights,' and *naadaabkin'ge*, 'collect payment.' Note however, that these secondary goals only seem salient because of the English glosses; more precise glosses for these two intransitives might be 'do light-dimming,' and 'do payment-collecting,' respectively, where there is no overt object, but rather a compound verb that includes the notion of the secondary goal within the meaning of the verb itself, rather than as an independent entity.

	VAI	VTI	
(1106)	bgandhige	bgandhan	'thresh'
(1107)	bshkozhge	bshkozhan	'cut hay'
(1108)	daanzhewenge	daanzhewenan	'dim lights; turn lights down'
(1109)	dbahge	dbahan	'pay for things; measure'
(1110)	gaashkaadhige	gaashkaadhan	'scrape (with instr.)'
(1111)	giishkboojge	giishkboodoon	'cut with a saw (cross-cut)'
(1112)	gzhaadge	gzhaadan	'look after things; take care of the home'
(1113)	gziisgahge	gziisgahan	'wash the floor'
(1114)	jiiggahge	jiiggahan	'strip logs; cut logs into squared timber'
(1115)	jiizhaagnehge	jiizhaagnehan	'clear snow away'
(1116)	moonhige	moonhan	'dig'

(1117)	mzinhige	mzinhan	'take things on credit'
(1118)	zkahge	zkahan	'light things; set things on fire'

Transitive stems that end in /d/ or /t/ show link vowel /i/, which palatalizes the final stem consonant before the detransitivizing suffix /-ge/, producing /j/ and /ch/ (IPA /dʒ/ and /tʃ/), respectively. So, example, the final /t/ of VTI stem /ozhit/, 'make,' changes to /ch/.

	VAI	VTI	
(1119)	zhichge	zhitoon	'do (it) thus'
(1120)	biinchige	biintoon	'clean up'
(1121)	maawnjichge	maawnjitoon	'collect things'
(1122)	bwaajge	bwaadan	'dream'
(1123)	ggwejiiywaajge	ggwejiiywaadan	'wrestle'
(1124)	zkwaajge	zkwaadan	'spit'
(1125)	kosjige	kosdoon	'pile things up; make a pile'

Transitive stems that end in /m/ add /-ge/ without a LINK VOWEL /i/, and the NASAL (/m/) then adjusts its position to become [ŋ], spelled «n», as in *dkonge*, 'bite.'

	VAI Form	VTA Form	Gloss
(1126)	daawnge	daawam	'borrow'
(1127)	dkonge	dkom	'bite'
(1128)	wiidoopnge	wiidoopom	'eat with others'
(1129)	wiijbatoonge	wiijbatoom	'run around with others'
(1130)	wiiknge	wiikom	'invite (people) to a meal'

Some detransitive stems in /-ge/ have irregular correspondences with transitive forms. For example, in (1133) we expect the corresponding VTI form to be **ndakwetoon*, but it is *ndakwehan;* in (1131) we expect the corresponding VTI form to be **bchinaadan* or **bchinaadoon*, but instead it is *bchinan*. In (1132), we find a similarly unpredictable relationship. In many cases it isn't clear whether the predicted verb exists, since I lack lexical data of the comprehensiveness that would be required to answer such questions.

	VAI	VTI	
(1131)	bchinaajge	bchinan	'shoot things accidentally'
(1132)	gtige	gtigaadan	'plant'
(1133)	ndakwechge	ndakwehan	'look for tracks'

Some VAI verbs in /-ge/ may lack transitive equivalents, though this is really a matter for native speakers to decide. In some cases, it is difficult to imagine a transitive verb of suitable meaning. Consulting all commonly available dictionaries of Ojibwe, I could find none of the transitive sources expected to exist for these VAI forms.

(1134)	bmibzoochge	'drive [along]; drive by'
(1135)	maaskaachge	'be out of control (e.g. in vehicle)'
(1136)	maawndoonaashkge	'round up (cows/horses)'
(1137)	maawndowaabkin'ge	'collect money; pool money'
(1138)	mmaandnge	'go to ask help of others'
(1139)	mnochge	'do well; do right; act right'
(1140)	mnomaasge	'make a nice smell (as a cook cooking up a meal); cf., *mnomaaso*, 'smell good' (of food cooking)
(1141)	mzhiiyaagnehge	'clear a path through snow'
(1142)	niimshkahge	'have a crest of feathers; be feathered'

The final /-(i)ge/ is also used in combination with a VTI element /-wit/ in borrowed words having to do with the use of technology, such as *print-wichge*, *type-wichge*, *photocopy-wichge*, *videotape-wichge*, *tape-wichge* (audiotape, videotape), *vacuum-wichge*, and *staple-wichge*. Evidently these verbs are modeled on a VTI stem with a general instrumental final which is then detransitivized with /-(i)ge/. They can be compared to borrowed verbs formed with /-(n)wi/, such as *skiinwi*, 'ski,' *skidoonwi*, 'skidoo, and *gas-up-wi*.

A few VAI verbs that end in /ge/ have structures that do not show derivational resemblance to transitive forms. In (1145), for example, the derivational structure is evidently /-ig-+-e/, where /-ig-/ is a medial referring to houses and structures, as is found in nouns ending in /-gamigw/, and in certain verbs such as *biindge*, 'enter (a structure).'

(1143)	nige	'portage'
(1144)	koge	'assemble (of groups)'
(1145)	zhige	'build a house'

9.12.17.2 Actor Focus Detransitive /-iwe/, Human Goal

128	VAI /-(i)we/	actor focus detransitive, human goal

The DETRANSITIVIZING suffix /-(i)we/ is most commonly attached to VTA stems that end in /h/, /N/, /S/, and sometimes /n/, and derives intransitive verbs that apply to unspecified human goals. Thus, for example *baabiihwe*, 'wait' can only be used in reference to waiting for people, and would not be appropriately used if the object of one's waiting were not people. The suffix thus detransitivizes, but at the same time leaves a trace of the goal's semantics (as human, animate), in the meaning of the intransitive.

Stems ending in /N/ and /S/ usually show PALATALIZATION to /zh/ and /sh/ before this suffix, due to the presence of /i/. For example, the stem /bimidaabaaN/ + /iwe/ produces *bmidaabaazhwe*, 'drag, haul people around; drive a taxi.' Note, though, that *dkonwe*, 'hold, arrest people,' (1148), fails to show palatalization. In other dialects, however, its final /n/ is not /N/ (see, e.g., Nichols and Nyholm 1995:41).

(1146)	baabiihwe	'wait (for people)'
(1147)	bmidaabaazhwe	'drag/haul people around; drive a taxi'
(1148)	dkonwe	'hold, arrest people'
(1149)	gnagjiibzhiwe	'tickle (someone)'
(1150)	maajiiwzhiwe	'take people away'
(1151)	maajiizhwe	'take people away'
(1152)	moozhhowe	'give haircuts'
(1153)	nbwaachhiwe	'visit (people)'
(1154)	niimhiwe	'give/hold a dance'
(1155)	njihwe	'fight for some reason'
(1156)	njin'zhiwe	'fight/cause harm for some reason'
(1157)	nshiwe	'kill; commit murder'
(1158)	nsitamoohwe	'explain things to people (by illustrating)'

The form *miigwe*, 'give' has a suppletive stem, derived as it is from *miinaad*, 'give something to AN' (stem /miiN/). A form based on *wiijiiw*, 'go with AN,' appears irregular, but has its form due to the simplification of consonants that occurs with syncope, adjusting from /wiijii<u>wiw</u>e/ to /wiijii<u>w</u>e/.

(1159)	wiijiiwe	'go along with/accompany others'

9.12.17.3 Actor Focus Detransitive /-aaso/

129	VAI /-aaso/	actor focus detransitive

A small number of verbs, based on TRANSITIVE INANIMATE (VTI) STEMS, take a final /-aaso/ to derive DETRANSITIVE forms. The VTI theme suffix (/-am/ or /-oo/) is not present in the derived form. The form *mookdaaso*, 'whittle,' lacks a transitive correspondent in many dialects of Anishinaabemowin.

	VAI Form	VAI Gloss	VTI Form	VTI Gloss
(1160)	gkendaaso	'be intelligent'	/gikend+am/	'know s.t.'
(1161)	gindaaso	'count, read'	/agind+am/	'count s.t.'
(1162)	mookdaaso	'whittle'	(no transitive correspondent)	
(1163)	naajtaaso	'lose a lot'	/naajit+oo/	'lose s.t.'

9.12.18 Reflexive /-idizo/

130	VAI /-idizo/	reflexive

REFLEXIVE verbs are those in which an actor acts upon himself or herself, as in *bdakhodzo*, 'prick oneself.' Such verbs are freely made from any transitive animate (VTA) verb, by attaching the complex /-idizo/ to the bare VTA stem. Only transitive animate verbs can have reflexive forms; transitive inanimate (VTI) verbs never do, because of the rule that transitive relations must always involve at least one animate, as either ACTOR or GOAL, and a transitive inanimate reflexive would have to have an inanimate actor and goal. VTA stems ending in /-aw/ show COALESCENCE with the reflexive suffix to produce /-aadizo/, as in (1165), below (from stem /biidaw/, 'bring something for AN'). Other aspects of morphological behaviour are as with the RECIPROCAL, which is discussed below. Reflexive verbs are INTRANSITIVE in Nishnaabemwin. The reflexive suffix appears to be complex, made up of an element /-idi/ that also seems to be present in the motion final /-bahidi/, 'run as a group' and in the reciprocal, /-idi/. In reflexive and reciprocal constructions, its usage suggests the absorption of the goal role, rendering the verb intransitive. The additional element /-zo/ on reflexive forms is a common VAI final (see e.g., finals 24 and 25, above, p. 359).

The following examples illustrate a few reflexive forms. Several of these forms have specialized meanings, especially "middle" senses in which the actor acts on his/her own behalf.

(1164) bdakhodzo 'prick oneself'
(1165) biidaadzo 'bring s.t. for one's own use'
(1166) ggwepnandzo 'make every effort; try very hard (in spite of illness)'
(1167) gtaamgwendizo 'think that one is the greatest' (W, CL)
(1168) dbendizo 'be on one's own'
(1169) gziingwehdizo 'wash/wipe one's face'

Although the reflexive is extremely productive, and its meaning transparent, there are occasional irregularities, as in the following example, where the reflexive form appears to be based on a VTA stem /nawapwaankodaw/, instead of the attested VTA stem /nawapwaankaw/.

(1170) nwapwaankaw nwapwaankodaadzo 'pack a lunch for oneself'

9.12.19 Reciprocal /-idi/

131	VAI /-(i)di/	reciprocal

The RECIPROCAL, in which the ACTOR and GOAL act upon each other concurrently, is formed by the addition of /-(i)di/ to the VTA stem. Stems ending in /m/, such as (1173) and (1176) below, attach /-di/ without the initial link vowel, /i/. VTA stems ending in /aw/ show COALESCENCE with /-i-di/ to produce /aadi/, as in (1171) and (1178) below. A few reciprocals do not seem to have corresponding productive VTA forms, such as (1172) below.

(1171) ggweji-bkinaadi 'compete against AN' (< bkinaw 'beat/win against AN')
(1172) ggwejkandi 'race against AN'
(1173) giikaandi 'be engaged in a quarrel with AN' (< giikaam 'yell at AN')
(1174) maawnjihdi 'assemble' (< maawnjih 'gather AN together')
(1175) miigaadi 'fight each other' (< miigaazh 'fight against AN')
(1176) ndaapnendi 'quarrel with e.o. for a reason < ndaapnem 'quarrel w/ AN'
(1177) njinnidi 'fight with/harm each other for some reason'
(1178) taadi 'bet one another, gamble with one another' (Od) < /ataw/
(1179) webiichgedi 'race each other'
(1180) wiijiindi 'accompany each other' (< wiijiiw 'accompany AN')

9.12.20 Incorporated Goal Verbs

There is a group of verbs which INCORPORATE the NOMINAL goal of the action into the verb itself, as a medial, as in the following examples. The derived verb is invariably inflected as an intransitive.

	VAI	Gloss	Goal Noun	Gloss
(1181)	moonhapnii	'pick/dig potatoes'	/apiny/	'potato'
(1182)	baapiiwkizneshin	'brush off one's shoes'	/makizin/	'shoe'
(1183)	naajmiijme	'fetch food'	/miijim/	'food'
(1184)	gezbinaagne	'clear the dishes'	/onaagan/	'dish'

These verbs share a similar structure, consisting of a transitive initial component, a nominal medial element corresponding to a free noun, and a final element /-e/ that generally occurs after noun medials, such as the body part terms in descriptive verbs of body parts,

e.g., *m(n)gizde*, 'have a big foot' (from /mang+i+zid+e/), which has a medial body part term /zid/, 'foot.' As with body part verbs, final /-e/ merges with stem-final /y/ to produce /ii/, as in /apiny/, 'potato,' in (1181), above.

The following incorporating verbs exist, each provided with examples. Note that few of these constructions seem to be very productive.

132	VAI /moonah-_-e/	'dig for N'

(1185) moonhapnii 'dig for potatoes'
(1186) moonhashkiwe 'dig for medicinal herbs'

133	VAI /aaw(ad)-_-e/	'haul N'

(1187) aawshkwe 'haul hay' (M)

Compare *aawzibii*, 'haul water'

134	VAI /nanda-_-e/	'look for N; seek N'

		Incorp. Noun
(1188) nda-piniiwe	'search for potatoes'	/apiny/
(1189) bbaa-nda-bezhgoognzhiiwe	'go about looking for horses'	/bezhigooganzhii/
(1190) bba-nda-bzhikiiwe	'go about looking for cows'	/bizhikiw/

Note also *ndomaakme*, 'look for lice, pick lice,' which has /ndo/ (or /nanda-/) in root position.

135	VAI /naad-_e/	'fetch N, get N'

(1191) naajmiijme 'fetch food' /miijim/ ni 'food'
(1192) naadsabii 'fetch a fishnet, check one's fishing net' /asaby/ na 'net'
(1193) naadzhoon'yaawe 'go get one's money' /zhooniyaa/ na/ni 'money'

The form in (1193) can be compared with *naadaabkwe*, with the same meaning, but having medial /-aabikw-/, 'metal, inorganic solid.' Note also the following verb forms, which are compounds. Rather than incorporating the goal into medial position, it is prefixed to an animate intransitive verb.

(1194) nbi-naadi(i) 'fetch water'
(1195) waawaashkeshi-giiwse 'hunt deer'

136	VAI /gziibiig-_-e/	'wash N'

(1196) gziibiignaagne 'wash dishes'

This construction is also used with many incorporated body part terms, e.g., *gziibiigninjii*, 'wash one's hands' (medial /-ninjy-/ 'hand'). It also occurs with a classifier-like medial element /-isag-/, 'wood, floor,' in *gziibiigsagnige*, 'wash woodwork.'

9.12.20.1 Special (Lexicalized) Medials

There are some verbs that have a structure like that of an incorporating verb, but which have medials that do not correspond to presently used independent nouns. The following examples illustrate.

137	Medial /-aabikw-/	'money'

(1197) naadaabkwe 'go get one's money'
(1198) gindaabkwe 'count one's money'
(1199) maawndowaabkwe 'collect money, pool money'

The independent word for money is *zhoon'yaa*. The medial /-aabikw-/ is related to the inorganic classifier /-aabik/, and suggests an older period of history in which money was more commonly in the form of coins than paper currency.

138	Medial /-is-/	'(fire)wood'

(1200) mnise 'chop firewood; cut firewood'
(1201) bgidnise 'put wood in the fire'

For some speakers the general independent word for firewood is *msan*, plural *msanan*; for other speakers *mshi* is the singular and *msan* is the PLURAL. In this case, it appears that the independent noun arose from the use of a GENERALIZED POSSESSOR FORM with prefix /m-/, with a structure /m-is-i/, with inanimate noun final /-i/. This medial would seem to be related to medial /-isag-/, 'floor,' as well.

139	Medial /-konay-/	'clothing'

(1202) biiskon'ye 'put on clothes'
(1203) giiskon'ye 'take off clothes'
(1204) msko-kon'ye 'wear red clothes

There is no widely-used general independent term for clothing. At Wikwemikong, *gwiwin* (plural *gwiwnan* or *gwinan*) is used. *Gwinaanan* (plural) is used at CL and R, and *ndahiiman*, lit., 'my things,' at W and CL. Many speakers now have /w/ in place of traditional /y/ in /-konay-/, so will say, e.g., *biiskonwe* for (1202).

9.12.20.2 Other Quasi-Incorporating Verbs

In addition to the incorporating verbs mentioned above, there are verbs with transitive initials, but which lack the incorporating final /-e/. The medials in these verbs bear no relation to independent nouns with equivalent meanings. It might be best in these cases to analyze the medial+final complex as some type of complex final. Some examples follow:

140	VAI /-aawaso/	'take care of, attend to children'

Here the element corresponding to 'child' is apparently /-aawas-/, though it is hard to tell. The INITIALS are all TRANSITIVE ANIMATE STEMS. The contemporary word for 'child' is *binoojiinh*, though a specialized form for child also occurs in *niijaan'si*, 'be pregnant, have a child' (VAI).

(1205) gzhaadaawso 'baby-sit'
(1206) gzhaawso 'baby-sit, take care of one's children'
(1207) mwihaawso 'have the child(ren) one's caring for keep crying'
(1208) nbehaawso 'put the children to bed'
(1209) shamaawso 'feed one's offspring'

141	VAI /-aawazo/	'attend to a group of people, things'

These verbs are possibly built on a COMPLEX INITIAL, structurally consisting of some initial, such as *biindge-*, 'enter, inside' in combination with the verbal element /aawad, aawaz/, 'haul' (compare *aawdoon*, 'haul s.t. (inan.) and *aawazh*, 'haul s.t. (an.)), to which is then added a VAI final, /o/. But I have no evidence to support such an analysis.

(1210) biindgeyaawzo 'bring a load inside'
(1211) maajiiyaawzo 'lead a group away'

(1212) gwaashkndaawzo 'help people off [a vehicle]'

142	VAI /-oonzhe/	'(bearing) children'

(1213) niiskoonzhe 'have a lot of children' (of women)
(1214) giinpoonzhe 'bear a child looking like something one looked at'

143	VAI /-aaso/	'carry a load'

Even more afield in terms of structure, the final /-aaso/ specifies reference to the act of carrying, where the notion of a load is vaguely referred to in the semantics of the final. These verbs are related to transitive inanimate verbs with VTI2 THEME SUFFIX /-oo/.

(1215) biidaaso 'bring a pile of stuff'
(1216) bmiwdaaso 'carry a load; be burdened'
(1217) zaagjitaaso 'carry things outside'
(1218) taaso 'put things away on a shelf'

144	VAI /-oodegozi/	'attend to one's belongings'

These words may have a medial element /-oode-/, pertaining to belongings, perhaps related to the words *oodenaw*, 'town,' and *ndoodem*, 'my totem, my clan.' It is also found in the expressions *ngodoode*, NI 'one family,' and *niizhoode*, 'two families.'

(1219) bgamoodegzi 'arrive with one's things'
(1220) maajiiyoodegzi 'cart one's belongings away'

9.12.21 VAI Finals Used in Secondary Derivation

Several finals occurring in VAI verbs are only used in secondary derivation. I list some of the more common and productive ones in this section.

9.12.21.1 Verbs of Feigning, Pretending

145	VAI /-kaazo/	'pretend to V; pretend to be (a) N'

VAI final /-kaazo/ can be added to virtually any VAI verb to derive a VERB OF PRETENDING (also sometimes called a VERB OF FEIGNING). Such forms always represent secondary derivation, since the initial component is always a free (independent) word. The final vow-

els of the initial component show variable adjustment when /-kaazo/ is added. Some stems ending in /aa/, for example, *nbaa*, 'sleep,' change their final vowel to /e/, producing *nbekaazo*; however, the vowel /aa/ is retained with initial *ndamtaa*, 'be busy.' In the cases of verbs ending in /i/, sometimes there is lengthening of the final vowel, as in (1232) and (1233), whereas in *yekgaabwikaazo*, 'pretend to be tired from standing,' and *mwikaazo*, 'pretend to cry,' there is no lengthening. Stems that end in /o/ consistently show lengthening, as in (1230).

(1221)	aakshkadekaazo	'pretend to have a stomach-ache' « aakshkade
(1222)	aakziikaazo	'pretend to be sick' « aakzi
(1223)	gajiikaazo	'pretend to be shy' « gaji
(1224)	gdimaagziikaazo	'pretend to be poor' « gdimaagzi
(1225)	giiwshkwebiikaazo	'pretend to be drunk' « giiwshkwebii
(1226)	mshkawziikaazo	'pretend to be strong' « mshkawzi
(1227)	mwikaazo	'pretend to cry' « mwi
(1228)	namhekaazo	'pretend to pray; pretend to be a Christian' « namhe
(1229)	nbekaazo	'pretend to be asleep' « nbaa
(1230)	nbookaazo	'pretend to be dead' « nbo
(1231)	ndamtaakaazo	'pretend to be busy' « ndamtaa
(1232)	niinmiziikaazo	'pretend to be weak' « niinmizi
(1233)	nshkaadziikaazo	'pretend to be angry' « nshkaadzi
(1234)	wiidgemaagnikaazo	'pretend to be married' « wiidgemaagan (NA)
(1235)	wiisniikaazo	'pretend to eat' « wiisni
(1236)	yekgaabwikaazo	'pretend to be tired standing' « yekgaabwi
(1237)	zegziikaazo	'pretend to be afraid' « zegzi

Verbs with stems that end in a nasal consonant, that is, /m/ or /n/, such as those having the final /-endam/, have /oo/ between the stem and the /-kaazo/ suffix.

(1238)	bjigeshnookaazo	'pretend to trip' (W, CL) « bjigeshin
(1239)	bzogeshnookaazo	'pretend to trip' (M, CL) « bzogeshin
(1240)	giisaadendmookaazo	'pretend to be sorry' (Od) « giisaadendam
(1241)	maanaadendmookaazo	'pretend to be unhappy' « maanaadendam
(1242)	nsitamookaazo	'pretend to know/understand' (M, CL) « nsitam
(1243)	sosdamookaazo	'pretend to have a coughing spell' (Od) « sosdam

Verbs with /-kaazo/ may also signify mimicking, as opposed to pretending.

(1244)	nwekaazo	'imitate a certain sound' « nwe, 'sound so'

Nouns may also function as initials with /-kaazo/, as in the following examples. Example (1248) is interesting in having the AUGMENTED STEM form of a DEPENDENT NOUN, with augment /aa/ used in forms such as the LOCATIVE, e.g., *wiibdaang*, 'on her/his tooth/teeth,' compared to singular *nwiibid*, 'my tooth.'

(1245)	gchi-yaakaazo	'pretend to be an adult' « gchi-yaa, 'adult'
(1246)	shkiniigkaazo	'pretend to be young' « shkiniigi, 'young adult'
(1247)	shkinwekaazo	'pretend to be single (of men); pretend to be unmarried' « shkinwe, 'young unmarried man'
(1248)	wiibdaakaazo	'have/wear false teeth' « /wiibid-aa-/ 'tooth'

9.12.21.2 Verbs of Negative Character and Disposition

146	VAI /-ishki/	'be habitually V-[dispreferred activity]

The final /-shki/ is added to VAI verbs to produce what are sometimes called VERBS OF ADDICTION, usually implying qualities of character that are socially dispreferred. No lengthening of final short vowels occurs before this final.

(1249)	gajshki	'be naturally shy'	gaji	'by shy'
(1250)	gaaweshki	'have a jealous nature'	gaawe	'be jealous'
(1251)	ggiinwishki	'tell a lie'	ggiinwi	'tell a lie'
(1252)	gtimshki	'be naturally lazy'	gtimi	'be lazy'
(1253)	mgoshkaajiikaageshki	'be a constant bother'	mgoshkaajii=kaage	'be a bother'
(1254)	miigaazshki	'be pugnacious'	miigaazo	'fight'
(1255)	nbeshki	'be a sleepy-head'	nbaa	'sleep'

In rare cases, the ending /-shki/ can be added to verbs expressing favorable qualities, as in the following.

(1256)	miigweshki	'be generous'	miigwe	'give things away'

In the following case, although the base verb is positive, *debwe*, 'be right, speak the truth' VAI, in combination with preverb *wii-*, 'future tense (implying volition),' the suffix

/-shki/ produces a negative effect.

(1257)	wii-debweshki	'be the sort of person who always wants to get in the last word' Od	debwe	'be right, speak truth'

9.12.21.3 Verbs of Possession

147	VAI N_{Poss}/-i/	'have N'

Verbs of possession are formed by adding final /-i/ to a THIRD PERSON POSSESSED NOMINAL THEME. Nouns forming possessed themes with suffix /-im/ show the suffix in their corresponding verbs of possession, as in (1260), while those that lack it may not, as in (1263). Stems that end in /w/ merge it with the final /-i/ to produce /o/, as in (1259). Stems that take augment /-aa/ in their locative forms show the augment in verbs of possession, as in (1267) and (1269), which have locatives *nmasdaang* and *nzidaang*, respectively. Words that have SUPPLETIVE possessive stems, such as *nimosh*, 'dog,' and *binoojiinh*, 'child,' use the possessive stems to form verbs of possession, as can be seen from (1261) and (1268). Verbs of possession relating to body parts use the possessed form of the noun, as opposed to the medial form, as can be seen from (1122), which has a medial form /-gaad-/ as opposed to possessed stem /+kaad/.

	V of Possession	Underlying Form	Gloss	Noun Stem
(1258)	bezhgoogzhiimi	/obezhgoogzhiimi/	'have a horse'	/bezhgoogzhi-im/
(1259)	bikwaakdo	/obikwaakdo/	'have a ball'	/bikwaakwadw/
(1260)	bizhkiimi	/obizhikiimi/	'have a cow'	/bizhiiki-im/
(1261)	dayi	/odayi/	'have a dog'	/+day/
(1262)	dakiimi	/odakiimi/	'have/own land'	/aki/
(1263)	dibhagiizswaani	/odibahagiiziswaani/	'have a watch/clock'	/dibahagiizswaan/
(1264)	dikmi	/odikomi/	'have lice; have itch'	/+ikw(a)/ NAD
(1265)	doodaabaani	/odoodaabaani/	'have a car'	/odaabaan/
(1266)	kaadi	/okaadi/	'have a leg'	/+kaad/ NID
(1267)	masdaa	/omasad-aa-i/	'have a paunch'	/+masad-aa-/ NID
(1268)	niijaansi	/oniijaanisi/	'have a child'	/+niijaanis/
(1269)	zidaa	/ozidaa-i/	'have a foot'	/zid-aa-/ NID
(1270)	nahaangshiimi	/onahaangishiimi/	'have a son-in-law'	/+nahaangish/ NAD

POSSESSION WITH EXISTENTIAL YAA. It is also possible to indicate possession with VAI *yaa*, 'be (in a location), exist,' as in the following example:

(10) ***Yaawan*** wgwisan.

'S/he has a son.' (lit. 'Her/His son exists.') (AM39.151)

> **Yaawan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv exists'; **wgwisan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's son.'

TRANSITIVE VERBS OF POSSESSION. Possession may also be expressed with transitive verbs *yaawaad* (VTA, stem /ayaaw/) and *yaang* (VTI, stem /ayaam/), which are related to the intransitive existential/locational verb *yaa*, illustrated in example (10), above. The following examples illustrate the use of transitive forms.

(11) Gaa wii ***gii-yaawaasiiwaan*** dbahgiiswaanan zhaazhi go Nishnaabeg.

'The Indians of old had no clocks or watches.' (AM27.1)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **gii-yaawaasiiwaan** *vta ind neg 3pProx>3obv* 'ANpl did not have ANobv'; **dbahgiiswaanan** *na 3obv* 'clock/watch'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **go** *av* 'indeed'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians.'

(12) Gye go mii gii-wiidgemaad, gye go mii wiiba ***gii-yaawaawaad*** binoojiinyan.

'Then he married her; and soon they had children.' (AM28.6)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **go** *av* 'indeed'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-wiidgemaad** *vta conj 3sProx>3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg married ANobv'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **go** *av* 'indeed'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **wiiba** *av* 'soon'; **gii-yaawaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx>3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl had ANobv'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren).'

(13) Bngiishenh ge nii ***ndayaan*** mtigwaakiins maa endaayaan.

'I too have a small plot of wooded land there where I dwell.' (AM15.11)

> **Bngiishenh** *av* 'a little'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **nii** *pr pers 1sg* 'I'; **ndayaan** *vti ind 1s>0s* 'I have INsg'; **mtigwaakiins** *ni 0s* 'stand of trees'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

(14) Wedi waa-ni-bmiseg mii iw fair ***wii-yaamwaad*** giw Nishnaabeg maa Waabow Island.

'Next week the Indians on Walpole Island are going to hold a fair.' (AM17.1)

> **Wedi** *av* 'next'; **waa-ni-bmiseg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN will occur in time' (week); **mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *pr dem dis 0s* 'that'; **wii-yaamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx>0* '(CNJ) ANpl will have IN'; **giw** *pr dem dist 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **maa** *av* 'there.'

Fluent speakers have clear preferences as to whether derived (intransitive) verbs of possession as opposed to transitive verbs of possession are more appropriate for given referents.

PARTICIPIAL VERBS OF KIN RELATIONSHIP. Some kin relations are expressed by PARTICIPIALIZED VERBS OF POSSESSION, such as *weniijaanid*, 'mother,' which derives from /oniijaani/, 'have a child,' with SUPPLETIVE possessed noun stem /-niijaan/, 'child.' By comparison, the verb *nahaangshiimi*, 'have a son-in-law' VAI (M), does not show the INITIAL CHANGE associated with participles, clearly marking it as a verb of possession form.

The verb form *woosi*, 'have a father' (CL, W) is somewhat unusual in its possessive theme, in apparently having a third person (POSSESSOR) prefix /w/, which does not occur with the simple third person possessed noun, *oosan*, 'ANsg's father.' Related to this word is the form *weyoosid*, 'a man's child' NA, which appears to add third person prefix /o-/ to the stem /oos/, producing /oyoos/, which is then undergoes INITIAL CHANGE to become /weyoos/.

9.12.21.4 Verbs of Constructive Application

148	VAI N/-ke/	'gather N, hunt N, work with N, etc.'

The final /-ke/ takes a noun as its INITIAL and derives verbs that generally involve gathering or harvesting when the noun is a plant or agricultural product; hunting, when the noun is an animal; manufacture, when the noun is an object of manufacture; and manipulation for useful purpose, when the noun represents a manipulable object, including such things as *semaa*, 'tobacco,' *gaaway*, 'porcupine quills,' and even *mnidoo*, 'spirit being.' Generalizing, this final can be said to standardly derive verbs of constructive social activity as applied to whatever the initial represents. In some cases, though, meanings are not entirely predictable from the nature of the noun referent, such as with *bkwaakdoke*, which does mean 'make a ball,' but generally, 'play ball,' though of course the same word could be used with the former meaning. And when the noun referents are *nini*, 'man,' or *kwe*, 'woman,' in combination with the preverb *nda-*, 'look to [do something],' the meaning is that of lascivious pursuit of the opposite sex. This is quite interesting, because in these cases, the meaning is a specialized composition involving a PREVERB, an INITIAL, and a FINAL.

This final is quite productive, occurring with many borrowed words, such as in the following example. Note too *toast-ke*, 'make toast,' and *homework-ke*, 'do homework' (M).

(15) A: Gojiing gga-wiisnimi. B: Mii gsha, ***gga-picnickemi.***

'A: "We'll eat outside." B: "For sure, we'll have a picnic."' (ED)

> **Gojiing** *av* 'out of doors'; **gga-wiisnimi** *vai ind 21* 'we (incl.) will eat'. **Mii** *av* 'so'; **gsha** *av* 'indeed'; **gga-picnickemi** *vai ind 21* 'we (incl.) will have a picnic.'

(1271)	bkwaakdoke	'play ball'
(1272)	dehminke	'pick strawberries'
(1273)	gaawyike	'do quill-work'
(1274)	giigoonyke	'go fishing'
(1275)	jiigke	'hunt fishers' (n.b., the animal)
(1276)	jiimaanke	'make boats/canoes'
(1277)	kokmidaaske	'make socks' (Od)
(1278)	kosjigaanske	'stack hay'
(1279)	mdaaske	'make socks'
(1280)	memengwaanyke	'catch butterflies'
(1281)	mhiingnike	'hunt wolves'
(1282)	miinke	'pick berries, pick blueberries'
(1283)	miizhshkoke	'gather hay; do some haying'
(1284)	mkadeke	'fast (not eat)' [lit., 'make (oneself) black']
(1285)	mnidooke	'practise traditional religion; worship manido'
(1286)	mshkikiike	'make medicine'
(1287)	nda-kweke	'search for women'
(1288)	nda-niniike	'search for/solicit men'
(1289)	n'gigke	'trap otters'
(1290)	nwapwaanke	'pack a lunch'
(1291)	sabiike	'make nets'
(1292)	saswinke	'make a nest' (e.g., a bird)
(1293)	semaanke	'work with tobacco'
(1294)	ziisbaakdoke	'make maple syrup'

9.13 Roots and Initials

The elements that function as initials are semantically varied, though in some cases there are rather obvious semi-paradigmatic groupings of related concepts. In the following notes I list some notional groupings of initials, particularly those that are more common. My presentation doesn't begin to account for the richness of Nishnaabemwin initials, and is offered only as a pointer to a rich area of language that is largely neglected in this study.

9.13.1 Directional Roots

There is a set of four DIRECTIONAL ROOTS that orient motion events to some reference point, often the speaker's location, or some reference point established within the discourse. These elements are discussed elsewhere, e.g., in their PREVERB forms in Chapter 3.9.2.3, in their LOCATIVE functions in Chapter 15.2.3, and in their use as TENSE/ASPECTUAL markers in Chapter 16.2.8. Here I provide a few examples of their usage in intransitive verbs.

Directional Roots	
/biid-/, /biij-/	'toward, come and…'
/anim-/	'away, go (away) and…'
/bim-/	'along, go along and…'
/bibaam-/, /babaam-/	'around, go around and…'

Directional root /biid-/, 'toward speaker, come and…'

(1295) biidaagmose 'walk this way in snowshoes'
(1296) biidaasmabi 'sit facing this way'
(1297) biijdiyeshin 'lie with one's rearend facing this way'
(1298) biijwine 'come carrying things'

Directional root /anim-/, 'away from speaker, go and…'

(1299) nimaajmo 'walk away talking about something'
(1300) nimaanzhe 'head off with lights on' (of vehicles)'
(1301) nimwewetoo 'head off making noise'

Directional root /bim-/, 'along, by, go along and…'

(1302) bmaanzhe 'go [along] with lights on' (of vehicles)
(1303) bmaashi 'sail [along], be blown [along] by the wind'
(1304) bmademo 'go [along] crying'

Directional root /babaam-/, /bibaam-/, 'go around…'

(1305) bbaamaajmo 'spread a rumour' (lit., 'talk around')
(1306) bbaamdaabaazo 'drag one's family around, drag one's things around'
(1307) bbaamgaa 'dance around'

9.13.2 Relative Roots

RELATIVE ROOTS are used to specify various relations between a verb and some element, which may serve to indicate the predicate's source, reason, manner, location, quantity, degree, or extent. They are discussed elsewhere as well, e.g., Chapter 3.9.2.2, Chapter 13.3, and Chapter 17.1. The following chart provides the basic (UNDERLYING) form of each ROOT, along with a number of "written" forms, representing the various ALLOMORPHIC variants of each root.

Basic Form	Written Forms	Gloss
/iN-/	/i-/, /in-/, /izh-/	'to; in such a way'
/ond-/	/ond-/, /onj-/	'from, source, reason'
/apiit-/	/apiit-/, /apiich-/	'extent; particular amount'
/akw-/	/akw-/	'extent; particular degree'
/daN-/	/dan-/, /dazh-/	'there, in that location'
/daSw-/	/dasw-/, /dash-/	'so many; particular number'

The relative root /iN-/ shows considerable variation in the way it attaches to finals. In some cases it surfaces as /in-/, as in *naabdizi* /inaabadizi/, 'be put to a certain use' (VAI) and *nendam* /inendam/, 'decide to do [something]; think; vote' (VAI). In certain cases in which /iN-/ is attached to finals that begin with the consonant /b/, and perhaps historically /g/, the /N/ is realized only as a STRENGTHENING of the initial consonant of the final, for example, as in *pizo*, 'drive in a particular way, drive along a particular route' (VAI), from /iN+bizo/, *patoo*, 'run in a particular way, run along a particular route' (VAI), from /iN+batoo/, and *pahwe*, 'run from something in a particular way, run from something to a particular place' (VAI), from /iN+bahiwe/. The relative root /iN-/ is also present in the verb *kido* /ikido/, 'say something' (VAI), where it appears to be combined with /gido/, which perhaps shows up in the word *giigdo* /giigido/, 'talk, speak,' which also shows REDUPLICATION.

The verbs in the following lists are all VAI, unless otherwise indicated.

With Relative Root /iN-/

(1308) nakzhiwe 'paddle in a certain direction; paddle a certain way'
(1309) nishe 'hear a certain way'
(1310) patoo 'run in a certain way, in a certain direction'
(1311) pizo 'drive in a certain way, in a certain direction'
(1312) zhikzo 'be cut in a certain way'
(1313) zhinaagzi 'look a certain way'
(1314) zhinkaazo 'be called a certain name, be so named'

With Relative Root /ond-/

(1315) ndaabso 'have smoke/steam coming from a certain place'
(1316) ndaadzi 'be born in a certain place'
(1317) ndahbii 'draw water from a certain place'
(1318) njigaabwi 'stand back from a certain place; take a side in a dispute'
(1319) njihwe 'fight for a certain reason'
(1320) njijii(tam) 'set out from a certain place'

With Relative Root /apiit-/

(1321) piitaapi 'laugh to a certain extent'
(1322) piichgi 'be grown to a certain amount'
(1323) piichgidaazo 'be angry to a certain extent'
(1324) piiskaa 'be a certain distance along, be at one's pace'
(1325) piisnaagod 'seem to be a certain time' (VII)
(1326) piitaagnagii 'walk in snow of a certain depth'
(1327) piitnigzi 'be a of a certain weight'

With Relative Root /akw-/

(1328) kokwe 'leave tracks for a certain distance' (M)
(1329) kookshin 'be arranged in rows to a certain depth'
(1330) koozi 'be a certain length'
(1331) kwaabzo 'drive a certain distance'
(1332) kwaakzi 'be a certain length (of wooden objects)'
(1333) kwaamo 'be a road of a certain length' (VII)

With Relative Root /daN-/

(1334) dnaaboozo 'obtain a drink in a certain place'
(1335) dnakii 'live in a certain place'
(1336) dningwaam 'sleep in a certain place'
(1337) dnizi 'live in a certain place'
(1338) dzhigaabwi 'stand around in a certain place'
(1339) dzhikaa 'take a certain amount of time to do something'
(1340) dzhitaa 'take a certain amount of time to do something'
(1341) dzhishin 'lie buried in a certain place'

With Relative Root /daS(w)-/

(1342) dso-bboon'gizi 'be a certain number of years old'
(1343) dshi 'be a certain amount, be a certain number'
(1344) dsognagzi 'be a certain date'
(1345) dso-dbahgane 'be a certain hour' (VII)

9.13.3 Other Roots and Initials

Other notional classes of roots can easily be assembled. The following lists are merely representative, and not remotely exhaustive. A thorough study of Nishnaabemwin roots would fill many volumes by itself. Examples for each root or initial listed below can easily be found in Rhodes 1985. Forms listed are underlying, prior to the application of syncope.

SPECIFYING RELATIVE LOCATION. *biind, biindge*, 'in(side)'; *dakam*, 'across'; *niis*, 'down'; *omb*, 'up'; *zaag*, 'out'; *zaagewe*, 'coming into view'; *zaagji*, 'outside'; *zhaab*, 'through.'

SPECIFYING ACTIONS. *bgam*, 'arrive'; *biimskw*, 'spinning, turning'; *gwek*, 'turn, change'; *mook*, 'emerge.':

SPECIFYING MANNERS. *aab*, 'REVERSATIVE' (e.g., as in untie, unlock, etc.); *aabd, aabj*, 'continually, constantly, without interruption'; *aand, aanj*, 'change'; *biim*, 'twisted, winding'; *bit, bich*, 'accidentally'; *gagwetaan*, 'terribly, extremely'; *gonib*, 'quickly'; *madwe*, 'audibly, making noise'; *waann*, 'in a circle, circular'; *wiid, wiij*, 'with, accompanying'; *wiisag*, 'in pain; painfully'; *zaam(aakw)*, 'too much.'

SPECIFYING QUALITIES. *bagone*, 'having a hole'; *biin*,'clean'; *biis*, 'finely particulate; in pieces'; *biskiig*, 'wrinkled, folded' (esp. cloth); *bikw*, 'bumpy'; *dabas*, 'low'; *dak*, 'cold'; *dakw*, 'short'; *gaach*, 'small'; *gbook*, 'damp'; *giizh*, 'warm'; *gizh*, 'hot'; *ginw*, 'long'; *ishp*, 'high'; *maanaad, maanaaz*, 'bad, ugly'; *makade*, 'black'; *mang*, 'big'; *mashkaw*, 'hard, strong'; *minw*, 'good'; *miskw*, 'red'; *nabag*, 'flat'; *niinm*, 'weak'; *nook*, 'soft'; *waab*, 'white, pale'; *waabjii*, 'white, pale'; *waawye*, 'round'; *wiimb*, 'hollow'; wiin, 'dirty'; *zhak*, 'damp'; *zhooshkw*, 'slippery, smooth.'

SPECIFYING STATES. *bizhishigw*, 'empty'; *gib, gibaak*, 'blocked; closed'; *mooshkn(e)*, 'full'; *niisaak*, 'opened; dismantled.'

SPECIFYING QUANTITIES. *aabt*, 'half'; *ngod*, 'one'; *niizh*, 'two'; *nso*, 'three,' etc.

SPECIFYING ASPECTS. *boon*, 'stop'; *giizh*, 'finish'; *maad, maajii*, 'start'; *ishkwaa*, 'over; finished'; *web*, 'start.'

SPECIFYING PHYSICAL ORIENTATIONS. *aazhigid*, 'backwards'; *aankoo*, 'together; in a row; in succession'; *aabood, aabooj*, 'flipped; flipped over'; *aatwaa*, 'right side up'; *ashawe*, 'tilted; on one's side'; *ajidakii*, 'upside down.'

9.14 Summary Notes on Roots and Preverbs

In summary, Nishnaabemwin words have four well-defined DERIVATIONAL positions:

Preverb	Initial	Medial	Final

The boundary between the preverb and initial position is relatively porous, and some elements show variable representation depending on the nature of the material they are associated with. For example, the aspectual element /maad/, 'start,' appears as preverb *maajii-* in *maajii-giigdo*, 'begin to talk/speak,' but as an initial in *maadaapi*, 'start to laugh.' Preverbs seem to be readily formed from roots by the addition of /-i/ or /-ii/, and there is no logical limit to the number of preverbs that may occur in a word. For example, there are six in the tongue twister *Gga-gchi-niisaakye-zaagji-ziinkiigmaane-bskiigdigwe-bmiboojgesahin*, 'I'll throw you down the hill so hard the snot will come out of your nose and your knees will buckle.' Some of these preverbs are themselves complex elements with meanings such as 'be flowing with snot,' and 'have buckled knees.' As with all areas of Nishnaabemwin grammar, the language is so rich in resources that I can only begin to address things in this monograph. Many common preverbs, such as the DIRECTIONALS, have somewhat different PREVERB and ROOT forms, and there is at least one directional preverb that has no root form. A few other preverbs have no root forms, most notably TENSE and MODAL markers such as /ga-/, FUTURE, /wii-/, VOLITIONAL FUTURE, and /daa-/, MODAL. The ubiquitous preverb *gchi-*, 'great, extreme,' doesn't appear to have a productive root correspondent. All of the relative roots have preverb forms, which are commonly used. The relative root /iN/ sometimes forms an initial in construction with verbs, especially those that begin with /a/ or /aa/, as in *naabdizi*, 'be put to a certain use,' where /iN/ is attached to *aabdizi*, 'be useful,' and *nankii*, 'act in a certain way, works in a certain way' where /iN/ is attached to *nokii*, 'work.'

9.15 Additional Reading

The linguistic topics in this chapter and the following two have been studied in considerable detail by many scholars, including Bloomfield (1958 and 1962), Goddard (1990),

Johnston (1978), Nichols (1980), O'Meara (1990), and Rhodes (1976a). Bloomfield 1958 gives the most articulated list of word-components for Nishnaabemwin, since it is a grammar based on Andrew Medler's speech. Bloomfield 1962 is a truly virtuoso piece of detailed analysis, but is written in a telegraphic style that make it of use only to the most dedicated and persevering students. Basil Johnston's language course (Johnston 1978) and lexicon (Johnston 1979) provide very useful and stimulating thematically organized groupings of Nishnaabemwin vocabulary as well, with a native speaker's perspective. Perusing any dictionary (Rhodes 1985, Nichols and Nyholm 1995, McGregor 1987) of Nishnaabemwin or a related dialect of Ojibwe will reward the student with many gems. Piggott and Grafstein 1983, a dictionary with a large corpus of words representing Manitoulin Island Odawa, has a valuable listing of words sorted on the basis of their spellings from the end of the word forward, so that words with the same finals are listed together. While the spelling system that Piggott and Grafstein use is quite different from the modern standard, conversion is very easy.

10

The Derivation of Transitive Verbs

10.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will examine the internal structure of TRANSITIVE verbs. A transitive predication typically involves action by an ACTOR on a GOAL, as in the following examples.

	VTA		VTI	
(1)	waabam	'see AN'	waabndan	'see IN'
(2)	aabjih	'use AN'	aabjitoon	'use IN'
(3)	noondaw	'hear AN'	noondan	'hear IN'
(4)	mo, maw, mon	'eat AN'	miijin	'eat IN'

Both actors and goals may be animate, or either the actor or the goal may be inanimate, but both cannot be inanimate— a transitive predication in Nishnaabemwin must have at least one animate argument. Most commonly actors, as initiators and controllers of actions, are animate. Transitive verbs typically come in pairs, distinguished according to the grammatical gender of their goals. Transitive verbs with animate goals are transitive animate (VTA or TA), and those with inanimate goals are transitive inanimate (VTI or TI). In this grammar, transitive verbs are often cited in their imperative forms used with a singular second person actor acting upon a third person animate goal (singular or plural), as in *gnawaabam*, 'look at AN' (VTA) or an inanimate goal (VTI), as in *gnawaabndan*, 'look at IN' Rhodes 1985 cites transitive verbs with conjunct order inflection, with an animate third person singular actor and a third person obviative goal, e.g., *gnawaabmaad*. I use both of these citation forms depending on their relative usefulness to a given point of discussion.

Like intransitive verbs (see Chapter 9), transitive verbs often show paired sets (VTA and VTI) differing only on the basis of their FINALS, as in examples (1) through (3) above. This chapter focuses on the rich internal structure of transitive verbs.

10.2 The Structure of Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs, like intransitives, have a basic PRIMARY DERIVATIONAL structure consisting of INITIAL, optional MEDIAL, and FINAL components. The initial position is open-ended as to what may fill it, and may contain a wide variety of elements, such as /aand-/, 'change,' (e.g., *aandkwen*, 'move AN's head over'), /giishk-/, 'sever(ed), sheer' (e.g., *giishknem*, 'bite AN off cleanly in one's mouth)' /aabad-/, 'be used' (e.g., *aabjitoon*, 'use IN, put IN to use), and thousands of others. In some constructions, such as causatives made from VAI verbs, independent word stems may serve as initials, as in *mwih*, 'make AN cry,' with VAI *mwi*, 'cry,' as initial, and *baapih*, 'laugh at AN,' with VAI *baapi*, 'laugh,' as initial.

VARIATION IN ROOT FORMS. Many ROOTS have forms that vary in their final consonant, depending on what final they are attached to. Some roots in particular show an alternation between final /d/, /j/ (IPA /dʒ/), and /z/ (or /s/, or both), as illustrated by these examples:

Variant Forms of Roots			
Gloss	Ending in /d/	Ending in /j/	Ending in /z/, /s/
'push'	gaand	gaanj	gaanz
'face up'	aazhgid	aazhgij	aazhgiz
'heavy'	gwiid	gwiij	gwiiz
'try'	ggwed	ggwej	ggwez
'wake'	mad	maj	maz
'triumph'	zhaagood	zhaagooj	zhaagooz
'grab'	nwad	nwaj	nwaz
'weak, timid'	zhaagood	zhaagooj	zhaagooz, zhaagoos

A few examples are provided here to illustrate these patterns. As with the examples throughout this chapter, VTA forms are given to the left of VTI forms.[1]

	Root /gaand/, 'push'			
(5)	/d/	gaandin, ~zh	gaandnan	'push X' (with an instrument)
(6)	/j/	gaanjwebshkaw	gaanjwebshkan	'push X' (with foot or body)
(7)	/z/	gaanzkaw	gaanzkan	'push against X' (with foot, body)

1. Certain VTA IMPERATIVES show dialect and individual variation, particularly those that historically ended with /N/. Some speakers show imperatives in final /n/, e.g., *gaandin* 'push AN,' while others have a final /zh/, *gaandizh*. I have elected to indicate this variation by providing the first variant listed in Rhodes 1985 as the basic form, but provide the alternating consonant as well, indicated with the symbol ~ (tilde). This symbol does not then represent a suffix, but rather an alternative final consonant for the cited (imperative) form.

	Root /gwiid/, 'lift [heavy object]'			
(8)	/d/	gwiidin ~zh	gwiidnan	'lift heavy X; pry X up'
(9)	/j/	gwiijwebin ~zh	gwiijwebnan	'flip heavy X up'
(10)	/z/	gwiizkaw	gwiizkan	'lift heavy X' (with foot or body)

	Root /zhaagood/ 'overcome'			
(11)	/d/	zhaagoodin	—	'be superior to AN'
(12)	/j/	zhaagoojih	zhaagoojtoon	'defeat X, overcome X'
(13)	/s/	zhaagooskaw	zhaagooskan	'outrun X'
(14)	/z/	zhaagoozkaw	zhaagoozkan	'outrun X'

	Root /nawad/ 'take hold of'			
(15)	/d/	nwadam	nwadndan	'take hold of X with teeth'
(16)	/d/	nwadin ~zh	nwadnan	'take hold of X'
(17)	/j/	nwajbi(ni)zh	nwajbidoon	'snatch X; reach out and grab X'
(18)	/z/	nwazom	—	'argue with AN about something'

	Root /amad/ 'wake'		
(19)	/d/	madin ~zh	'wake AN by touching them'
(20)	/j/	majwebin ~zh	'wake AN by shaking them'
(21)	/z/	mazom	'wake AN by talking'
(22)	/z/	mazkaw	'wake AN by bumping into them'

As can be seen, particular finals seem to be associated with particular forms of these roots that show variation in their final consonants. The alternation between /d/ and /j/ can sometimes be explained in terms of the phonological process of PALATALIZATION, discussed in Chapter 2.8.1.8, Palatalization, beginning on page 86. The alternation between /d/ and /z/, though, cannot, since /z/ seems to occur before /o/, as in (21) and palatalization usually only applies in the vicinity of high front vowels (/i/ or /ii/) or the glide /y/. The finals /-ikaw/, 'cause using foot or body' and /-om/, 'cause with speech,' both require stem variants in final /z/.

LEXICAL REDUPLICATION IN ROOTS. Many roots show REDUPLICATION in transitive contexts, usually expressing such things as repeated or extensive action applied to a goal, or the plurality of actors. Reduplication is always PREFIXAL. One reduplicative pattern involves copying an initial consonant and forming a syllable with the vowel /aa/, as in *naanookgwinjim*, 'soak AN in order to soften,' (VTA) which can be compared with the unreduplicated root in *nookzi*, 'be soft' (VAI) (root /nook/, 'soft'), *waawiindmaw*, 'promise AN something' (VTA), as opposed to unreduplicated *wiindmaw*, 'tell AN something, advise AN of something' (VTA) (root /wiind(amaw)/, *baabaapnodaw*, 'make fun of AN,' beside *baapi*, 'laugh' (VAI), and *waawaabam*, 'stare at AN,' beside *waabam*, 'see AN' The form *baapaashkzaw*, 'shoot at AN (plural subject)' (VTA) compared to *baashkzaw*, 'shoot at AN' (VTA), illustrates another aspect of this pattern of reduplication, namely that root-initial OBSTRUENTS such as /b/ are sometimes made FORTIS (i.e., become their corresponding 'hard' correspondent, in this case /p/) as part of the reduplicative process.

Another pattern replaces a $C_1V(C_2)$ initial syllable with the pattern $C_1aC_1aa(C_2)$, that is, substitutes an initial IAMBIC (weak-strong) METRICAL FOOT, as in *nnaandweh* /nanaandaweh/, 'take care of AN; fix AN; cure AN' (VTA), compared with *ndawzi* /nandawizi/, 'try and get Y' (VAIO), with root /nandaw/. Compare also *nhishin*, 'adjust oneself in a lying position' (VAI) with *nnaahshim*, 'fix AN, repair AN' (VTA). This reduplicative pattern is also evident in the VAI pair, *nmadbi*, 'sit,' and *nnaamdabi*, 'sit a while, sit and sit.' It is also commonly used in DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION of attributes, as in *mmaangnike*, /mamaangnike/, 'have big arms,' with root /mang/, 'big.'

Lastly, some roots show apparent copying of an initial consonant and formation of a syllable with /a/, as in *nnangwebizh*, /nanangwebizh/, 'shake AN' (VTA), *nnagmotaw* /nanagamotaw/, 'sing and sing for AN' (VTA), beside *n'gamtaw*, /nagamotaw/, 'sing for AN' (VTA), *ddangshkaw*, 'kick AN repeatedly' /dadangishkaw/ (VTA), beside *dngishkaw*, 'kick AN' /dangishkaw/ (VTA), and *shekshim* /zhazhekshim/, 'arrange AN in a row' (VTA). This last example also illustrates how the operation of syncope can obscure historical reduplications of this sort, since the short vowel of the reduplicated syllable is lost by syncope, and there is subsequent fusion of the juxtaposed lenis sibilant consonants /zh+zh/ (IPA /ʒ/) into /sh/ (IPA /ʃ/). This reduplicative pattern is probably also present in words such as *mmaadnan*, /mamaadnan/ 'move IN, wiggle IN (of parts of the body)' (VTI), and *mmigwebdoon*, /mamigwebdoon/, 'grab IN and shake it' (VTI). Reduplicative patterns of all three kinds illustrated here occur with both transitive and intransitive stems.

MEDIALS. Medials are nominal in character, and may consist of either NOUN CLASSIFIERS, BODY PART TERMS, or free NOUN STEMS, as in the following examples.

Classifier	gnw*aabii*gin ~zh	'lengthen AN' (of strings) (vta)
Classifier	zhaabw*ii*ghan	'tear a hole through IN' (of cloth) (vti)
Body Part	baazgog*aade*shkaw	'scratch AN on the leg' (vta) leg /-gaad-/
Body Part	bookw*aabde*gnaam	'hit AN and break AN's tooth' (vta)
Nominal	neg*kizhe*n	'stick AN into coals' (vta) coal: kakzhe
Nominal	ndom*aakm*aa(ni)zh	'groom AN; pick AN's lice' (vta) 'my louse' /nd+ikom/

Intransitive verbs not uncommonly have free nouns as medials, as in *naajmiijme*, 'ANsg fetches food,' with the independent noun *miijim*, 'food' as medial, but such nouns are rarely found as medials in transitive verbs. The reason for this is straightforward. In intransitive

verbs with independent noun medials, the medial often functions as the internalized GOAL of the verb. If the goal is inside the verb, the verb becomes intransitive, since it then retains only one overt, external SEMANTIC MACROROLE, that of the S-ROLE (SUBJECT) (see extensive discussion of these concepts in Chapter 13). Incorporated elements often seem to absorb the semantic roles associated with them. A transitive verb makes overt inflectional reference to at most two roles, an actor and a goal. If a goal is incorporated into the verb, the verb becomes intransitive, because one role has been absorbed; if it isn't incorporated, the verb remains transitive. A verb usually has only a single inflectional goal, and so does not usually have both an incorporated goal and an independent goal. In the two examples of nominal medials above, the medials do not function as primary goals of the transitive verb—in the case of *negkizhen*, 'stick AN into coals,' the medial specifies the coals as a location or latent instrument; in the case of *ndomaakmaa(ni)zh*, 'pick AN's lice,' the medial element makes reference to the lice, but the overt goal of the verb is the recipient of the grooming, not the lice. Note too that in this case, the medial /-aakom-/ has a rather different form from that of the free noun, which has the form /-ikom/ (NAD), with a PRE-MEDIAL element /-aa-/, suggesting that the noun has undergone explicit medialization. There also exist forms such as *naadaabikinmaw*, 'collect payment for something from AN,' which has a classificatory medial /-aabik-/, 'inorganic solid,' that makes reference to the physical properties of the coins that were traditionally collected in payment. Another example is *gnwegtamaw*, 'make something (sheetlike) long(er) for AN,' which has the classificatory medial /-eg-/, sheetlike object. It is interesting that ditransitive verbs rarely show a medial indexed for properties of the entity or entities filling the semantic role of patient.

FINALS. Transitive finals define a verb's class, and its subclass, as either transitive animate (VTA) or transitive inanimate (VTI). Just as with intransitive verbs, many transitive verbs occur in pairs, one used with animate goals and the other with inanimates. Unlike the usual case with intransitive finals, though, it often appears that one of a pair of transitive finals is derived from the other, as can be seen from the following examples.

VTA Final	VTI Final	Meaning	Relationship
-shkaw	-shk	'cause (using foot or body)'	TA = TI + aw
-kaw	-k	'cause (in the body)	TA = TI + aw
-m	-nd	'cause using speech'	TI = TA+ d
-am	-and	'cause using mouth/teeth'	TI = TA + d
-aganaam	-aganaand	'cause using great force'	TI = TA + d

In the first two examples, the VTA final seems to be derived from the VTI by the addition of /-aw/, while in the last three, the reverse is found: the VTI appears derived from the VTA by the addition of /-d/. Note that in all three of these cases the /-m/ of the VTA final ASSIMILATES to /n/ before /d/. Some analysts assert, on theoretical grounds of generality, that the direction of derivation in these final pairs is always from the VTA to the VTI, and that VTA-stems which end in finals /-w/ and /-aw/ undergo TRUNCATION, that is, are shortened, in

the derivation of corresponding VTI's. Such issues are discussed in detail in O'Meara 1990, in which the transitive finals of Delaware are analyzed as falling into four groups, based on the final suffix forming the VTA stem and the relationship between the VTA and associated VTI form. These four classes are outlined in the table below. Subscripted «f» indicates a specific final, while subscripted «n» indicates several finals ending in the designated segment.

Delaware Transitive Finals (from O'Meara 1990)				
Class	'	TA	TI	TI-theme
I	(PF)	$+w_f$	—	+am
II	(PF)	$+aw_f$	—	+am
III	(PF)	$+l_n$	+t	+'m, +am, +oo
IV	(PF)	$+m_n$, +h	+m+t	

These finals are abstract, meaning that their function is to define the lexical sub-class of the words they appear in, rather than provide additional lexical meaning. These finals can be added directly to a stem or appear in combination with a variety of prefinals. Prefinals specify such notions as causation, instrument, sensory stimulus, motion, and many others. Similar observations can be made about Nishnaabemwin transitive finals, namely, that while many quite specific final complexes exist, they ultimately involve only a very small number of abstract finals, quite parallel to the Delaware, which the reader can readily discern by examining the list of finals in this chapter or in the index. Transitive finals all end in consonants or /w/, as they do in Menominee (Bloomfield 1962:329)

THE RELATIONSHIP OF TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE FINALS. Transitive finals often show structured relationships to the finals of semantically related intransitive verbs. So, for example, corresponding to transitive verbs with finals TA /-shim/ and TI /-sid+oo/, are intransitives AI /-shin/ and II /-sin/. The animate finals can be analyzed as sharing pre-final /-sh/, and the inanimate, prefinal /-s/, to which is added an abstract final, /-in/ for the AI and II, and /-m/ for the TA and /-id+oo/ for the TI.[1] Such word families are common.

Class	Prefinal	Final	Example	Gloss
VTA	/-S/	/-im/	bngishim	'drop AN'
VAI	/-S/	$/\text{-in}/_{AI}$	bngishin	'fall'
VII	/-S/	$/\text{-in}/_{II}$	bngisin	'fall'
VTI	/-S/	/-id+oo/	bngisdoon	'drop IN'

Another example of a word family, with variable finals.

1. As in so many cases, it is not entirely clear where to assign the vowel /i/ in these forms.

(23)	VTA	/nisooN/	/-N/	nsoo(ni)zh	'corner AN, trap AN'
(24)	VTI	/nisood-oo/	/-d/	nsoodoon	'corner IN, trap IN'
(25)	VAI	/nisoozi/	/-zi/	nsoozi	'be cornered, be trapped'
(26)	VII	/nisoode/	/-de/	nsoode	'be cornered, be trapped'

Relationships between transitive and intransitive finals are treated in Chapter 9.

IDENTIFYING WORD COMPONENTS. Word components can be identified only by careful comparison of large amounts of vocabulary, and looking for structured relationships of form and meaning. Fortunately for students of Nishnaabemwin, the work of linguists such as Glyne Piggott (Piggott and Grafstein 1983) and Richard Rhodes (Rhodes 1985) has produced a very strong foundation for the study of lexical structure in the language. Almost all of the examples provided here come from these sources.

Finals are identified by examining the structure of words and determining what initial and medial elements are present, though there is often much uncertainty in fine details of analysis. Consider, for example, the following words (with VTA forms in the first column, and VTI in the second, as throughout this chapter).

(27)	dgon ~zh	dgonan	'include X with others'
(28)	dgojiin ~zh	dgojiinan	'carry X with others'
(29)	gwekin ~zh	gweknan	'turn X around; turn X over'
(30)	gwekjiin ~zh	gwekjiinan	'turn X around; turn X over'

In (27) and (28), there appears to be an initial /dgo-/, which, based on the analysis of many words having this component, would seem to have a meaning 'together, with others.' Examination of a variety of inflected forms suggests that the basic form of this initial is /dagw-/. The following forms provide evidence for such an analysis.

(a)	ndagnaa	'I include AN'	Shows presence of /a/ in /dagw-/
(b)	dgwamwag	'(if) I eat AN with something'	Shows final segment is /w/ in /dagw-/

Similarly, examination of the pairs of words (29) and (30) suggests that their initial is /gwek-/. Next, we try to isolate the FINALS in these words. Here we run into problems. First, it is not clear if the final in *dgon* and *gwekin* is /-in/ or /-n/. If we take the latter analysis, then we must assume that the /i/ is a LINK VOWEL. When the vowel in question is /i/, it is often very hard to know whether it belongs to the final or not, since this is indeed the common link vowel. If the vowel is /a/ or /o/, however, we can be reasonably certain that the vowel belongs to the final, though in the case of *dgon*, we recognize a structure /dagw+in/ or /dagw+i+n/, which, in either case shows a short o, /o/, on the basis of COALESCENCE of the root-final /w/ with the following vowel, that is /w+i/ becomes /o/.

Another problem that we face with the set of words in (27) through (30) is what to do with the string /-jii-/ that shows up in two of them. Do we analyze this element as a separate unit, perhaps the MEDIAL /-jii-/ (which may mean either 'belly, middle,' or more commonly add some extremely idiosyncratic meaning, if any) or as constituting part of a separate set of finals, TA /-jiiN/ (or /-jiin/) and TI /-jiin+am/, related to TA /-N/ (or /-n/) and TI /-n+am/, but distinct from them? Are these pre-final elements? Based on the difference of meaning in (27) and (28), it might appear that this set of finals has the meaning 'carry,' but when we examine (29) and (30), we find that these two sets of words have identical meanings, but one set has /jii/ and the other doesn't. To resolve issues like these we must examine large groups of words containing the elements in question and look for patterns of form and meaning. In some cases, there may be only a few words recorded in the language which manifest the items of interest, leaving the correct analysis forever uncertain, or requiring resort to the study of cognate forms in sister languages. Analytic investigations into the structure of vocabulary can ultimately be an almost limitless pursuit. In this grammar, I have settled for a compromise between a desire for reasonable scholarship and a desire to complete my work in a reasonable amount of time. I present what I believe to be the most common derivational elements, and leave exhaustive analysis to others.

In this chapter then, I will lay out some of the more common transitive verb sets, organized according to a preliminary analysis of the classes of finals that occur, into rough notional groupings, rather than on the basis of formal features. Those wishing to pursue the study of transitive finals should consult Rhodes 1976, Bloomfield 1958, Todd 1970, and Bloomfield 1962, and, especially, O'Meara 1990.

10.3 Basic Causatives

The first group of finals we will examine are those that produce verbs of unadorned CAUSATION, that is, those which do not additionally specify a particular instrument, manner, or location involved in the causative act, but simply indicate unembroidered causation. The following finals belong to this class.

Simple Causative Finals		
VTA	VTI	Gloss
-ah -ih	-at+oo -it+oo	'cause'
-sah -sih	-sat+oo -sit+oo	'cause'
-iN	-in+am	'cause'

Note that VTI finals are given in combination with their THEME SUFFIXES, which are almost always either /-am/ or /-oo/. These suffixes are discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 (p. 305ff.).

1	TA /-ih/, /-ah/	TI /-it+oo/, /-at+oo/	'cause, act on X'

Simple VTA causatives, that is, those which lack specification of an instrument or location, are formed by adding final /-ih/ (or /-ah/) to either bound or free stems, and the corresponding TI finals are formed by adding /-d/ or /-t/ to the VTA finals. The combination of /h+d/ (or /h+t/) is realized as /t/ in the VTI forms. The VTI stems are then followed by the VTI2 theme suffix, /-oo/. This VTI final is perhaps present in the many VTI's made from English borrowings, such as *faxwitoon*, *vacuumwitoon*, *photocopywitoon*, *printwitoon*, *typewitoon*, *tapewitoon* (audio or video), *pavewitoon*, and *insulatewitoon*. (examples, MC).

The /i/ of these finals causes palatalization of an immediately preceding /d/ or /N/, as, for example, in *aanjih*, 'change AN,' with initial element /aand/, 'change,' which can be compared with a form showing the same root with unchanged /d/, in *aandshin*, 'AN lies somewhere else,' and *zaagjih*, 'bring AN out, take AN out,' with initial /zaagad/ (or /zaagid/), 'out,' which occurs unchanged in *zaagdaabiise* 'AN/IN comes out (of strings).' Examples of causative forms built on primary stems follow.

	VTA	VTI	
(31)	aanjih	aanjtoon	'change X'
(32)	giizhih	giizhtoon	'finish (doing/making) X'
(33)	gjih	gjitoon	'try/test X'
(34)	gshkih	gshkitoon	'control/manage X'
(35)	maawnjih	maawnjitoon	'store up/collect X'
(36)	moozhih	moozhtoon	'feel the touch of X'
(37)	naajih	naajtoon	'lose X'
(38)	wiikjih	wiikjitoon	'urge X; try to get X (to do s.t.)'
(39)	nih	nitoon	'lose X'
(40)	zaagjih	zaagjitoon	'take X out; cause X to go outside'
(41)	zhaagoojih	zhaagoojtoon	'beat/overcome X'
(42)	zhih	zhitoon	'make X (e.g. car, mitten)'

Roots that occur with intransitive finals /-izi/ VAI and /-ad/ VII also appear with these causative finals, as in the following examples. Relevant VAI forms are also provided.

	VTA	VAI	VTI	
(43)	aabjih	aabdizi	aabjitoon	'use X; put X to use'
(44)	biinih	biinzi	biintoon	'clean X; make X clean'
(45)	wiinih	wiinzi	wiintoon	'dirty X; make X dirty'

Similarly, initials with CLASSIFICATORY MEDIALS occurring with finals /-izi/ VAI and /-ad/ VII also occur with these finals, as in the examples below. Note in (48) that the final /g/ of the medial /-aabiig-/, 'stringlike object,' is not present. The other two examples show medial /-eg/, 'sheet-like.'

	VTA	VAI	VTI	
(46)	dkwegih	dkwegzi	dkwegtoon	'shorten X' (sheet-like obj.)
(47)	gnwegih	gnwegzi	gnwegtoon	'make X (sheet-like obj.) long(er)'
(48)	dkwaabiih	dkwaabiigzi	dkwaabiitoon	'shorten X' (string-like obj.)

Other causative forms suggest derivation from fully formed VAI verbs, though the meaning is not always directly computable from the component parts, as in (52), where we might expect the meaning to be 'cause X to laugh,' rather than 'laugh at X.'

	VTA	VAI	VTI	
(49)	bbaamgaah	bbaamgaa	bbaamgaatoon	'cause X to spin; whirl X around'
(50)	nokiih	nokii	nokiitoon	'cause/get X to work'
(51)	bskaneh	bskane	bskanetoon	'cause X to catch fire; anger AN'
(52)	baapih	baapi	baaptoon	'laugh at X'

In the forms above, both VTA and VTI stems are formed with free VAI verbs as initials. In a few cases, both VTA and VTI causatives appear to have VII verbs as initials, though perhaps /aa/ here could be analyzed as something other than a VII final.

	VTA	VII	VTI	
(53)	shpaah	shpaa	shpaatoon	'raise X; make X high(er)'
(54)	gnwaah	gnwaa	gnwaatoon	'make X long(er)/tall(er)'

VTA forms can also evidently be made with VAI2 or VTI stems as initials, in which case the animate agent or experiencer of the VTI serves as the goal of the causative verb, and the goal of the transitive inanimate stem is not marked inflectionally in any way on the derived causative. The following examples all involve VTI or VAI2 stems with theme sign /-am/. A link element /-oo/ appears before the causative final /-h/, or alternatively these constructions could conceivably be analysed as consisting of the elements /TI-am+aw+ih/.

(55)	baaknamooh	'get/cause AN to open something'
(56)	daapnamooh	'get, cause AN to pick up (something)'
(57)	gkendmooh	'let AN know (something)'

(58) mbinmooh 'cause, get AN to lift (something)'
(59) nsidtamooh 'explain something to AN (by illustrating)'

2	TA /-sah/	TI /-sat+oo/	'cause, act on X'

Perhaps related to the causative finals VTA /-ah/ and VTI /-at+oo/ is the final pair VTA /-sah/ and VTI /-sat+oo/, which differ from the former only in having a leading /s/. These finals indicate general causation, though they also often seem to have a sense of causation by repeated or prolonged contact, especially with the hand, or involving considerable force, as can be seen from the following examples.

(60)	biidsah	biidsatoon	'force up X ingested; cough up X'
(61)	bkobii-gaandsah	bkobii-gaandsatoon	'push X into the water'
(62)	gaandsah	gaandsatoon	'push (against) X; urge AN on'
(63)	gshkwaaksah	gshkwaaksatoon	'shake X hard'
(64)	mmigshkaasih ~y	mmigshkaastoon	'grab X and shake X'
(65)	nnangshkaasah ~y	nnangshkaastoon	'make X shake'

3	TA /-iN/ or /-in/	TI /-in+am/	'cause, act on X'

A large number of words have VTA /-iN/ (or /-in/ for those speakers who are losing or have lost /N/ in these forms) or /-in/, corresponding to VTI /-in+am/. Some words have causative senses, but most do not, so it is not clear that this pair of finals should be considered causative, as opposed to simply general transitives. Some examples have classificatory medials, such as (66), in which the medial's (/-iig-/, 'sheetlike') classification applies to the goal; in (99), the medial (/-aabiig-/, 'stringlike') applies to an instrument. The form in (97) is interesting, as it has an incorporated noun serving as a location of an action. Example (78) appears to have this final added to a VAI verb, *daapnige*, 'pick things up,' itself derived from a transitive verb, VTA /odaapin/ and VTI /odaapinam/, by addition of suffix /-ige/.

(66)	aabiigin	aabiignan	'unroll, unravel X (of cloth)'
(67)	aabin	aabnan	'undo, untie X'
(68)	aazhgidin	aazhgidnan	'turn X over (face up)'
(69)	baakji-bgidin	baakji-bgidnan	'let go of X prematurely'
(70)	bgidin, ~zh	bgidnan	'allow/give X permission; release X'
(71)	biigon, ~zh	biignan	'rip X; tear X apart'
(72)	bkon, ~zh	bkonan	'skin X'

(73)	bmi-dkon, ~zh	bmi-dkonan	'carry X'
(74)	boodaakwen, ~zh	boodaakwenan	'put X into the water [to cook]'
(75)	bshigon, ~zh	bshignan	'have X slip from one's grasp'
(76)	bskin	bskinan	'bend X, curve X, fold X back'
(77)	daangin, ~zh	daangnan	'touch X'
(78)	daapnigen, ~zh	—	'cause AN to pick things up'
(79)	daashkin, ~zh	daashknan	'divide X in two'
(80)	debin	debnan	'catch X; get X; reach X'
(81)	desiigin, ~zh	desiignan	'spread X out; stretch X out'
(82)	dgojiin, ~zh	dgojiinan	'carry X with others'
(83)	dgon, ~zh	dgonan	'include X with others'
(84)	dkon, ~zh	dkonan	'hold X; arrest X; capture X; jail X'
(85)	gaandin, -izh	gaandnan	'push X' (alt TA imp. gaandizh)
(86)	gdin ~zh	gdinan	'try X'
(87)	gwaabiigin, ~zh	gwaabiignan	'fish X out (of water)'
(88)	gwekjiin, ~zh	gwekjiinan	'turn X around, turn X over'
(89)	gwiidin, ~zh	gwiidnan	'lift up X heavy, raise up X'
(90)	jiibizh, jiibnizh	jiibnan	'nudge X''
(91)	maawndoozh, ~nizh	maawndoonan	'collect X; gather X up'
(92)	meshkdoozh	meshkdoonan	'exchange s.o'
(93)	mkojiin, ~zh	mkojiinan	'find X by groping around for X'
(94)	mnjigon	mnjignan	'hold on to X; hold X down'
(95)	naazhin	naazhnan	'lower X'
(96)	nan	nanan	'form X'
(97)	negkizhen	negkizhenan	'stick X into coals'
(98)	niimin	niimnan	'hold X up'
(99)	niisaabiigin, ~zh	niisaabiignan	'let X down on a rope'
(100)	niisaakon, ~zh	niisaaknan	'dismantle X'
(101)	niisin, ~zh	niisnan	'put AN down'
(102)	nimkon	nimkonan	'turn X upside down'
(103)	nin, ~zh	ninan	'hand X, pass X along'
(104)	shagon	shagnan	'crush X in one's hand'
(105)	shkon, ~zh	shkonan	'leave X untouched; reserve X'
(106)	shpin, ~zh	shpinan	'raise X'
(107)	wiiwegjiin	wiiwegjiinan	'wrap X up in cloth'

(108)	wiiwkwejiin	wiiwkwejiinan	'wrap X up'
(109)	zhooshkwegin	zhooshkwegnan	'smooth X out '
(110)	ziigin, ~zh	ziignan	'spill the contents of X'
(111)	ziindaakon, ~zh	ziindaaknan	'ram X in a crack'
(112)	zookoobiigin	zookoobiignan	'drain water from X'

In one case with a free verb as initial, its final /ii/ shortens before this final:

	VTA	VAI	VTA gloss
(113)	giiwshkwebin, ~zh	giiwshkwebii	'get AN drunk'

10.4 Instrumental Causative Finals

A number of transitive finals have senses that involve causation by means of particular instrumentalities, or simply involve the use of particular instruments. These are commonly called INSTRUMENTAL-CAUSATIVE finals, or sometimes simply INSTRUMENTAL finals.[1] Instruments may include parts of the body, with specific finals designating three distinct areas: the mouth, the hand, and the foot or body. This set of finals I call BODILY INSTRUMENTAL CAUSATIVE FINALS, because they do not involve an instrument external to the body. The following table lists the more common of these.

Internal Instrumental Causative Finals		
TA	TI	Gloss
-m	-nd+am	'cause using speech'
-am	-and+am	'causing using the mouth/teeth'
-biN	-bid+oo	'cause using force; cause using the hand; pull'
-shkaw	-shk+am	'cause using foot/body'
-kaw	-k+am	'cause using the body'

Overlapping with this set of finals are several that can be used to assert causation taking place in or on the region for which an instrumental body part final exists. I call these BODY-INTERNAL INSTRUMENTAL CAUSATIVE FINALS.

Insternal-Site Instrumental Causative Finals		
TA	TI	Gloss
-anem	-anend+am	'cause in the mouth'

1. These notes owe a great debt to Rhodes 1976, though errors of representation of a difficult area of grammar are my own responsibility. See Rhodes 1980 and Rhodes 1981 for more detailed analysis than provided here.

-shkaw	—	'cause in the body'
-kaw	—	'cause in the body'
-zaw	—	'cause in the body'

Another group of finals involves the use of implements of traditional technology. Most of such VTA finals end in abstract final /-w/. I am calling these EXTERNAL INSTRUMENTAL CAUSATIVE FINALS, as they involve the use of tools external to the body.

External Instrumental (Causative) Finals		
TA	TI	Gloss
-ahw	-ah+am	'cause using an instrument'
-apiN	-apid+oo	'tie X, use rope on X'
-zw	-z+am	'cause using heat' (fire)
-aakizw	-aakiz+am	'cause using fire, cause using a flame' (fire)
-biihw	-biih+am	'draw, write'
-booN	-bood+oo	'cause using a sawing action' (saw)
-gahw	-gah+am	'cause using an axe/instrument' (axe)
-izhw	-izh+am	'cause using a cutting edge' (knife)
-koN	-kod+am	'cause using a cutting action' (knife)

Another set of finals sometimes listed with the instrumental finals involves the use of force, or striking. Perhaps similar is the final pair /-shim/ and /-sid+oo/, which often express a notion, 'cause by dropping,' or alternatively, 'cause to lie (down).' I label this group ACTION-BASED INSTRUMENTAL CAUSATIVE FINALS, since it is not so much the instrument that is used in the action that is designated by the final, but rather, the way (manner) in which force is applied to the goal. Many instrumental finals, of course, have associative elements of action and instrument, since the use of particular instruments entails particular forms of action.

Action-Based Instrumental Causative Finals		
TA	TI	Gloss
-aganaam	-aganaand+am	'cause by exerting great force; hit, strike'
-shim	-sid+oo	'cause by dropping'

10.4.1 Instrumental Causatives Involving Specific Parts of the Body

One class of INSTRUMENTAL FINALS is those involving parts of the body. Three identifiable sets of such finals occur, one for the mouth, or derivatively, causation by speech, one

for the hand, and another for the foot or body. The following examples show how these three finals may be used to specify different body part instrumentalities.

Examples of Body Part Instrumental Causatives with root /baak-/, 'open'			
(114)	baakam	baaknan	'open X with the teeth'
(115)	baakb(in)izh	baakbidoon	'open X by pulling [i.e., using hand(s)]'
(116)	baakshkaw	baakshkan	'break X open with foot or body'

Examples of Body Part Instrumental Causatives with root /giishk-/, 'severed'			
(117)	giishkam	giishkndan	'take a clean bite out of X'
(118)	giishkb(in)izh	giishkbidoon	'sever X cleanly, take X off cleanly'
(119)	giishkshkaw	giishkshkan	'kick X and have X break off cleanly; break X off cleanly with foot or body'

Examples of Body Part Instrumental Causatives with root /book-/, 'break'			
(120)	bookam	bookndan	'break X (in two) with the teeth' [of sticks]
(121)	bookb(in)izh	bookbidoon	'break X (in two)' [of sticks]
(122)	bookshkaw	bookshkan	'break X (in two) with foot or body; bump X and break X; kick X and break X [of sticks]'

4	TA /-im/ /-am/ /-om/	TI /-ind+am/ /-and+am/	'act upon orally (esp.by speech)'

Finals involving the instrumentality of the mouth specify two distinct uses: by (typically) using the mouth or teeth to bring about a resultant physical state; or by the use of speech. The forms below represent examples of the latter. Both bound and free initials can be used with these finals.

(123)	aanoodwewem	—	'bother AN by talking'
(124)	baabiibaagim	baabiigaagndan	'scream at X'
(125)	debim	—	'speak the truth about AN'
(126)	dzhim	dzhindan	'talk about X'

(127)	ggwejim	—	'ask/question AN'
(128)	mazom	—	'wake AN by talking'
(129)	naamim	—	'blame AN'
(130)	ndawewem	ndawewendan	'call out to/for X'
(131)	ndom	—	'ask AN; call AN'
(132)	nwazom	—	'argue with AN about something'
(133)	zegim	—	'frighten AN by some oral sound'

5	TA /-aajim/	TI /-aajind+am/	'tell about X'

Some related forms appear to have a complex final /-aajim/ TA, with the meaning, 'give a report about X,' as in the following examples.

(134)	jaagaajim	jaagaajndan	'tell everything about X'
(135)	mnwaajim	mnwaajndan	'give a good report about X'

The very common verb *dbaajim*, 'talk about AN' (VTA), appears to have the same final, though its VTI partner is *dbaaddan*, which appears to have a final /-aadad+am/ rather than the expected /-aajnd+am/. Rhodes 1985:103 lists the VTI verb as rare, but in other dialects of Anishinaabemowin it is quite common.

(136)	dbaajim	dbaaddan	'talk about X'

6	TA /-am/ TA /-im/ TA /-om/	TI /-ind+am/	'act upon X using mouth, teeth'

These forms illustrate the use of the mouth as a physical (non-verbal) instrument.

(137)	bkwem	bkwendan	'bite off part of X'
(138)	nwadim	nwadndan	'seize X with the teeth; bite X'
(139)	biigom	biigndan	'tear X apart with the teeth'
(140)	dkom	dkondan	'bite X'
(141)	gom	gndan	'swallow X'
(142)	negom	negndan	'swallow X'
(143)	shkom	shkondan	'eat and leave part of X behind'
(144)	wiikom	wiikndan	'suck X'

7	TA /-biN/	TI /-bid+oo/	'act upon X using hand; pull'
(145)	aazhgijbizh	aazhgijbidoon	'flip X over (face up) (by hand)'
(146)	baashkjiibizh	baashkjiibdoon	'squash X; burst X open (by hand)'
(147)	bkibizh	bkibdoon	'break X (of strings); pick X (of fruit)'
(148)	bkijbizh	bkijbidoon	'pull X up while leaning over s.t.'
(149)	bnagbizh	bnagbidoon	'peel/remove skin of X;
(150)	bskibizh	bskibdoon	'bend/curve X; fold X back (by hand)'
(151)	daashkbizh	daashkbidoon	'split X; tear X apart (by hand)'
(152)	daashkiigbizh	daashkiigbidoon	'tear X in two (by hand)' (of cloth)
(153)	desiigbizh	desiigbidoon	'stretch/spread s.t. out (of cloth)'
(154)	gaanjbizh	gaanjbidoon	'push X (by hand)'
(155)	gaashkbizh	gaashkbidoon	'scrape/claw/scratch X'
(156)	gdagjiibizh	gdagjiibdoon	'roll/tip X over (by hand)'
(157)	gdagmin'gibizh	gdagmin'gibdoon	'roll X (round obj.) over (by hand)'
(158)	mbaabiigbizh	mbaabiigbidoon	'pull X up (on a rope)'
(159)	naankibizh	naankibdoon	'pull X out of a hole'
(160)	nbagbizh	nbagbidoon	'flatten X (by hand)'
(161)	ngajbizh	ngajbidoon	'be good at handling X'
(162)	nndoojiibizh	nndoojiibdoon	'feel around for X; grope for X'
(163)	nwajbizh	nwajbidoon	'seize/grab X'
(164)	zhiibiigbizh	zhiibiigbidoon	'stretch X (sheet-like obj.)'
(165)	zhoobaagbizh	zhoobaagbidoon	'bend/bend over X'
(166)	zhshagjiibizh	zhshagjiibdoon	'crumble/crush X'
(167)	ziinbizh	ziinbidoon	'squeeze X'

8	TA /-webiN/	TI /-webin+am/	'act upon with the hand'

This final is perhaps derived from VTA *webizh* (or *webin*)/ VTI *webnan*, 'throw X.'

(168)	baapiiwwebin	baapiiwwebnan	'brush/shake small particles from X'
(169)	bgijwebin, ~zh	bgijwebnan	'drop X; let X fall'
(170)	biimskowebin, ~zh	biimskowebnan	'spin X; turn X around (by hand)'
(171)	gezbiigwebin	gezbiigwebnan	'make X tidy; arrange X neatly'

(172)	gezbiwebin	gezbiwebnan	'put something away neatly'
(173)	giikwebin, ~zh	giikwebnan	'push/shove X away (by hand)'
(174)	gwiijwebin, ~zh	gwiijwebnan	'lift X up'
(175)	niiswebin, ~zh	niiswebnan	'throw/knock X down; drop X'
(176)	nimkowebin, ~zh	nimkowebnan	'turn X upside down (by hand)'
(177)	swewebin	swewebnan	'scatter X; sow X (e.g. corn)'
(178)	webin, ~zh	webnan	'leave X behind; divorce X'
(179)	wewebin, ~zh	wewebnan	'swing X'
(180)	zaagjiwebin, ~zh	zaagjiwebnan	'throw X out'
(181)	ziigwebin, ~zh	ziigwebnan	'spill contents of X'

9	TA /-ishkaw/	TI /-ishk+am/	'act upon with foot or body'
(182)	baakshkaw	baakshkan	'break open X with the body'
(183)	biigshkaw	biigshkan	'break X into pieces (with body); tear X (with body)'
(184)	bookshkaw	bookshkan	'break X (in two) (with the body)'
(185)	bshigshkaw	bshigshkan	'miss X with one's body'
(186)	daadshkaw	daadshkan	'lean against X [with foot or body] and have it separate; sit on X and have it separate'
(187)	ddangshkaw	ddangshkan	'kick X repeatedly'
(188)	gaashkshkaw	gaashkshkan	'lean/sit on X and leave a depression'
(189)	gdagshkaw	gdagshkan	'roll X over, tip X over (with foot)'
(190)	giishkshkaw	giishkshkan	'break X off cleanly w/ one's body'
(191)	mnjigshkaw	mnjigshkan	'hold X down (with body)'
(192)	nbagshkaw	nbagshkan	'flatten X (with body)'
(193)	shagwaakshkaw	shagwaakshkan	'crush X (with foot, body)'
(194)	shagshkaw	shagshkan	'crush X, squash X with one's body'
(195)	zhiigshkaw	zhiigshkan	'make X empty; vacate X'
(196)	zhoobaagshkaw	zhoobaagshkan	'bend X over (with body)'

10	TA /-web(i)shkaw/	TI /-web(i)shk+am/	'act upon with foot or body'

Just as the element /-web/ occurs with the instrumental finals /-biN/ (VTA) and /-bid+oo/ (VTI), so too does it with the foot/body instrumental finals /-ishkaw/ (VTA) and /-ishk+am/ (VTI).

(197)	aazhgijwebshkaw	aazhgijwebshkan	'flip X over backwards (with foot)'
(198)	biimskowebshkaw	biimskowebshkan	'spin X; turn X around (by foot)'
(199)	gaanjwebshkaw	gaanjwebshkan	'push X (with body)'
(200)	gdagjiiwebshkaw	gdagjiiwebshkan	'roll X over, tip X over (with foot)'
(201)	giibwebshkaw	giibwebshkan	'bump X off (of place) (with foot)'
(202)	giikwebshkaw	giikwebshkan	'push X away/aside (with body)'
(203)	niiswebshkaw	niiswebshkan	'kick, knock X down (w/ foot/body)'
(204)	nimkowebshkaw	nimkowebshkan	'turn X upside down (w/ body)'
(205)	ziigwebshkaw	ziigwebshkan	'kick X and spill X's contents'

11	TA /-kaw/	TI /-k+am/	'act upon with foot or body'

(206)	aazhgizkaw	aazhgizkan	'turn X face up (with foot or body)'
(207)	baaskaw	baaskan	'crack X with one's foot or body'
(208)	gaanzkaw	gaanzkan	'push against X (with foot or body)'
(209)	gwiizkaw	gwiizkan	'lift heavy X, pry X (w/ foot, body)'
(210)	mazkaw	—	'wake AN up (with body)'
(211)	zhaagoozkaw	zhaagoozkan	'best X on foot; outrun X'

In the following forms the use of the body does not appear directly applicable, though there are hints of bodily involvement in some forms, for example, those pertaining to putting on, trying on, wearing, or taking off clothing.

(212)	aakziiwkaw	—	'make AN sick (of things perceived)' W, CL
(213)	biiskaw	biiskan	'put X on; wear X (of clothes)'
(214)	booniikaw	booniikan	'leave X alone'
(215)	bsikaw	bsikan	'bump into X accidentally; run into X'
(216)	giimoojiikaw	—	'sneak up on AN'
(217)	giimoozkaw	—	'sneak up on AN' (CL)
(218)	giiskaw	giiskan	'take off X (of clothes)'
(219)	gzikaw	gzikan	'test X; try X on (of clothes)'

(220)	mgoshkaajiikaw	—	'bother AN; hassle AN'
(221)	mzookaw	—	'gang up on AN'

10.4.2 Body-Location Instrumental Causative Finals

Several sets of finals refer to causation located in places which happen also to be specified by body part instrumental finals.

12	TA /-anem/	TI /-anend+am/	'cause in the mouth'

(222)	booknem	booknendan	'break X in one's mouth (of sticks)'
(223)	giishknem	giishknendan	'bite X off cleanly (in one's mouth)'
(224)	zaagnem	zaagnendan	'have X sticking out of one's mouth'
(225)	biignem	biignendan	'break X up in one's mouth'
(226)	bkanem	bkanendan	'break X in one's mouth'
(227)	zaagnem	zaagnendan	'have X sticking out of one's mouth; talk about AN (TA)'
(228)	bshignem	bshignendan	'have X slip from one's mouth'
(229)	daashknem	daashknendan	'split X in one's mouth'
(230)	shagnem	shagnendan	'crush, squash X in one's mouth'

Note that this final appears to be used occasionally in verbs referring to speaking events, where it does not literally imply action located within the mouth, as in the following example, though the verb here may have the structure /nd+aapne+m/, in which component */aapne/* is related to the free word of the same form, meaning 'be crazy about/over something' (AI).

(231)	ndaapnem	—	'quarrel with AN, reproach AN (for a specified reason)'

13	TA /-ishkaw/	TI /-ishk+am/	'cause in, on the body'

The VTA forms occur only in the INVERSE, that is, generally involve the ingestion of a substance which produces some usually unpleasant effect. Many of these forms have a VAI verb as initial, representing the condition created by the action of the ingested substance, as in *aakziishkaw*, 'make AN sick,' with initial *aakzi*, 'be sick,' (VAI), with a lengthened final vowel when serving as initial. Note, however, that *zaagaateshkaw*, 'shine on AN (of the sun),' has a VII verb form as initial, *zaagaate*, 'be bright out, be bright sun,' and also has a VTI form.

(232)	aakziishkaw	—	'make AN sick'
(233)	bookwaabdeshkaw	—	'break AN's tooth'
(234)	gaasknaabaawgweshkaw	—	'make AN thirsty'
(235)	gbisgizhshkaw	—	'cause AN to be constipated'
(236)	giiwshkwebiishkaw	—	'make AN drunk'
(237)	sosnaamshkaw	—	'make AN cough'
(238)	zaagaateshkaw	zaagaateshkan	'shine on X (usually of the sun)'

14	TA /-kaw/	—	'cause in the body'

The final /-kaw/ can also be used to specify causation in the body, though such usage is less common than that of /-shkaw/. These forms too are used only in the INVERSE.

(239) zhaabkaw 'cause AN to have diarrhea'

15	TA /-zw/	—	'cause in the body'

(240) zhaaboz (Od), *zhaabzaw (Nish.)[1] 'give AN diarrhea'

(241) shagwezaw 'cause AN to vomit'

1.This form is from A. Williams, so I have listed imperatives for her dialect as well as Nishnaabemwin.

An example of the usage of such forms comes from a text by Angeline Williams. All three of the inverse-only finals I have mentioned occur in this sample.

(1-5) (1) Abinoojiinyag niibiwa miijiwaad aniw miinan ***ozhaabozogonaawaan***. (2) Geget igo aniw miinan abinoojiinyag wegwen go gichaya'aag gaye gwa mii iw ***enishkaagod*** wayeshkad oshki-miijid. (3) Gaye wii go mashkikiiwanoon aniw miinan. (4) Gaa wiin awiya gichi-niibiwa odaa-miijisiinan. (5) ***Odaa-ozaamikaagonan*** niibiwa ozaam niibiwa odaapinang.

'(1) If children eat much of those blueberries they ***give them diarrhoea***. (2) In fact, when children or any grown persons, for that matter, for the first time eat those blueberries, ***they have this same effect on them***. (3) Blueberries have a medicinal quality. (4) No one should eat much of them. (5) If one takes too many, ***they have too much effect.***' (AW13.1-5)

(1) **Abinoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children'; **niibiwa** *av* 'many'; **miijiwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl eat IN'; **aniw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **miinan** *ni 0p* 'blueberries'; **ozhaabozogonaawaan** *vtai ind 0p»3pProx* 'INpl gives ANpl diarrhea.' (2) **Geget** *av* 'truly'; **igo** *av* 'indeed'; **aniw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **miinan** *ni 0p* 'blueberries'; **abinoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children'; **wegwen** *pr dub 3* 'whoever'; **gichaya'aag** *na 3pProx* 'grown persons'; **gaye** *av* 'even'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **enishkaagod** *vtai ic conj 0»3sProx* '(CCNJ) IN will have such effect on ANsg'; **wayeshkad** *av* 'in same way'; **oshki-miijid** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg first eats IN.' (3) **Gaye** *av* 'and'; **wii** *av* 'indeed'; **mashkikiiwanoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl are medicinal'; **aniw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **miinan** *ni 0p* 'blueberries.' (4) **Gaa wiin** *av* 'not'; **awiya** *pr indef 3* 'anyone'; **gichi-niibiwa** *av* 'very many'; **odaa-miijisiinan** *vti ind neg 3sProx»0p* 'ANsg should not eat INpl.' (5) **Odaa-ozaamikaagonan** *vtai ind 0p»3sProx* 'INpl will have too much effect on ANsg'; **niibiwa** *av* 'many'; **ozaam** *av* 'too'; **niibiwa** *av* 'many'; **odaapinang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg takes IN.'

10.4.2.1 External Instrumental Causative Finals

Another set of instrumental finals involves various instruments of technology, both general and specific. The first pair I list specifies general instrumentality, that is, causation by means of some unspecified instrument.

16	TA /-a(h)w/	TI /-ah+am/	'act on X with an instrument'

(242)	baapiiwaw	baapiiwhan	'brush particles from X (w/ inst.)'
(243)	baashkjiiw	baashkjiihan	'burst X open (w/ inst.)'
(244)	baashkaw	baashkhan	'burst X (w/ inst.) (of 3D obj.)'
(245)	baasaw	baas'han	'crack X (w/ inst.)'
(246)	baazgow	baazgohan	'scratch X (w/ inst.)'
(247)	baazgodaw	baazgodhan	'scrape X off (w/ inst.)'
(248)	bgonew	bgonehan	'put a hole in X (w/ inst.)'
(249)	biigaw	biighan	'break/tear X into pieces (w/ inst.)'
(250)	biisaw	biis'han	'break X to pieces (w/ inst.)'
(251)	bjibaw	bjibhan	'stab X (w/ a single pointed instr.)
(252)	bkaw	bkahan	'break X (w/ inst.) (of strings)'
(253)	bkwew	bkwehan	'knock off a piece of X (w/ inst.)'
(254)	bnagaakow	bnagaakhan	'peel bark from X (w/ inst.)'
(255)	bookgaadew	—	'break AN's leg (w/ inst.)'

(256)	bookwaw	bookwan, bookhan	'break X (in 2) (w/ inst.) (of sticks)
(257)	bshigaw	bshighan	'have X held (w/ inst.) slip loose'
(258)	bshigow	bshighan	'try to reach X (w/ inst.) and miss'
(259)	daashkaw	daashkhan	'split X (w/ inst.)'
(260)	gaandaw	gaandhan	'push X (w/ inst.)'
(261)	gaanjwebaw	gaanjwebhan	'push X (w/ inst.)'
(262)	gaashkaadaw	gaashkaadhan	'scrape X (w/ inst.)'
(263)	gaashkaw	gaashkhan	'scoop X out; scrape X (w/ inst.)'
(264)	gdagjiiw	gdagjiihan	'tip X over, roll X over (w/ inst.)'
(265)	gdagjiiwebaw	gdagjiiwebhan	'tip/roll X over (w/ inst.)'
(266)	giikaw	giikhan	'shove X aside (w/ inst.)'
(267)	giikwebaw	giikwebhan	'shove X aside (w/ inst.)'
(268)	giishkgwew	giishkgwehan	'knock top/head off X (w/ inst.)'
(269)	giishkaw	giishkhan	'sever X cleanly (w/ inst.)'
(270)	gwaabaw	gwaabhan	'pick X out (of water/fire) (w/ inst.)'
(271)	jiibaw	jiibhan	'nudge X (with instrument)'
(272)	mbaw	mbahan	'jack up/elevate X (w/ inst.)'
(273)	nbagjiiw	nbagjiihan	'flatten X (w/ inst.)'
(274)	nbagaw	nbaghan	'flatten X (w/ inst.)'
(275)	ndaajiiw	ndaajiihan	'stir X (w/ inst.)'
(276)	ndaahaagmaw	ndaahaagmahan	'stir X (w/ inst.)'
(277)	shagaw	shaghan	'crush X (w/ inst.)'
(278)	shagow	shaghan	'squash X (w/ inst.)'
(279)	zhaabwiigaw	zhaabwiighan	'tear a hole through X (of cloth) (w/ inst.)'

17	TA /-zw/	TI /-z+am/	'heat X, use heat on X'

There are two sets of finals that specify heat or flame as instrument:

TA	TI	Gloss
-zw	-z+am	'heat X, use heat on X'
-aakzw	-aakz+am	'use a flame on X'

These final pairs appear to differ only by the presence of classificatory medial /-aak-/ in the second set. In some cases of lexical pairs, /-aak-/ functions as an intensifier, as can be

seen from the following pairs.

(280)	jaagzaw	jaagzan	'burn X'
(281)	jaagaakzaw	jaagaakzan	'burn X completely'
(282)	*giishkzaw	*giishkzan	(no attested form)
(283)	giishkaakzaw	giishkaakzan	'cut X with a blowtorch; cut X with a flame'

In another case, /-aak-/ appears to intensify the actor's role by designating specific intent:

(284)	bgonezaw	bgonezan	'heat X and have a hole develop'
(285)	bgoneyaakzaw	bgoneyaakzan	'burn a hole in X'

In other cases, the difference seems to be whether the instrument is direct flame, in which case the finals with /-aak-/ are used, or the instrumentality simply involves heat, in which case finals without /-aak-/ are used.

(286)	baaszaw	baaszan	heat X and crack it
(287)	baasaakzaw	baasaakzan	put X in a flame and have it crack
(288)	daashkzaw	daashkzan	heat X and have it split
(289)	daashkaakzaw	daashkaakzan	put X in a flame and have it split

I briefly discuss the use of /-aak-/ with a range of finals, in Section 10.9, page 470 below. I will follow Rhodes 1976, however, in considering /-zw/ and /-z+am/ to be distinct from /-aakzw/ and /-aakzan/. The following table lists some forms with finals /-zw/ (VTA) and /-z+am/ (VTI).

(290)	baapaashkzaw	baapaashkzan	'shoot at X'
(291)	baashkzaw	baashkzan	'heat X and have it burst; shoot (at) X'
(292)	baaszaw	baaszan	'heat X and crack it'
(293)	bgonezaw	bgonezan	'heat X and have a hole develop in X'
(294)	biigzaw	biigzan	'heat X and have X break into pieces or tear'
(295)	bizaw	bizan	'warm X up (of food)'
(296)	bkwezaw	bkwezan	'heat X and have a piece come off'
(297)	daashkzaw	daashkzan	'heat X and have X split'
(298)	giiknaamzaw	giiknaamzan	'make smoke around X; smoke X (e.g. fish)'

(299)	giizhzaw	giizhzan	'finish boiling X; finish cooking X'
(300)	gwaabkizaw	gwaabkizan	'boil X dry and burn it'
(301)	jaagzaw	jaagzan	'burn X'
(302)	mnozaw	mnozan	'cook X'
(303)	ngizaw	ngizan	'melt X'
(304)	nzaw	nzan	'boil X'
(305)	shagzaw	shagzan	'heat X and have it fall to pieces'
(306)	zkizaw	zkizan	'burn X; set X on fire'

18	TA /-aakzw/	TI /-aakz+am/	'use a flame on X'

See the discussion in the immediately preceding section pertaining to the relationship of this final pair to the pair /-zw/ (TA) and /-z+am/ (TI).

(307)	baakaakzaw	baakaakzan	'cut X open with a flame'
(308)	baasaakzaw	baasaakzan	'put X in a flame and have X crack'
(309)	bgoneyaakzaw	bgoneyaakzan	'burn a hole in X'
(310)	bkaakzaw	bkaakzan	'break X with a flame'
(311)	bkweyaakzaw	bkweyaakzan	'cut a piece of X off with a flame'
(312)	daashkaakzaw	daashkaakzan	'put X in a flame and have X split'
(313)	giishkaakzaw	giishkaakzan	'cut X with a blowtorch or a flame'
(314)	jaagaakzaw	jaagaakzan	'burn X completely'

19	TA /-biihw/	TI /-biih+am/	'use liquid as an instrument; draw'

This set of finals is not usually listed with the instrumental causative finals, but it seems enough like them to warrant listing here. The element /-bii/ or /-bi/ occurs in many Nishnaabemwin verbs involving liquid in some way, as in the following

(315)	bkobiiyaabii	VAI	'extend into the water'
(316)	ndahbii	VAI	'draw water from a certain place'
(317)	aawzabii	VAI	'haul water'
(318)	mooshknebii	VAI/VII	'be full of liquid'
(319)	mdaabii	VAI	'go to the beach, go to the shore'
(320)	giiwshkwebii	VAI	'be drunk'
(321)	ziigbii	VAI/VII	'overflow'

(322)	ziigbiisaa	VII	'be a sudden downpour of rain'
(323)	bkwenbii	VAI	'choke on water'

The final complexes VTA /-biihw/ and VTI /-biih+am/ are used in transitive verbs making reference to drawing or marking, presumably on the basis of these actions involving the use of ink or other fluid substance. The following examples illustrate.

(324)	beshaakbiiw	beshaakbiihan	'mark X; vote for AN (VTA)'
(325)	mzinbiiw	mzinbiihan	'draw a picture of X'
(326)	zhibiiw	zhibiihan	'draw X'

20	TA /-booN/	TI /-bood+oo/	'drill, saw, carve, plow X'

This final pair has had its usage extended to apply to the operation of farm equipment, so now includes such notions as 'disc' and 'plow.' It evidently means to apply an instrument in a back and forth motion, which makes it ideal for describing the actions of farm implements for preparing fields.

(327)	bgoneboozh	bgoneboodoon	'drill a hole in X'
(328)	biigboozh	biigboodoon	'disc X (of crops, fields)'
(329)	biisboozh	biisboodoon	'disk X (of crops, fields); grind X'
(330)	bkweboozh	bkweboodoon	'saw a piece of X off'
(331)	bmiboozh	bmiboodoon	'plow X (of crops, fields)'
(332)	bshigboozh	bshigboodoon	'miss X ((part of) a field) plowing'
(333)	biiweboozh	biiweboodoon	'saw X into small strips' (W)
(334)	daadboozh	daadboodoon	'saw on X and have it separate'
(335)	daashkboozh	daashkboodoon	'split X in sawing'
(336)	dkooboozh	dkooboodoon	'cut X short(er) by sawing'
(337)	gaashkboozh	gaashkboodoon	'carve X out'
(338)	giishkboozh	giishkboodoon	'saw X off cleanly'
(339)	shagboozh	shagboodoon	'rake X and leave it in pieces'
(340)	shkoboozh	shkoboodoon	'leave X fallow (of fields)'

21	TA /-ga(h)w/	TI /-gah+am/	'act on X with axe'

(341)	biisgaw	biisgahan	'break X up (with an axe)'
(342)	daashkgaw	daashkgahan	'split X (with an axe)'

(343)	ggwedgaw	ggwedgahan	'test X with an axe'
(344)	jiiggaw	jiiggahan	'shave X, strip X (with an axe)'
(345)	giishkgaw	giishkgahan	'chop X off cleanly'
(346)	giinkogaw	giinkogahan	'chop X to a point'

22	TA /-izhw/	TI /-izh+am/	'cut, tear X'

(347)	baapiitoozhaw	baapiitoozhan	'cut X (layers) apart'
(348)	bgashkzhaw	bgashkzhan	'cut X up'
(349)	bgonezhaw	bgonezhan	'cut a hole in X'
(350)	biigzhaw	biigzhan	'cut, tear X into pieces'
(351)	biiszhaw	biiszhan	'cut X to pieces'
(352)	biiwezhaw	biiwezhan	'cut X into small strips'
(353)	bkizhaw	bkizhan	'cut X'
(354)	bkwezhaw	bkwezhan	'slice off part of X'
(355)	bshigzhaw	bshigzhan	'miss X in cutting'
(356)	bshkozhaw	bshkozhan	'cut X down (of grasslike plants)'
(357)	daadzhaw	daadzhan	'cut X and have it separate'
(358)	daashkzhaw	daashkzhan	'split X in cutting it'
(359)	gaashkzhaw	gaashkzhan	'scrape X in cutting it'
(360)	giinkozhaw	giinkozhan	'cut X to a point'
(361)	giishkzhaw	giishkzhan	'cut X, sever X; castrate AN'
(362)	moozhaw	—	'cut one's hair'
(363)	shagzhaw	shagzhan	'cut X and have X fall to pieces'
(364)	shkozhaw	shkozhan	'cut and leave part of X over'

23	TA /-koN/	TI /-kod+am/	'cut X (with a blade)'

(365)	baakkozh	baakkodan	'cut X open'
(366)	biigkozh	biigkodan	'cut X into pieces; tear X in cutting'
(367)	bnagkozh	bnagkodan	'cut the peel off of X; peel X'
(368)	bookkozh	bookkodan	'cut & break X (in two) (of sticks)'
(369)	bshigkozh	bshigkodan	'miss X in cutting'
(370)	daashkkozh	daashkkodan	'split X in cutting X'
(371)	dkwaabiigkozh	dkwaabiigkodan	'cut X short(er) (of strings)'
(372)	dkwegkozh	dkwegkodoon	'cut X short(er) (of cloth)'

(373)	giishkkozh	giishkkodan	'cut X off cleanly'
(374)	gnwegkozh	gnwegkodan	'cut X long(er) (of cloth)'

24	TA /-apiN/	TI /-apid+oo/	'tie X, use rope on X'

All VTA imperative forms listed have alternatives in which /-izh/ is added to the stem in /n/, for example, beside *napizh*, 'tie AN up in a certain manner,' one finds *napnizh*.

(375)	aagkwep(n)izh	aagkwepdoon	'tie X by the neck'
(376)	aanjp(in)izh	—	'change AN's bandages'
(377)	dgop(n)izh	dgopdoon	'tie X with others'
(378)	gshkap(n)izh	gshkapdoon	'tie X up'
(379)	nap(n)izh	napdoon	'tie X in a certain manner'
(380)	wiikp(ni)izh	wiikpidoon	'tie X up'
(381)	zgigaadep(n)izh	zgigaadepdoon	'tie X by the legs'
(382)	zginnjiip(n)izh	zginnjiipdoon	'tie X by the hands'

10.4.3 Action-Based Instrumental Causatives

Two sets of finals indicate causation by means of a particular manner or method of action, VTA /-aganaam/ and VTI /-aganaand/, which indicate causation by applying great force or vigor, especially by hitting, and VTA /-shim/ and VTI /-sid+oo/, which indicate causation by dropping.

25	TA /-aganaam/	TI /-aganaand+am/	'act upon with force; hit; strike'

(383)	baashkjiignaam	baashkjiignaandan	'squash AN; burst AN open (by force)'
(384)	baazgognaam	baazgognaandan	'strike X and scratch X'
(385)	biiwganaam	biiwganaandan	'brush small particles off X'
(386)	bnagnaam	bnagnaandan	'miss X (e.g. with a stone)'
(387)	bshigganaam	bshigganaandan	'attempt to hit but miss X'
(388)	bskagnaam	bskagnaandan	'bend/fold X by hitting'
(389)	jiibganaam	jiibganaandan	'nudge X (with some force)'
(390)	nagnaam	nagnaandan	'hit X thus'
(391)	nbagganaam	nbagganaandan	'flatten X (e.g. a pail) (by beating on it)'
(392)	nbagjiignaam	nbagjiignaandan	'flatten X (e.g. a pail)'
(393)	ndaagnaam	ndaagnaandan	'stir X vigorously'

(394)	ndaawaagnaam	ndaawaagnaandan	'stir X (liquid) vigorously'
(395)	ngadganaam	ngadganaandan	'be good at hitting X'
(396)	zhaabganaam	zhaabganaandan	'puncture X; smash through X'

26	TA /-shim/	TI /-sid+oo/	'act upon by dropping, letting fall'
(397)	baakshim	baaksidoon	'drop X and have X open'
(398)	baashkshim	baashksidoon	'drop X and break X' (of 3D objects)
(399)	baasshim	baassidoon	'drop X and crack X'
(400)	biigshim	biigsidoon	'drop X and have X break to pieces'
(401)	bngishim	bngisdoon	'cause X to fall; let X fall'
(402)	bookshim	booksidoon	'drop X and break X (in two)'
(403)	bshigshim	bshigsidoon	'let X slip and drop'
(404)	daadshim	daadsidoon	'drop X and have X separate'
(405)	daashkshim	daashksidoon	'drop X and have X split'
(406)	gaashkshim	gaashksidoon	'drop X and dent X/scrape X'
(407)	shagshim	shagsidoon	'drop X and have X fall to pieces'
(408)	zhooshkshim	—	'make AN slip and fall'

These finals are also commonly found on verbs expressing agency (causation) in which the goal is put in a particular physical orientation, or is made to move in some manner or to assume a particular shape.

(409)	aatwaashim	aatwaasdoon	'turn/lay X right side up'
(410)	aazhgidshim	aazhgidsidoon	'turn and place X face up'
(411)	baapiiwshim	baapiiwsidoon	'brush/shake small particles from X'
(412)	biimskoshim	biimskosdoon	'spin X; turn/wind X around'
(413)	bookshim	booksidoon	'break X off (e.g. tree)'
(414)	bskishim	bskisdoon	'bend/curve X; fold X'
(415)	gwaashim	gwaasdoon	'remove X from fire'
(416)	gwekshim	gweksidoon	'turn X over/around'
(417)	koshim	kosdoon	'pile/heap X up; make X high/tall'
(418)	myaawshim	myaawsidoon	'set/place X right'
(419)	naateshim	naatesdoon	'shine a light towards/on X'
(420)	negshim	negsidoon	'place X in/under (s.t.)'
(421)	nimkoshim	nimkosdoon	'turn X over and place upside down'

(422)	shekshim	sheksidoon	'place X (e.g. boards) in a row'
(423)	sheyaabiishim	sheyaabiisdoon	'arrange X (e.g. pails) in a row'
(424)	zhiitaawshim	zhiitaawsidoon	'set X in a state of readiness'
(425)	zhishim	zhisdoon	'put/set X down in a certain way'
(426)	ziindaakshim	ziindaaksidoon	'ram X in hole/crack'

10.4.4 Examples of Causative Instrumental Finals

The following sets of verb forms illustrate the prominence of instrumental finals in transitive verb forms, by showing how a single initial can be used with a host of finals to convey different instrumentalities.

With initial /bagone-/, 'have a hole'			
(427)	bgoneb(n)izh	bgonebidoon	'make a hole in X' [with the hands]
(428)	bgoneboo(ni)zh	bgoneboodoon	'drill a hole in X'
(429)	*bgonegaw	bgoneghan	'chop a hole in X' [with axe]
(430)	bgonekozh	bgonekdan	'cut a hole in X' [with blade]
(431)	bgonew	bgonehan	'put a hole in X' [with an instrument]
(432)	bgoneyaakzaw	bgoneyaakzan	'burn a hole in X'
(433)	bgonezaw	bgonezan	'heat X and have hole develop in X'
(434)	bgonezhaw	bgonezhan	'cut a hole in X'
(435)	bgoneyaakshkaw	bgoneyaakshkan	'put a long hole in X' [with foot/body]
(436)	bgoneshkaw	bgoneshkan	'put a hole in X' [with foot, body]

With initial /baak-/, 'open'			
(437)	baakam	baakndan	'open X' [with the teeth]
(438)	baakb(in)izh	baakbidoon	'open X by pulling'
(439)	baakshkaw	baakshkan	'break X open' [with foot or body]
(440)	—	baakaabiigbidoon	'pull s.t. open' [with a string]
(441)	baakaakon ~zh	baakaaknan	'open X at the top'
(442)	baakaakzaw	baakaakzan	'cut X open with a flame'
(443)	baakganaam	baakganaandan	'pound X open'
(444)	baakko(ni)zh	baakkodan	'cut X open'
(445)	baakshim	baaksidoon	'drop X and have it open'

10.4.5 Examples of Instrumental Causatives with Verbs of Breaking and Severing

Rhodes (1981) observes that many initials pertaining to breaking show some specialization of classification, so that, for example, the initial /baashk-/ is particularly associated with three-dimensional objects, /bookw-/ is associated with sticklike objects, /bak-/ is associated with stringlike objects, and /biig-/ with clothlike objects. The reader should consult Rhodes 1981 for much more detail than is provided here.

With initial /baashk-/, 'break' (esp. of 3D objects)			
(446)	baashkb(in)izh	baashkbidoon	'break X open' (of 3D objects)
(447)	baashkaw	baashkhan	'break X open' (with an instrument)
(448)	baashkjiib(n)izh	baashkjiibdoon	'break X open' (of fragile 3D objects)
(449)	baashkjiignaam	baashkjiingaandan	'strike X and burst/squash X'
(450)	baashkjiiw	baashkjiihan	'burst/squash X' (with an instrument)
(451)	baashkjiishim	baashkjiisdoon	'drop & break X' (of fragile 3D objects)
(452)	baashkim	baashkndan	'break X with the teeth' (of 3D objects)
(453)	baashkshim	baashksidoon	'drop and break X' (of 3D objects)
(454)	baashkzaw	baashkzan	'heat X and have X break' (of 3D objects); shoot (at) X'

With initial /book-/, 'break' (esp. of sticklike objects)			
(455)	bookb(in)izh	bookbidoon	'break X (in two)' (of sticks)
(456)	bookganaam	bookganaandan	'strike X and break X' (of sticks)
(457)	bookaw	bookhan	'break X in two (with instr.)' (of sticks)
(458)	bookjiib(n)izh	bookjiibdoon	'break X in half'
(459)	bookjiishim	bookjiisdoon	'drop X and break X in half'
(460)	bookko(ni)zh	bookkodan	'break X in cutting; in two (of sticks)'
(461)	bookam	bookndan	'break X (in two) with teeth' (of sticks)
(462)	booknem	booknendan	'break X in 2 in one's mouth' (of stks)
(463)	bookshim	booksidoon	'drop X and break (in two)' (of sticks)
(464)	bookshkaw	bookshkan	'break X (in 2) w/ foot/body' (of sticks)
(465)	—	bookwaabiignan	'break IN' (of strings)
(466)	bookwaakb(in)izh	bookwaakbidoon	'break X off' (of sticks)
(467)	bookwaakon ~zh	bookwaaknan	'break a branch from X'

With initial /giishk-/, 'break cleanly'			
(468)	giishkaakb(in)izh	giishkaakbidoon	'break X cleanly '(w/ hands)
(469)	giishkaakwaw	giishkaakhan	'shear X off cleanly'
(470)	giishkaakjim	giishkaakjidoon	'tear X cleanly on a snag'
(471)	giishkaakzaw	giishkaakzan	'cut X with a blowtorch, flame'
(472)	giishkb(in)izh	giishkbidoon	'sever X cleanly, take X off cleanly'
(473)	giishkboo(ni)zh	giishkboodoon	'saw X off cleanly'
(474)	giishkgaw	giishkahan	'chop X off cleanly'
(475)	giishkganaam	giishkanaandan	'strike X and sever X cleanly'
(476)	giishkaw	giishkhan	'cut X cleanly (with an instrument)'
(477)	giishkjiib(n)izh	giishkjiibdoon	'break X cleanly' (of 3D objects)
(478)	giishkam	giishkndan	'take a clean bite out of X'
(479)	giishknem	giishknendan	'bite X off cleanly (in one's mouth)'
(480)	giishko(ni)zh	giishkodan	'cut X off cleanly'
(481)	giishkshim	giishksidoon	'drop X and have X break off cleanly'
(482)	giishkshkaw	giishkshkan	'knock X and have X break off cleanly' (with foot or body)
(483)	giishkzhaw	giishkzhan	'castrate AN' TA; 'cut, sever IN' TI

With initial /biig-/, 'break, tear' (esp. of cloth)			
(484)	biigb(in)izh	biigbidoon	'tear X; break X up'
(485)	biigboo(ni)zh	biigboodoon	'disk X (of crops)'
(486)	biigganaam	biigganaandan	'strike X and tear X; pound X'
(487)	biigow	biighan	'tear X, break X (with instrument)'
(488)	biigjiib(n)izh	biigjiibdoon	'tear X (of 3D objects)'
(489)	biigjiishim	biigjiisdoon	'crumble, tear, break up X (3D obj.)'
(490)	biigko(ni)zh	biigkodan	'tear X in cutting; cut X up'
(491)	biigam	biignan	'tear, break up X with the teeth'
(492)	biigon ~zh	biignan	'rip, tear apart X'
(493)	biignem	biignendan	'tear X in one's mouth'
(494)	biigshim	biigsidoon	'drop X and have it break into pieces'
(495)	biigshkaw	biigshkan	'break, tear X (with foot or body)'
(496)	biigwaakaw	biigwaakzan	'put X in flame and break X to pieces'
(497)	biigzaw	biigzan	'break, tear X by/in heating'
(498)	biigzhaw	biigzhan	'tear X in cutting; cut X up'

With initial /biis-/, 'break into pieces'		
(499) biisaakb(in)izh	biisaakbidoon	'break X up' (of long, thick objects)
(500) biisbin	biisbidoon	'break X to pieces'
(501) biisboo(ni)zh	biisboodoon	'grind X; disk X' (of crops)
(502) biisgaw	biisgahan	'break X up with an axe' (eg kindling)
(503) biisaw	biis'han	'break X to pieces' (with instrument)
(504) biisjiib(n)izh	biisjiibdoon	'crumble X' (of hard 3D objects)
(505) biisko(ni)zh	biiskodan	'cut X up; dice X'
(506) biisam	biisndan	'break X to pieces with the teeth'
(507) biisnem	biisnendan	'break X to pieces in one's mouth'
(508) biiszhaw	biiszhan	'cut X to pieces'

10.5 Verbs of Transport

These finals do not represent a structural class, but simply share the notional features of possession and transport. They all final /N/ in the VTA, and /d/ in the VTI.

27	TA /-daabaaN/	TI /-daabaad+am/	'haul X, drag X'
(509) aawjidaabaazh	aawjidaabaadan	'haul X by dragging'	
(510) bkobiidaabaazh	bkobiidaabaadan	'pull X into the water'	
(511) bmidaabaazh	bmidaabaadan	'drag/haul X; take X for a ride'	
(512) bmidaabaazh	bmidaabaadan	'drag X; haul X'	
(513) giibdaabaazh	giibdaabaadan	'drag X off'	
(514) gwaadaabaazh	gwaadaabaadan	'drag X ashore, drag out (of water, fire)'	
(515) naajdaabaazh	naajdaabaadan	'fetch X by dragging'	
(516) nkwedaabaazh	nkwedaabaadan	'drag X to the road'	
(517) zhidaabaazh	zhidaabaadan	'drag X to somewhere'	

28	TA /-oom/	TI /-oond+am/	'carry X on one's back'
(518) mboom	mboondan	'lift X on one's back'	
(519) bgidoom	bgidoondan	'set X down off one's back'	
(520) bmoom	bmoondan	'carry X (along) on one's back'	

29	TA /-wiN/	TI /-wid+oo/	'carry X, transport X'
(521) bbaamwizh	bbaamwidoon	'carry X around; guide X around'	
(522) bmaawizh	bmaawdoon	'haul X along [with plural goal]'	
(523) bmiwizh	bmiwdoon	'carry X along; take care of X'	
(524) bskaabwizh	bskaabwidoon	'bring X back'	
(525) dgowizh	dgowdoon	'carry X [with something else]'	
(526) dkamwizh	dkamwidoon	'carry, transport X across'	
(527) giiwewizh	giiwewdoon	'carry, take X home'	
(528) gwaawizh	gwaawdoon	'take X out of the water'	
(529) kinoowizh	—	'guide AN'	
(530) maajiiwizh	maajiiwdoon	'take X away'	
(531) nkwewizh	nkwewdoon	'carry X to where the road passes'	
(532) zaagjiwizh	zaagjiwdoon	'take X out'	
(533) zhaabwizh	zhaabwidoon	'rescue X'	
(534) zhiwizh	zhiwdoon	'remove X to a certain place'	

30	TA /-aawaN/	TI /-aawad+oo/	'haul X'
(535) aawazh, aawnizh	aawdoon	'haul X'	
(536) biindaawazh, biindaawnizh	biindaawdoon	'haul X inside'	

10.6 Verbs of Perception and Thought

Several transitive finals focus on the perception of goals through various senses, and as objects of mental processes.

31	TA /-aabam/	TI /-aaband+an/	'see, look at X'
(537) dbaabam	dbaabndan	'check up on X; look X over'	
(538) aabnaabam	aabnaabndan	'look back at X'	
(539) wenaabam	wenaabndan	'select/choose X; look X over'	
(540) naabam	naabndan	'see X as somebody else'	
(541) waabam	waabndan	'see X'	
(542) ndawaabam	ndawaabndan	'look for X; seek X'	
(543) naagdawaabam	naagdawaabndan	'watch X; follow X with eyes'	
(544) kawaabam	kawaabndan	'be on the watch for X'	

(545)	gnawaabam	gnawaabndan	'look at X'
(546)	zhaabwaabam	zhaabwaabndan	'see through X'
(547)	maamiikwaabam	maamiikwaabndan	'watch X with interest'
(548)	saabam	saabndan	'sit and watch X'

32	TA /-enim/	TI /-end+am/	'think about X'

(549)	bbaa-nenim	bbaa-nendan	'worry about, pay attention to X'
(550)	bgidenim	—	'hold AN's funeral'
(551)	bmenim	—	'care for AN'
(552)	bgosenim	—	'request something of AN'
(553)	bshigenim	bshigendan	'like X'
(554)	daapnenim	—	'take a liking to AN; take AN to heart'
(555)	dbewgenim	dbewgendan	'be mindful of X; consider X'
(556)	dnenim	dnendan	'expect X to be in a particular place'
(557)	giisaadenim	—	'feel sorry for AN; be sad about AN'
(558)	giiwsaadenim	—	'feel a great loss over AN'
(559)	gkenim	gkendan	'know X'
(560)	gnwenim	gnawendan	'take care of X; look after X'
(561)	mkwenim	mkwendan	'bear X in mind; think of/remember X'
(562)	mmenwenim	mmenwendan	'save/keep X for later'
(563)	mnwenim	mnwendan	'like X; be pleased about X'
(564)	naagdawenim	naagdawendan	'look after X'
(565)	nenim	nendan	'think/will X'
(566)	nndawenim	nndawendan	'want X (to do something)'
(567)	wnenim	wnendan	'forget X; neglect X'
(568)	zhiingenim	zhiingendan	'hate/dislike X'

The following form has this final but does not refer to a mental state.

(569)	dbenim	dbendan	'possess/own X'

33	TA /-ipw/	TI /-ipid+am/	'taste X'

(570)	ggwejpaw	ggwejpidan	'taste X'
(571)	gjipaw	gjipdan	'taste X; sample X (of food)'

(572)	—	mnaagmipdan	'like the taste of X' (a liquid) M, CL
(573)	mnopaw	mnopdan	'like the taste of X'
(574)	—	mnwaagmipdan	'like the taste of X (of liquids)' (Od)
(575)	nsidpaw	nsidpidan (CL) nsidpodan (Od)	'recognize the taste of X'

34	TA /-itaw/	TI /-it+am/	'hear X'

(576)	bbaamtaw	—	'listen to what AN says'
(577)	*bkitaw	bkitan	'hear X distinctly'
(578)	debtaw	debtan	'hear X in the distance'
(579)	ndotaw	ndotan	'try to hear X'
(580)	nitaw	nitan	'hear X in such a way'
(581)	nkwetaw	nkwetan	'respond to X'

The use of this final in *nkwetaw/nkwetan*, 'respond to X,' is metaphorical, as the initial /nakwe/ means to meet or intersect, as in *nkwemo*, 'be a crossroads' (VII), and *nkwetgweyaa*, 'the rivers meet' (VII).

35	TA ?/-ndaw/	TI ?/-nd+am/	'hear X'

A couple of prominent transitive verbs of hearing and listening end similarly, suggesting that they share a final. But I am unsure of what this final is.

(582)	bzindaw	bzindan	'listen to X'
(583)	noondaw	noondan	'hear X'

36	TA /-maam/	TI /-maand+am/	'smell X'

(584)	biijmaam	biijmaadan	'smell X'
(585)	mnaajmaam	mnaajmaandan	'smell X' (W)
(586)	mnomaam	mnomaandan	'like the smell of X'

10.7 Accompaniment and Benefactive (Applicative) Finals

Several finals exist which derive VTA verbs having goals that represent various kinds of OBLIQUE, or peripheral, semantic roles. These derived goals are similar to those expressed in English by means of prepositions such as 'with,' as in *wiidabim*, 'sit *with* AN,' and 'for,' as

in *zhitmaw*, 'make something *for* AN.' These finals seem always to produce VTA verbs in which the derived goal is a human being or other living creature. When the derived verb has a transitive initial, features of the original goal of the verb, almost always representing something notionally non-living, are no longer marked inflectionally on the verb. These verbs thus seem to often involve some sense of 'promotion' of some grammatically oblique animate entity to the role of goal, supplanting the original, usually inanimate, goal. A rather similar phenomenon occurs syntactically in English, where beneficiaries, that is, those benefitting from some action become direct objects, and appear directly after the verb, as in 'I made *Mary Ann* some muffins.' If the beneficiary does not occur directly after the verb, it must be identified with the preposition *for*, as in 'I made some muffins for Mary Ann.' In Nishnaabemwin, the only way to represent the BENEFICIARY is by making it the goal of a derived BENEFACTIVE VERB. The original goal is demoted to a very peripheral grammatical role, in which case it no longer receives any inflectional reference on the verb it is associated with, except possibly in participles of which it is the focus.

10.7.1 Accompaniment (Comitative) Verbs

37	TA /wiid-X-m /	'do X with someone'

To express accompaniment, or co-participation in an activity (traditionally called COMITATIVES), the initial /wiid-/, 'together' is used in combination with various finals to derive initials, which are then combined with final /-m/. In the following examples, the final associated with /wiid-/ is a bound form, producing a complex initial, which is then combined with final /-m/. When the final begins with a consonant, a link vowel /-i/ is inserted, which causes palatalization of the final /d/ of /wiid/, to /j/. In a couple of cases, such as *wiijsem*, 'walk with AN,' (from /wiid-ose-m/), the root /wiid/ appears to have been reanalyzed as /wiij/, perhaps on analogy with the common prenoun, *(w)iiji-*, 'one's fellow,' as in *nwiij*-Nishnaabe, 'my fellow Indian' (W, CL).

(587) wiidsem	'walk with AN'	/-ose/	'walk'
(588) wiijbatoom	'run around with AN'	/-batoo/	'run'
(589) wiijbiim	'get drunk with AN'	/-bii/	'involving a liquid'
(590) wiijgaam	'dance with AN'	/-gaa/	'dance'
(591) wiidgem	'marry/live with AN'	/-ige/	'involving a building' ?

In other cases, a DEVERBAL final occurs, which resembles, but is not identical to, an independent VAI verb. In both cases the initial fuses with the deverbal element in such a way as to absorb some of its initial segments.

(592) wiidoopom	'eat with AN'	/oopo/	/adoopo/	'eat from something'
(593) wiipem	'sleep with AN'	/be/	/nibaa/, /nibe/	'sleep'

In other cases, a deverbal final retains a form identical to its independent form.

(594) wiidbim	'sit with AN'	/abi/	'be, sit somewhere'

In some cases, the verbal element is evidently incapable of forming a final complex, and so must be structurally an initial, which forces the element /wiid/ into a preverb position, where it appears as *wiiji-*, due to the presence of preverb-deriving final /-i/, which causes palatalization of the final consonant of /wiid/. The following examples illustrate preverb *wiiji-* constructions.

(595) wiiji-mnikwem	'drink with AN'
(596) wiiji-nokiim	'work with AN'
(597) wiiji-yaam	'be/live with AN'

The form *wiiji-nokiim*, 'work with AN,' has a variant, *wiijnokiim*, in which case /wiij-/ fills initial position, rather than being a preverb.

The forms *wiijgaabwitwaad*, 'stand with AN,' and *wiijgendwaad*, 'live with AN' (also *wiidgendwaad*) are exceptional in showing the APPLICATIVE FINAL COMPLEX /-taw/, instead of /-m/.

One last form deserves mention, *wiijkiwenyim*, 'befriend AN,' which seems to be formed on the basis of analogy with the verbs listed above, though in this case, the initial is /wiijkiwenh/, 'brother, friend,' a dependent noun, and /wiij/ is part of this noun.

10.7.2 Benefactives/Applicatives

38	TA /-amaw /	benefactive, applicative

The final /-amaw/ can be added freely to VTI stems to derive a benefactive verb, in which the actor carries out the action specified by the VTI stem, for the benefit of an animate goal, usually a person. While these verbs often entail a semantic patient, i.e., an object manipulated for someone's benefit, there is usually no inflectional reference to this entity on the verb. As with other cases of derivation involving VTI stems, the theme suffixes /-am/ and /-oo/ do not appear in the derived forms.[1] Benefactives can also be derived from VAI verbs, in which case a nonce transitive stem seems to be created by suffixing VTI final /-t/ to the

1. Unless we analyze suffix /-amaw/ as representing the VTI1 theme suffix /-am/ plus a VTA suffix /-aw/ for /am/-theme VTI verbs.

intransitive verb, for example, for *nokii*, 'ANsg works,' the benefactive form is *nokiitmaw*, 'get something to work for AN, make someone work for AN.' More such examples are presented below. See Chapter 13.4.2.2, Applicatives as Primary Objects, beginning on page 699 for additional discussion of this construction.

The following examples illustrate benefactives formed from VTI1 stems, that is, those VTI's having theme suffix /-am/.

(598)	aabaabkohmaw	'unlock something for AN'
(599)	aawjidaabaadmaw	'carry something for AN by dragging'
(600)	bgohmaw	'patch something for AN'
(601)	bmidaabaadmaw	'drag something for AN; haul something for AN'
(602)	gnawendmaw	'take care of something for AN'
(603)	gshkigwmaw	'sew something for AN'
(604)	gzhaadmaw	'take care of something for AN'
(605)	mnozmaw	'cook something for s o.'
(606)	naagdawendmaw	'look after something for AN'
(607)	nagnaandmaw	'hit something to AN thus'

The following examples are formed from VTI2 (/-oo/ theme) stems.

(608)	aabbidmaw	'untie something for AN'
(609)	biidmaw	'bring something for AN; bring something to AN'
(610)	bookbidmaw	'break off a piece of something for AN'
(611)	debbidmaw	'catch something for AN; reach something for AN'
(612)	giishkboodmaw	'saw something for AN'
(613)	giishpnadmaw	'buy something for AN; buy something from AN'
(614)	maajiidmaw	'make something go away from AN; take something away for AN; take something away from AN; take something away to AN'
(615)	mooshknadmaw	'fill for AN'
(616)	siboodmaw	'sharpen something for AN; whet something for AN'
(617)	ziinbidmaw	'squeeze something for AN'

The benefactive form *naadmaw*, 'fetch (something) for AN; help AN (do something),' suggests that benefactives can be derived from VTI3 stems as well, in this case *naadin*, 'fetch IN'

The following benefactives are all formed from intransitive verbs. A couple of the stems have the structure of detransitives derived by the addition of /-ige/ to a transitive stem, as in

The following benefactives are all formed from intransitive verbs. A couple of the stems have the structure of detransitives derived by the addition of /-ige/ to a transitive stem, as in *zhibiihge*, from VTI stem *zhibiihan*, 'write IN' In all cases, though, of benefactives derived from intransitive stems, DUMMY VTI stems are created of the VAI stems by the addition of VTI final element /-t/.

(618)	aawshkwetmaw	'haul hay for AN'
(619)	dbahgetmaw	'do the paying for AN; measure for AN'
(620)	gwaawetmaw	'hang clothes (to dry) for AN'
(621)	gzhaadgetmaw	'look after the home for AN'
(622)	maajiibiihgetmaw	'write a letter for s.o'
(623)	mjidwetmaw	'have something sent to AN; order something for AN'
(624)	mnisetmaw	'cut firewood for AN'
(625)	mnisetmaw	'cut wood for AN'
(626)	namhetaw	'pray for AN'
(627)	nokiitamaw	'get something/someone to work for AN'
(628)	zhibiihgetmaw	'write (a letter) for AN; write (a letter) to AN'

CLASSIFIERS can occur in benefactive constructions, in which case the classifier makes reference to properties of the patient, that is, the object that the actor manipulates on someone else's (i.e., the goal's) behalf.

(629)	dkwaabiitmaw	'shorten something (stringlike) for AN' /-aabii(g)-/ 'string'
(630)	dkwaabiignamaw	'shorten something (stringlike) for AN' /-aabiig-/ 'string'
(631)	gnwegtamaw	'make something (sheetlike) long(er) for AN' /-eg-/ 'cloth'
(632)	naadaabkinmaw	'collect payment for something from AN' /-aabik-/ 'metal'

The secondary final /-amaw/ derives verbs specifying a variety of relationships between the actor and goal, not just benefactives. These different types of relationships are commonly called APPLICATIVES in contemporary linguistic studies. The following examples illustrate some of the amazing range of semantic variation found in Nishnaabemwin.

(633)	aabjitmaw	'use something belonging to AN'
(634)	aabnaabdamaw	'look back at something belonging to AN'
(635)	baaptamaw	'laugh at something belonging to AN'
(636)	bchinmaw	'accidentally shoot something belonging to AN'
(637)	biijbiihmaw	'receive mail from AN'
(638)	bkobiiwebnamaw	'push, throw something belonging to AN into the water'

(639)	bshkozhmaw	'cut hay from AN's field'
(640)	bskaahnaashkmaw	'send something back to AN'
(641)	daangshkoodmaw	'brush against s.t. belonging to AN (w/ s.t. being carried)'
(642)	dkokaadmaw	'step on something belonging to AN'
(643)	dngishkmaw	'kick something belonging to AN'
(644)	doodmaw	'do something to AN's possession'
(645)	gindmaw	'read something for AN; read something to AN'
(646)	gkendmaw	'know something about AN'
(647)	gkinoomaw	'teach something to AN'
(648)	gnahmaw	'forbid AN/warn AN not (to do something)'
(649)	gwaadmaw	'connect AN with someone else (verbally)'
(650)	kinoomaw	'teach something to AN'
(651)	maajiibiihmaw	'write a letter to AN'
(652)	meshkdoonmaw	'exchange something with/for AN'
(653)	mzhodmaw	'shoot something belonging to AN'
(654)	naadaabkinmaw	'collect payment for something from AN'
(655)	ndodmaw	'ask AN for something'
(656)	ninmaw	'hand something to AN'
(657)	nkwebiihmaw	'answer AN's letter'
(658)	waawiindmaw	'promise something to AN'
(659)	wiindmaw	'advise AN; report something to AN; tell AN something'
(660)	waasenjgamaw	'shine a light for AN' [cf., VAI waasenjge, 'shine a light']
(661)	waatkohmaw	'signal AN to come'
(662)	zhibiihmaw	'write something for AN; write something to AN'
(663)	zhinaashkmaw	'chase someone over to AN; send someone over to AN'

39	TA /-aw /	benefactive, applicative

The element /-aw/ derives benefactives from VAI stems that end in /e/, which is deleted when /-aw/ is attached, as can be seen from the following examples.

	TA	Based on AI…	Derived TA Gloss
(664)	jiibaakwaw	jiibaakwe	'cook for AN'
(665)	mnisaw	mnise	'cut wood for AN'
(666)	mshkikwaabookaw	mshkikwaabooke	'make a herbal brew for AN'
(667)	nwapwaankaw	nwapwaanke	'prepare provisions (for trip) for AN'
(668)	zhigaw	zhige	'build a shelter for AN'
(669)	zhoon'yaakaw	zhoon'yaake	'make money for/from AN'

In some cases, there exist synonyms reflecting different strategies for forming benefactives. The following words represent such a set, all with an initial consisting of VAI *mnise*, 'cut wood.' Three distinct ways of forming benefactives are represented: (1) by the addition of /-amaw/; (2) by the addition of /-aw/; (3) by deriving a makeshift transitive inanimate stem by adding /-t/ to the VAI stem, to which /-amaw/ is then attached. Note that the attachment of /-amaw/ directly to the VAI stem results in loss of stem-final /e/, just as it does with /-aw/. The following forms illustrate these three strategies.

(671)	mnismaw	mnis[e] + amaw	drop final /e/, attach /-amaw/ to AI stem
(672)	mnisaw	mnis[e] + aw	drop final /e/, attach /-aw/ to AI stem
(673)	mnisetmaw	mnise + t + amaw	derive TI by adding /-t/; attach /-amaw/

Many items of vocabulary exist with benefactive synonyms formed by the addition of /-aw/ in one case and /-amaw/ in the other. The following list provides some examples.

(674)	aawdaw	aawdamaw	'haul something for AN'
(675)	biidaw	biidmaw	'bring something for AN'
(676)	debbidaw	debbidmaw	'reach something for AN'
(677)	gnwegtaw	gnwegtamaw	'make something long(er) for AN'
(678)	goodaw	goodmaw	'hang up something for AN'
(679)	mooshknadaw	mooshknadmaw	'fill something for AN'
(680)	naadaw	naadmaw	'fetch something for AN'
(681)	naataw	naatmaw	'fix something for AN'
(682)	zhitaw	zhitmaw	'make something for AN'
(683)	aabjitaw	aabjitmaw	'use something belonging to AN'

A few words appear to have benefactives only in /-aw/, and not in /-amaw/, such as *ngamotaw*, 'sing for AN,' from AI *ngamo*, 'sing,' to which has been added /-t/ to derive a VTI stem, and then /-aw/ added; possibly too *yaamaw*, 'buy something for AN; get something for AN,' perhaps related to VTI *yaan*, 'have IN, get IN,' or VTA *yaaw*, with the same meaning.

10.8 Verbs with Body Part Medials

Many VTA verbs express action by an agent upon a particular part of a goal's body, for example, *booknikebizh*, 'break AN's arm,' and *baazgogaadebizh*, 'scratch AN on the leg.'

These verbs contain body part medials, such as /-nik-/, 'arm,' and /-gaad-/, 'leg,' in the two examples here. However, their structures cannot be analyzed as simply initial + medial + final, since the medials are followed by the morpheme /-e/, which represents a VAI final in words such as *booknike*, 'AN has a broken arm,' and *gzhiibgaade*, 'have an itch on one's leg.' One possible analysis of these verbs is that they represent the addition of a transitive final to an initial that is itself an independent word, as in *booknikebizh*, 'break AN's arm,' which could be analyzed as /booknike+bizh/. In other words, the suggestion might be that a VTA final has been added to an initial which has the same form as a VAI verb. The problem with such an analysis is that many VTA verbs with body part medials do not show forms that correspond to any VAI verbs. For example, in the case of *gaanjgaadeshkaw*, 'push AN's leg [with foot or body]' there is no corresponding VAI verb, **gaanjgaade*, 'have one's leg pushed; have a pushed leg.' Therefore, we must assume one of the following structures for these VTA verbs. In the first, /-e/ functions as some kind of medializing suffix attached to /-gaad-/, 'leg'; in the second, it derives a complex initial consisting of /gaanj-/ plus /-gaad-/.

Initial	Medial	Final
gaanj	gaad+e	shkaw

Initial	Final
gaanjgaad+e	shkaw

The following examples illustrate several body part medials occurring in a variety of VTA verbs. No doubt such a list could be extended indefinitely.

40	Medial /-aabd-e-/	'tooth'

(684) bkwaabdeb(n)izh 'pull AN's tooth'
(685) bookwaabdegnaam 'hit AN and break AN's tooth'
(686) bookwaabdeshkaw 'break AN's tooth' (inverse only)
(687) bookwaabdeb(n)izh 'break AN's tooth in pulling it'

41	Medial /-diy-e-/	'backside, rearend'

(688) bdakdiyeshkaw 'prick AN on the rear'
(689) bsidiyegnaam 'spank AN (on the rear)' CL
(690) bsidyeshkaw 'kick AN in the rear'
(691) zhidyetaw 'moon AN (expose one's bare rear to AN in contempt)'

42	Medial /-gaad-e-/	'leg'

(692) baazgogaadeb(n)izh 'scratch AN on the leg
(693) baazgogaadeshkaw 'scratch AN on the leg
(694) bookgaadew 'break AN's leg (with an instrument)
(695) gaanjgaaden, ~zh 'push AN's leg
(696) gaanjgaadeshkaw 'push AN's leg' (with the body)
(697) giishkgaadeb(n)izh 'cut AN's leg off'
(698) giizhoogaadeshkaw 'make AN's legs warm' (with one's body)
(699) gjigaadeb(n)izh 'test, try AN's leg by pulling it'
(700) gjigaaden, ~zh 'feel AN's leg'
(701) mnjiggaaden 'hold AN's leg'
(702) naazhgaaden 'stroke AN's leg gently'
(703) zgigaaden, ~zh 'grab AN by the leg'
(704) zgigaadep(in)izh 'tie AN by the legs'
(705) zniggaadeb(n)izh 'rub AN's leg'
(706) zniggaaden, ~zh 'rub AN's leg'

43	Medial /-ndib-e/; /-ikw-e/; /-igw-e/	'head'

(707) bgaskiigndibew knock AN on the head
(708) bgidkwen, ~zh put/set AN's head down
(709) biigndibew break AN's head
(710) baagndibegnaam bash AN's head in
(711) baagndibew break AN's head
(712) gaandkwezh push AN's head
(713) gaandkwewebin, ~zh push AN's head
(714) giishkgwebizh, giishkgwebnizh cut AN's head off
(715) giishkgwekozh cut off AN s head
(716) giishkgwen, ~zh knock the head off AN
(717) giishkgwew knock the head off AN (with an instrument)
(718) giishkndibewaad cut AN on the head
(719) gwekkweshim turn AN's head
(720) naazhkwen lower AN's head
(721) naazhkweshim lay AN's head lower
(722) niiskwen, ~zh put AN's head lower

(723) niiskweshim	lay AN's head lower	
(724) nikweshim	place AN's head to rest in a certain position	
(725) shoondben	rub IN on AN's head	

44	Medial /-nik-e-/	'arm'

(726) booknikebi(ni)zh	'break AN's arm'
(727) konkewebin	'push AN's arm off (s.t.)'
(728) zniginikebi(ni)zh	'massage AN's arm'

45	Medial /-ninjii-/ (from /ninjy-e-/)	'hand, finger(s)'

(729) aakjinnjiin	'force AN's clenched fingers apart'
(730) bniskninjiin, ~zh	'open AN's clenched fist; snatch X from AN's grasp'
(731) zginnjiishkaw	'sit, step on AN's hand'

46	Medial /-zh-e/	'skin'

(732) bengzhew	'dry AN('s body) off'
(733) gziibiigzhen, ~zh	'give AN a bath'

47	Medial /-zid-e/	'foot'

(734) daangziden, ~zh	'touch AN's foot'
(735) daangzideshkaw	'touch AN's foot (with one's foot or body)'
(736) zgizdeshkaw	'sit, step on AN's foot'

10.9 Verbs with Classificatory Medials

Classificatory medials also occur in transitive verbs, typically indicating the class of the patient role, as in *dkwaabiigkozh*, 'cut AN short(er) (of strings),' or specifying an instrument or other prop involved in some way in the action, as in *niisaabiigin*, 'let AN down on a rope,' and *naadaabkin*, 'collect payment for AN,' the latter with mineral medial /aabik/, in reference to the coins involved in payment. These medials do not seem very common. A few example words with different classificatory medials follow.

48	Medial /-minag-/	'round object'

(737) gtigmin'gib(n)izh	gtigmin'gibdoon	'roll X (small round obj.) with hand'

49	Medial /-aabik-/	'mineral, glass, plastic object'

(738) naadaabkinmaw	—	'collect payment for s.t. from AN'
(739) naadaabkin, ~zh	naadaabknan	'collect payment for X'
(740) aabaabkow	aabaabkohan	'unlock X'

The following word appears to have this medial, but lacks a specific classificatory sense.

(741) gwaabkizw	gwaabkizan	'boil X dry and burn it'

50	Medial /-aabiig-/	'string, ropelike object'

In the following examples, the medial indicates the classification of the semantic patient.

(742) bookwaabiigin, ~zh	bookwaabiignan	'break X' (of strings)
(743) dkwaabiigko(ni)zh	dkwaabiigkonan	'cut X short(er)' (of strings)
(744) gnwaabiigin, ~zh	gnwaabiignan	'lengthen X' (of strings)

In the following examples, however, it indicates the properties of an instrument.

(745) niisaabiigin, ~zh	niisaabiignan	'let X down on a rope'
(746) mbaabiigbi(ni)zh	mbaabiigbidoon	'pull X up (on a rope)'
(747) mbaabiigin	mbaabiignan	'raise X up (on a rope)'
(748) wewebaabiigin, ~zh	wewebaabiignan	'swing X'
(749) wewebaabiigshkaw	wewebaabiigshkan	'swing X (with foot or body)'
(750) —	baakaabiigbidoon	'pull s.t. open (with string'

The combination of initial plus medial /wewebaabiig/ has perhaps been reanalyzed to mean simply 'swing,' as it appears to in *wewebaabiiggaadese*, 'swing one's foot to and fro' (M).

51	Medial /-iig-/, /-eg-/	'cloth, sheetlike object'

(751) zhaabwiigaw	zhaabwiighan	'tear a hole through X' (of cloth)
(752) aabiigin, ~zh	aabiignan	'unravel, unroll X' (of cloth)
(753) wiiwegjiin	wiiwegjiinan	'wrap X up in cloth'

52	Medial /-aak-/	'organic solid, wooden object

The medial /-aak-/ is perhaps the most common classificatory medial appearing with transitive verbs in the Rhodes dictionary, though its meaning is often more that of an intensifier than a classifier. In the following forms its presence either classifies the patient, or in some way relates to physical properties of the patient. The range of meanings that it encompasses suggests that it can be used distinctly both as a classifier of shape ('sticklike object') and substance (wood).

(754) bookwaakon, ~zh	bookwaaknan	'break a branch from X'
(755) bookwaakb(in)izh	bookwaakbidoon	'break X off' (of sticks)
(756) bkwaakb(in)izh	bkwaakbidoon	'break X off' (of sticks)
(757) bnagaakb(in)izh	bnagaakbidoon	'peel the bark from X'
(758) bnagaakow	bnagaakwan	'peel the bark from X' [with instr.]

The classificatory nature of /-aak-/ in a word such as *bnagaakbizh*, 'peel bark from AN,' can be seen by comparing it with *bnagbizh*, 'remove the skin from AN'

INTENSIFYING MEDIAL /-AAK-/. The medial /-aak-/ seems also to appear rather commonly in vocabulary having nothing to do with wooden objects, in which its meaning is sometimes that of an intensifier, and other times appears to add very idiosyncratic meanings or no meaning at all. The following examples illustrate its use.

(759) bkib(n)izh	bkibdoon	'break X (of strings); pick X (of fruit)'
(760) bkaakb(in)izh	bkaakbidoon	'break X (of thin strings)'
(761) bookbi(ni)zh	bookbidoon	'break X (in two) (of sticks)'
(762) bookwaakb(in)izh	bookwaakbidoon	'break X off (of sticks)'
(763) giishkb(in)izh	giishkbidoon	'sever X cleanly, take X off cleanly'
(764) giishkaakb(in)izh	giishkaakbidoon	'break X cleanly (with the hands)'

In some cases, /-aak-/ has come to mean 'long,' as in the following examples.

(765) bgoneshkaw	bgoneshkan	'kick and tear a hole in X'
(766) bgoneyaakshkaw	bgoneyaakshkan	'kick and tear a longish hole in X'
(767) giishkb(in)izh	giishkbidoon	'sever X cleanly, take X off cleanly'
(768) giishkaakb(in)izh	giishkaakbidoon	'break X cleanly (with hands) (of big or long objects)'
(769) biisbin	biisbidoon	'break X to pieces'
(770) biisaakb(in)izh	biisaakbidoon	'break X up (of long, thick objects)'

Its presence in the following forms perhaps add intensification.

(771) pakteyaakshim	—	'wallop AN, whomp AN' CL,W
(772) zhiibaawaakshim	zhiibaawaaksidoon	'wedge right through X'

MEDIAL /-JII-/ AS CLASSIFIER. The medial /-jii-/, which evidently once meant 'belly,' is sometimes used as a shape classifier, as in some of the following examples.

(773) giishkb(in)izh	giishkbidoon	'sever X cleanly, take X off cleanly'
(774) giishkaakb(in)izh	giishkaakbidoon	'break X cleanly (with the hands)'
(775) giishk**jii**b(n)izh	giishk**jii**bdoon	'break X cleanly (of 3D objects)'
(776) bgoneshkaw	bgoneshkan	'kick a hole in X'
(777) bgone**jii**shkaw	bgone**jii**shkan	'kick a hole in X [of 3D] objects'

In other cases, its meaning seems somewhat specialized to refer to (fragile) three-dimensional objects, as in the following examples.

(778) baashkb(in)izh	baashkbidoon	'break X open (of 3D objects)'
(779) baashk**jii**b(n)izh	baashk**jii**bdoon	'break X open (of fragile 3D objects)'
(780) baashkshim	baashksidoon	'drop & break X (of 3D objects)'
(781) baashk**jii**shim	baashk**jii**sdoon	'drop & break X (of fragile 3D objects)'

In at least one case, though, it refers to hard three-dimensional objects:

(782)	biisbin	biisbidoon	'break X to pieces'
(783)	biis**jii**b(n)izh	biis**jii**bdoon	'crumble X (of hard 3D objects)'

10.10 Verbs with Other Medials

Other medials show up in some transitive forms, but these usually involve medials that are best analyzed as belonging to an independent word stem which is serving as a complex initial. This is true, for example, of the medial /-konay-/, 'clothing,' in the following forms, e.g., (784), where *aanzkon'ye*, 'changes (one's) clothes' (VAI), serves as an initial to vta final /-h/, 'causative.'

	VTA Form	VAI Form	VTA Gloss
(784)	aanzkon'yeh, ~y	aanzkon'ye	'make AN change clothes'
(785)	biiskon'yeh, ~y	biiskon'ye	'dress AN'
(786)	giiskon'yeb(n)izh	giiskon'ye	'pull AN's clothes off'

A medial of liquids /-aagam-/ occurs in a few transitive forms.

(787)	ndaahaagmin	ndaawaagminan	'stir X (of liquids)'
(788)	ndaahaagmaw	ndaahaagmahan	'stir X with instrument (of liquids)'

10.11 Other Transitive Finals

Many other transitive finals exist in addition to those listed above. Some are simply abstract finals. In the following lists I illustrate a few of these finals.

53	TA /-aam/	TI /-aand+am/	'measure X'

The example words here both have body-part medial-like elements, /-zid-/, 'foot,' in (789), and /-ninjy-/, 'hand,' in (790).

(789)	dbizdaam	dbizdaandan	'measure X in foot-lengths'
(790)	dbinnjaam	dbinnjaandan	'measure X in hand-widths'

54	TA /-gwaaN/	TI /-gwaad+am/	'sew X'

(791)	gnweggwaa(ni)zh	gnweggwaadan	'lengthen X (sheetlike) by sewing'
(792)	gogwaa(ni)zh	gogwaadan	'sew X on'
(793)	gshkigwaa(ni)zh	gshkigwaadan	'sew X'
(794)	maawndoogwaa(ni)zh	maawndoogwaadan	'sew X together'
(795)	spogwaa(ni)zh	spogwaadan	'sew X together' (W)

55	TA /-N/	TI /-d+am/	—

This is a common pairing of VTA and VTI finals, though I am perhaps grouping together finals that could be considered distinct on the basis of their meanings.

(796)	boogjin ~zh	boogjidan	'fart at X; spray at X (of skunks)'
(797)	miiji(ni)zh	miijdan	'defecate on X'
(798)	baazhdakaa(ni)zh	—	'step over AN; go over AN's head
(799)	boodaa(ni)zh	boodaadan	'blow X'
(800)	bwaa(ni)zh	bwaadan	'dream of/about X'
(801)	daangin ~zh	daangnan	'feel X; touch X'
(802)	dbasaa(ni)zh	dbasaadan	'measure the length of X in paces'
(803)	dkokaa(ni)zh	dkokaadan	'step on X'
(804)	gdawaakwaa(ni)zh	gdawaakwaadan	'throw something at X'
(805)	ggwejiiwaa(ni)zh	ggwejiiwaadan	'wrestle with X'
(806)	gzhaa(ni)zh	gzhaadan	'take care of X'
(807)	miigaa(ni)zh	miigaadan	'fight with X'
(808)	moozhgi(ni)zh	moozhginan	'collect X; gather X' (plural object)
(809)	n'ga(ni)zh	n'gadan	'abandon X; leave X behind'
(810)	noopna(ni)zh	noopnadan	'follow X; pursue X'
(811)	zhigaa(ni)zh	zhigaadan	'build a shelter for X'
(812)	zhinkaa(ni)zh	zhinkaadan	'name X so, thus'
(813)	ziigin ~zh	ziignan	'pour X; spill X'
(814)	zkwaa(ni)zh	zkwaadan	'spit on X'

With initials derived from agentive VAI verbs ending in /e/, or showing historical alternation of forms ending in /e/, such as *zgaswaa*, 'smokes,' a final /e/ is changed to /aa/, as in (819), from *mnikwe*, 'drinks,' and (816), from *biindaakwe*, 'smokes (tobacco).' Stems that

end in /oo/ evidently change to /waa/, as (815), from *biimskobtoo*, 'runs in a circle, runs around (something).'

(815)	biimskobtwaa(ni)zh	biimskobtwaadan	'run around X'
(816)	biindaakwaa(ni)zh	biindaakwaadan	'smoke X (of tobacco, etc.)'
(817)	boodwaa(ni)zh	boodwaadan	'light a fire under X', cf. boodwe)
(818)	gtigaa(ni)zh	gtigaadan	'plant X (e.g. corn)' (cf., gtige)
(819)	mnikwaazh	mnikwaadan	'use X to get a drink'
(820)	waankaa(ni)zh	waankaadan	'dig X out' (cf., waanke, 'dig')
(821)	zaamzekwaa(ni)zh	zaamzekwaadan	'overcook X' (cf., zaamzekwe)
(822)	zgaswaa(ni)zh	zgaswaadan	'smoke (inhale) X' (e.g. tobacco)

56	TA /-N/	TI /-d+oo/	—

This final set differs from previous two only in having theme sign /-oo/ in the VTI correspondent. Example (823), related to VAI *biindge*, 'enter,' seems to either delete the final /e/ of the initial, or change it to /a/.

(823)	biindga(ni)zh	biindgadoon	'bring X inside'
(824)	naa(ni)zh	naajwidoon	'fetch X'
(825)	naagha(ni)zh	naaghadoon	'follow X's trail'
(826)	giishpna(ni)zh	giishpnadoon	'buy X'
(827)	mooshkhoo(ni)zh	mooshkhoodoon	'flood X; drown X'
(828)	mooshkna(ni)zh	mooshknadoon	'fill X'
(829)	bii(ni)zh	biidoon	'bring X'
(830)	gki(ni)zh	gkidoon	'hide X'
(831)	gwinjim	gwinjdoon	float X, put X in water

57	TA /-jiiN/	TI /-jiin+am/	—

This final appears to relate to the use of the hands.

(832)	gwekjiin ~zh	gwekjiinan	'turn X over/around'
(833)	dgojiin ~zh	dgojiinan	'hold/carry X with others'
(834)	gdigjiin ~zh	gdigjiinan	'roll/tip X over'
(835)	ndoojiin ~zh	ndoojiinan	'feel around for X; grope for X'
(836)	mkojiin ~zh	mkojiinan	'find X by groping around for X'

11

The Derivation of Nouns and Adverbs

Chapters 9 and 10 presented analyses of the derivational morphology of intransitive and transitive verbs, and in this chapter we briefly examine the derivational structure of nouns and adverbs. These last two word classes are grouped together here solely for convenience, as they do not particularly share structure or content that motivates their treatment as a definable sub-grouping of parts of speech.

11.1 Nouns

NOUN ROOTS AND GENERAL ROOTS. There are two basic classes of ROOTS in the PRIMARY DERIVATION of WORD STEMS in Nishnaabemwin, NOUN ROOTS and GENERAL ROOTS. Noun roots are used exclusively with nouns, and general roots are used with any word (stem) category, whether nouns, verbs, or adverbs. Nouns thus stand apart from other word classes in their derivational properties, in that there is a set of roots that is uniquely associated with them in primary derivation.

STEM FORMS. As with my discussion of both transitive and intransitive verbs, I will have occasion to refer to the stem form of a noun, which almost always consists of the basic word minus its inflections, and with all short vowels represented, that is, the hypothetical form of the stem before the application of syncope. Many nouns also show a final /y/ or /w/ in their stem forms that is not pronounced in the simple singular, but which can be recognized on the basis of the stem's phonological properties in the presence of various suffixes. Stem forms are usually represented within slashes in this grammar. For example, the stem form of the word for 'snake,' *gnebig*, is /ginebigw/ NA; for 'net,' *sab*, it is /asaby/ NA; for 'man,' *nini*, it is /aniniw/ or /ininiw/ NA, subject to dialect variation.

THE PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF NOUN STEMS. Traditionally, as with all words in Nishnaabemwin, independent noun stems did not begin with either fortis consonants (/p/, /t/, /k/, /ch/, /s/, /sh/) or clusters of two or more consonants. In modern Nishnaabemwin, of course, many words are pronounced with fortis initial segments and with initial consonant clusters, due to the deletion, by syncope, of word-initial short vowels, as in, for example,

pin, 'potato,' from stem /opiny/ (or /apiny/), and *shkode*, 'fire,' with stem /ishkode/ (or /ashkode/). Probably for some speakers, who may have reanalyzed some of these words so that they no longer begin with vowels, the old constraints on word-initial consonants no longer hold.

Historically, a few DEPENDENT NOUN STEMS began with fortis consonants or consonant clusters, such as /+kaad/, 'leg' NID, and /+shkiinzhigw/, 'eye' NID. While stem-initial, these fortis consonants and clusters never occurred word-initially, however, because dependent nouns always have a possessive prefix.

UNANALYZABLE PRIMARY NOUNS. Large numbers of common nouns, especially animate nouns, show indivisible ROOT forms, such as *bzhiki*, 'cow' and *bzhiw*, 'lynx.' Such nouns are thus rather different in structure than common verbs, which typically, though not always, have a relatively straightforward initial+final structure, in which the final determines the part of speech (stem-class) and sub-class of the word as a whole, as in *aabdizi*, 'be useful' VAI, with root /aabad-/, 'useful, used,' and FINAL /-izi/, 'be' (VAI). Many common nouns are not straightforwardly analyzable as having component parts, though some show historical relics that point to an earlier morphological system that is no longer productive.

PRIMARY COMPLEX NOUN STEMS. Other primary nouns have identifiable structural components, such as *getehii*, 'old thing' NI and *getehaa*, 'old thing' NA, both of which share an INITIAL (root) component, /gete-/, 'old,' but differ in their finals (/-hii/ and /-haa/, respectively), and *wiingashk*, 'sweetgrass' NI and *pakweyashk*, 'cattail' NA, both of which have noun final element /-ashkw/, 'grass, reed,' which seems to be related to *mshkiki* /mashkikiw/, 'medicine' NI.

SECONDARY COMPLEX NOUN STEMS. Some nouns consist of an independent nominal stem to which a concrete noun final has been attached, such as *goonaaboo* 'melted snow water' NI, with the independent noun *goon*, 'snow' NA as initial, and concrete noun final /-aaboo/, 'liquid'; and *zhgaagwinzh*, 'onion' NA, consisting of the independent word *zhgaag*, 'skunk' NA, as initial, and concrete noun final /-winzhy/, 'plant.'

In some cases, noun finals are added in secondary derivation to initials that are animate intransitive (VAI) verbs, to derive nouns associated with the verbal action or state specified by the verb, as in the noun *nbaagan*, 'bed' NI, which has as initial VAI verb *nbaa*, 'sleep,' to which is attached noun final /-gan/. The noun final /-win/ is also sometimes used to derive nouns referring to physical objects, as in *dnakiiwin*, 'town, village' NI, with initial *dnakii*, 'live in a certain place' VAI, and *migiiwin*, 'scabs, leprosy,' with initial *migii*, 'have scabs, have open sores' VAI. In other cases, /-win/ is used to derive ABSTRACT NOUNS of states, actions, and events, as in *yekziwin*, 'tiredness, fatigue' NI, with initial *yekzi*, 'be tired' VAI, and *niimwin*, 'dance' NI, with initial *niimi*, 'dance' VAI. This process of deriving nouns from intransitive verbs by means of nominalizing suffixes such as /-win/ and /-gan/ most commonly produces nouns of inanimate gender. It is especially productive in the formation of the names of manufactured objects.

PARTICIPIAL NOUNS AND DEPARTICIPIAL NOUNS. Some nouns are derived from verbs by means of PARTICIPIALIZATION, that is, by using special verb PARTICIPLE INFLECTIONS to

identify individuals and groups on the basis of verbal actions or states associated with them. So, for example, *baatewaagmiseg*, 'beer' NI, which is the participial form of the inanimate intransitive (VII) verb *biitewaagamse*, 'be/become foamy liquid,' and *nesoobgak*, 'clover' NI, which is the participial form of VII verb *nsoobgad* /nisoobagad/, 'have three leaves.' Note that there is usually semantic specialization in such words, as can be seen, for example, with *nesoobgak*, 'clover,' since many plants besides clover have three leaves. And liquids other than beer can be foamy. Words of this sort are structurally true participles, in that they show both INITIAL CHANGE and PARTICIPIAL VERBAL (suffix) INFLECTION. Other participle-like forms in some dialects of Nishnaabemwin show initial change of a verbal stem, but lack participial inflectional suffixes, as in *dekaashiinh*, 'tourist' NA, with initial change of VAI verb *dkaashi*, 'be carefree, have fun' /dakaashi/, and *esbikenh*, 'spider' NA, with initial change of VAI verb *sabke*, 'make a net' /asabike/. In both cases, too, a CONTEMPTIVE SUFFIX appears on the noun. I designate words formed in this way as DEPARTICIPIAL NOUNS.

The definition of a STEM as a word minus its inflectional affixes does not work well with participles, since true participles are only nominal by virtue of showing special inflections and being used as nouns. The uninflected stem of a true participle is always derivationally a verb. In the case of departicipial nominals such as *dekaashiinh*, initial change functions derivationally, creating a new stem, rather than inflectionally, as it does in most uses with verbs.

COMPOUND NOUNS. COMPOUND NOUNS are those containing one or more word STEMS, such as in *mshkikiiwnini*, 'male doctor' NA, which consists of the component stems *mshkiki* /mashkikiw/, 'medicine' NI, and *nini* /ininiw, aniniw/, 'man' NA. Compounds always consist of exactly two stem elements, though these elements may themselves be compounds, as in *mshkode-bzhiki-wiiyaas*, 'buffalo meat,' which has the compound *mshkode-bzhiki*, 'buffalo' NA as its first element, and *wiiyaas*, 'meat' NI as its second. The GRAMMATICAL PROPERTIES of the compound as a whole are usually those of the stem element on the right, as in the example of *mshkikiiwnini*, in which the right element is of animate gender, a property which it passes on to the compound as a whole. Furthermore, the right element usually defines the notional class to which the referents of the whole word belong. So, for example, in the case of *mashkode-bzhiki-wiiyaas*, we note that the right element is *wiiyaas*, 'meat,' and that the whole word represents a *kind* of meat.

PRENOUNS IN COMPOUND STEMS. Some stem forms may include PRENOUNS, in cases where the meaning of the prenoun plus noun combination cannot be straightforwardly determined from the meanings of its component parts. For example, at Curve Lake, the combination of prenoun *mji-* 'bad,' and animate noun *gnoozhe*, 'fish,' means 'muskellunge,' a particular kind of fish, and not simply 'bad fish,' as is suggested by the individual meanings of *mji-* and *gnoozhe*. The stem form of this word is /maji-ginoozhe/, which can be determined by examining a variety of word-forms having different inflections, such as *nmaji-gnoozhem*, 'my muskellunge,' which reveals the presence of a short vowel, /a/, in the prenoun.

A prenoun in combination with a noun represents a type of compound, since the resulting complex word-stem consists of two separate stems. The prenoun stem always modifies the noun stem it is attached to, but acts as a word-domain with respect to the vowel deleting

rule of syncope, in that its last vowel is never deleted, just as if it were the last vowel of a word. This can be seen from a word such as *waabi-mnoomin*, 'white rice' (stem /waabi-manoomin/ NI), in which the short vowel /i/ of *waabi-*, 'white,' is not deleted, even though it immediately follows a syllable containing a long vowel, and is not the last vowel in the composite word. Furthermore, the short vowel immediately following /i/, the /a/ of noun stem /manoomin/, 'rice,' is itself deleted, in this case because it represents the first short vowel of a new phonological word. These phonological features of prenouns and preverbs are treated in more detail in Chapter 2.6.4, Prefixes, Suffixes, Stems, Prenouns and Preverbs, beginning on page 59.

SUMMARY OF NOUN STRUCTURAL STEM TYPES. To summarize, the following types of NOUN STEM structures occur in Nishnaabemwin, and will be treated in this chapter. In the table below, IC stands for INITIAL CHANGE.

Noun Stem Structures			
Primary (Simple) Noun Stems			
	Root		
	Root	+	Concrete Noun Final
Secondary (Complex) Noun Stems			
	Stem	+	Concrete Noun Final
	Stem	+	Abstract Noun Final
Participial Nouns			
	IC/Stem	+	Contemptive Noun Final
	IC/Stem	+	Participial Inflectional Suffixes
Compound Noun Stems			
	Stem	+	Stem

11.2 Unanalyzable Primary Nouns

Many nouns cannot be confidently divided into meaningful component parts, and must thus be considered single, indivisible units. There is however, some uncertainty as to how to categorize these single units occurring as stems, whether they should be considered roots, medials, or finals. I will take up the discussion of this problem briefly, below. As examples, the words in the following representative list of animal terms do not appear to have recognizable component parts in contemporary Nishnaabemwin, and so must be interpreted as unanalyzable primary nouns.

(1)	bzhiki	NA	'cow'
(2)	bzhiw	NA	'wildcat, lynx'
(3)	esban	NA	'raccoon'
(4)	gaag	NA	'porcupine'
(5)	gaazhag	NA	'cat'
(6)	jiig	NA	'fisher'
(7)	mhiingan	NA	'wolf'
(8)	mik	NA	'beaver'
(9)	mooz	NA	'moose'
(10)	mzhwe	NA	'cottontail rabbit'
(11)	n'gig	NA	'otter'
(12)	nim	NA	'dog'
(13)	san'goo	NA	'black squirrel'

STEM-FINAL /W/ WITH ANIMATE NOUNS AND NOUN FINALS. A large number of animate nouns, and some inanimate nouns, have stems ending in /w/, suggesting that at one time this was a meaningful structural component of such words, perhaps an ABSTRACT NOUN FINAL that classified the stem as belong to the word class of nouns or sub-class of animate nouns. One clue in determining the stem-shape of a noun is its plural form. The basic animate noun plural inflectional suffix is /-ag/, which shows up transparently on some words, such as *waagshag*, 'foxes.' When the animate plural suffix appears to be something other than /-ag/, it is always because of the influence of a stem-final /w/ or /y/ that is not pronounced in the singular form. For example, *bzhiki*, 'cow,' has a plural *bzhikwag*, suggesting that its stem has a final /w/, /bizhikiw+ag/; the plural of *jiig*, 'fisher,' is *jiigog*, suggesting its stem is /ojiigw+ag/, and the plural of *mooz*, 'moose,' is *moozoog*, suggesting that it too has a final /w/, /moozw+ag/. In these last two cases, however, the final /w/ of the stem and the /a/ of the plural suffix COALESCE to either /o/ or /oo/. Note, too, that there do exist a few nouns that do not lose stem-final /w/ in their singular forms, such as *bzhiw*, 'lynx' NA, and *bgiw*, 'gum, pitch' NA. See Chapter 4 for extensive discussion of noun stem-classes. The following list provides a representative sample of Nishnaabemwin person and animal terms having stems that end in /w/.

	Singular	Plural	Stem	Gloss
(14)	bzhiki	bzhikwag	/bizhikiw/	'cow'
(15)	bzhiw	bzhiwag	/bizhiw/	'lynx'
(16)	dikmeg	dikmegog	/adikamegw/	'whitefish'

	Singular	Plural	Stem	Gloss
(17)	gaag	gaagog	/gaagw/	'porcupine'
(18)	gyaashk	gyaashkog, gyaashkwag	/gayaashkw/	'gull'
(19)	jiig	jiigog	/ojiigw/	'fisher'
(20)	kwe	kwewag	/akwew/, /ikwew/	'woman'
(21)	maang	maangog	/maangw/	'loon'
(22)	mgizi	mgizwag	/migiziw/	'eagle'
(23)	mik	mikog, mikwag	/amikw/	'beaver'
(24)	mooz	moozoog	/moozw/	'moose'
(25)	n'gig	n'gigwag, n'gigog	/nigigw/	'otter'
(26)	nim	nimoog	/animw/	'dog'
(27)	nini	ninwag	/aniniw/, /ininiw/	'man'
(28)	waabooz	waaboozoog	/waaboozw/	'rabbit'
(29)	waawaashkeshi	waawaashkeshwag	/waawaashkeshiw/	'deer'
(30)	zhashk	zhashkog	/ozhashkw/	'muskrat'
(31)	zhgaag	zhgaagog, zhgaagwag	/zhigaagw/	'skunk'

It is unlikely that final /w/ is a meaningful component in these words in contemporary Nishnaabemwin.

INITIAL DERIVING-/W/. When used to form derived initials, some word-stems ending in vowels show the presence of an element /w/, which can cause an immediately preceding short vowel to lengthen. For example, the VAI verb *aakozi*, 'be ill,' occurs in the noun *aakziiwgamig*, 'hospital,' as an initial attached to the NOUN FINAL /-gamigw/, though with an EXTENDED FORM, /aakziiw-/. This /w/ is sometimes called EXTENSIONAL-/W/.

GENDER MARKERS /-a/ AND /-i/. In Chapter 4.3 (p. 177), I discuss a few nouns which show vestiges of Proto-Algonquian gender-related markers, */-a/ animate, as in *mkwa* (or *mko*, with coalescence of /w/ + /a/ to /o/), 'bear' and *nka*, 'Canada goose') and */-i/ inanimate (as in *mshi*, 'piece of wood' and *mskwi*, 'blood'). While terms such as *mkwa* and *nka* may end with the historical animate marker, the overwhelming majority of animate nouns now lack it, for example, *waagosh*, 'fox' and *mik*, 'beaver.' It seems best to consider the /a/ and /i/ of these few nouns as simply historical relics that have no place in the word structure patterns of contemporary words.

DEPENDENT NOUNS AS DERIVATIONAL UNITS. Sometimes DEPENDENT NOUNS, particularly body part terms and kin relations, occur as component parts of simple and compound nouns. Though it often hard to tell, due to the action of syncope, dependent nouns used as word elements often occur with inflection for a THIRD PERSON POSSESSOR. An example is

shkiinzhgokaajganan, 'eyeglasses' NI (W, CL), which has as a component the third person possessed form of the word for 'eye,' /oshkiinzhigw/.

FUNCTIONAL SHIFT. A few words shift their part of speech from that of a verb to a noun, with no apparent change in form. An area of vocabulary where this is common is that of names. For example, the name *Gchi-Negaw*, 'Sands' a Potawatomi family name used on Walpole Island, is based on an inanimate noun, *negaw*, 'sand,' but when used to name human beings, the word is animate. Names of individuals and ethnic, national and racial groups are always animate, even when they are derived from inanimate stems. This shift from one part of speech to another without any overt change in the word class is sometimes called FUNCTIONAL SHIFT, conversion, or ZERO-DERIVATION.

The following nouns referring to different kinds of clouds all correspond to VII IMPERSONAL VERBS describing various cloud formations.

(32) nimkiiwaankod NI 'thundercloud'

(33) waabaankod NI 'grey cloud; white cloud' Od

(34) mskwaankod NI 'red cloud'

In these cases, however, the noun stem crucially ends in /w/, as can be seen from plural forms such as *nimkiiwaankodoon*, 'thunderclouds,' suggesting an ABSTRACT FINAL, /-w/, which can be used to derive nouns from verbs. This /w/ then coalesces with the /a/ of the plural suffix /-an/ to produce /oo/. Similar in its behaviour is the word for 'day,' *giizhgad* NI (W, CL), which appears to have the same form as the corresponding VII verb, but which has a plural *giizhgadoon*, suggesting a stem ending in /w/.

TRUNCATED FORMS. A few noun forms evidence TRUNCATION, the shortening of a word, in which case, some derivational elements may be lost or obscured. For example, the word *mskwaandib*, 'copperhead snake' NA, ends with the body part element /aandib/, 'head,' which does not typically occur in final position. The fact that the plural is *mskwaandbag* reveals that there is no /w/ at the end of this stem either. A word with a related meaning and structure, *mskondbe*, 'be a redhead' VAI, shows the more customary way to identify individuals on the basis of physical attributes, as does *mtigndibe*, 'be a blockhead' VAI, which has as initial the stem /mitigw/, 'wood' NI.

11.3 An Assortment of Noun Finals

In this section I will present a variety of noun finals, initially some of the more common finals used clearly in primary derivation, that is, in the derivation of words that usually have initials that are not independent word-stems. In secondary derivation, all initials are independent word-stems. The distinction is somewhat harder to make in nouns than it is in verbs, though, and I have not adhered to any rigorous classification in the organization of the notes which follow.

11.3.1 General Animate and Inanimate Noun Finals

1	NA /-haa/	NI /-hii/	'an X thing,' where X = initial

Small sets of nouns and pronouns are formed with the noun finals /-haa/, designating an animate entity, and /-hii/, the corresponding inanimate entity. The initials in these nouns are usually descriptive, such as /gete-/, 'old,' /oshk-/, 'new,' and /gagwetaan-/, 'extreme, marvelous.' Note, however, that the inanimate final also occurs with a noun initial *maantaanish*, 'sheep,' NA though the precise analysis of the form listed below is uncertain.

	Animate Noun (NA)	Inanimate Noun (NI)	Gloss
(35)	ggwetaan'haa	ggwetaan'hii	'a very beautiful thing'
(36)	getehaa	getehii	'old thing'
(37)	—	maantaan'shiiyhii	'woolen goods'
(38)	shkihaa	shkihii	'a new thing'

These finals also evidently occur in PAUSAL PRONOUNS, which are used as filler words in conversation when one has momentarily forgotten a name or noun referring to a particular person or thing. The following examples illustrate such forms (plural suffixes are given as well).

	Animate	Inanimate	Gloss
(39)	nahaa, -g	nahii, -n	'whatchamacall'em' W
(40)	—	nihii, -n	'whatchamacallit' M, CL
(41)	yahaa, -g	yahii, -n	'whatchamacall'em' W
(42)	yahaanh, -ag	—	whatchamacall'em' W

The pronominal element *yahaa* /yahaaw/ also occurs in the humorous expression, *baapaas-yahaawish*, 'high-falutin' dude' W, which has a PEJORATIVE suffix, /-ish/, and the prenoun *baapaas-*, 'ritzy.'

11.3.2 Noun Finals Pertaining to Plants and Plant Products

In this section I present several semantically CONCRETE NOUN FINALS that pertain to various kinds of plants and their products, including /-aakw/, 'hardwood', /-ashkw/, 'grass, seed,' /-bagw/, 'leaf,' /-by/, 'bush, tree,' /-aaby/ 'rope, string,' /-min/, 'berry; grain, fruit,' /-mizhy/, 'bush, tree,' /-sagw/, 'board, wood,' and /-wanzhy/, 'bush.' Note that all of these

finals, with the exception of /-min/, end in a GLIDE, either /y/ or /w/, suggesting that they may be complex elements consisting of a noun-like medial to which is attached an ABSTRACT NOUN FINAL (either /-w/ or /-y/).

2	N /-aakw/	'wood; (hardwood) tree'

The final /-aakw/ is commonly used in the names of hardwood trees.

(43)	bgaanaak	NA	'black walnut'
(44)	bzagaak	NA	'board' Od
(45)	emkwaansaak	NA	'white ash' W
(46)	eshknaak	NI	'ice cutter'
(47)	mtigwaabaak	NA	'hickory'
(48)	waayaak	NA	'hickory' W
(49)	wiisgaak	NA	'black ash tree'
(50)	zhngwaak	NA	'red pine'

3	N /-ashkw/	'grass, reed'

Many PRIMARY STEMS referring to grassy plants have the final element /-ashkw/ or /-shkw/. Both animate and inanimate nouns occur with this final. This final is probably formed from the element /mashk/, occurring in *mshkiki*, 'medicine,' involving the loss of initial /m/.

(51)	wiingashk	NI	'sweet grass'
(52)	miizhashk	NI	'blade of grass; stalk of hay'
(53)	waasaagnashk	NA	'species of reed'
(54)	naaknashk	NI	'bullrush'
(55)	pakweyashk	NA	'cattail'

In one case, Odawa shows a form lacking final /k/, corresponding to (52), *miizhash* NI 'blade of grass, stalk of hay.'

The final element /-winshky/ also occurs, which appears to be a hybrid of /-ashkw/ and another noun final, /-winzh/ (see below, Section 3.2).

(56)	ninwinshk	NA	'milkweed' W

4	NI /-bagw	'leaf, leaves'

The element /-bagw/, 'leaf, leaves,' occurs as a final with a few nouns.

(57) nimkiibag NI 'poison ivy'
(58) ziiwbag NI 'rhubarb' Od

The same element, with and without final /w/, occurs as a MEDIAL (or alternatively, a PRE-FINAL), and shows up as such in the following PARTICIPIAL noun form.

(59) nesoobgak NI 'clover' (root /nis(oo)-/, 'three')

Compare also the verb form *mskobgonii*, 'be red (of or with flowers or buds)' VAI/VII, which has medial /-bag(w)-/, and root /miskw/, 'red.'

5	NA /-by/	'bush; tree'

An element /-by/ occurs in the names of a few trees, and possibly in a few other terms. The status of this element as an independent unit is not clear to me.

(60) dab NA 'rare species of willow' M
(61) niib NA 'elm tree'
(62) niibiish NI 'leaf'
(63) wiigob NA 'basswood bark; a piece of basswood bark'
(64) wiigbiish NA 'American basswood'
(65) sab NA 'net'
(66) zhngob NA 'evergreen'

6	N /-min/	'berry; grain; fruit'

The noun final /-min/ is extremely common in terms referring to berries and berry or grainlike products of plants, as well as certain round fruit. The independent word *miin*, 'blueberry,' seems to have the same element, but with a long /ii/ in place of the short /i/ of the final. This element also occurs in the round or berrylike medial /-(aa)minag-/.

(67) bookdehmin NI 'lemon' W
(68) datgaagmin NA 'blackberry' W
(69) dehmin NI 'strawberry'
(70) mdaamin NA 'corn'
(71) miizhmin NI 'acorn [of the white oak]'
(72) mkade-mskomin NI 'blackberry' CL
(73) mnidoomin NA 'bead'
(74) mnoomin NI 'oats, rice'
(75) mshiimin NA 'apple'
(76) mshkiigmin NI 'cranberry'
(77) mskodiismin NA 'bean'
(78) mskomin NA 'raspberry'
(79) mtigmin NI 'acorn [of the pin oak]' Od
(80) mzimin NI 'wheat'
(81) nijiimin NI 'pea'
(82) waabmin NA 'apple' CL
(83) wiigwaasmin NI 'cherry'
(84) zaswemin NI 'chokecherry'
(85) zhaaboomin NA 'gooseberry'
(86) zhoomin NI 'grape'

7	NA /-mizhy/	'bush; tree'

The noun final /-mizhy/ occurs with both roots (as in (87) and (88)) and word stems (as in (89) and (91)).

(87) baakwaanmizh NA 'staghorn sumac' W
(88) bgaakmizh NA 'bur oak'
(89) mtigmizh NA 'pin oak'
(90) sinaamizh NA 'sugar maple'
(91) wiigbimizh NA 'American basswood'

(92)	zasgobmizh	NA	'willow tree'
(93)	zasgogmizh	NA	'weeping willow; black willow'

8	N /-sagw/	'board; wood'

The noun final /-sagw/ occurs in a few words pertaining to wood or wood products, especially those that involve some form of manufacture, such as barrels and (wooden) floors. The element /-sag-/ also occurs as a medial in verbs, as in *zhkisagzi*, 'be damp (of wood' VAI, and *gziibiigsagnige*, 'wash woodwork' VAI. It is also found as a final element in adverbs referring to floors, such as *gidsag*, 'on the floor' PC (W, CL), and *mchisag*, 'on the floor.'

(94)	biigjiisag	NA	'decaying wood (used for kindling)'
(95)	mkaksag	NI	'barrel'
(96)	nbagsag	NA	'plank, board'
(97)	ngodsag	NI	'one barrelful'

9	NA /-wanzhy/, /-winzhy/	'bush; tree'

The final /-wanzhy/ seems to occur mostly with independent word-stems as initials. It is used to specify bushy plants. Some initials associated with it suggest the identification of physical effects on the body, usually harmful, as in *aakshadewanzh*, 'chamomile,' with initial *aakshkade*, 'get/have a stomach ache, diarrhea' VAI, and perhaps the initial in *zhiishiigmewanzh*, 'soft maple, red maple,' is evidently related to the VAI verb *zhiishiigi*, 'urinate.'

(98)	aakshkadewanzh	NI	'chamomile' W
(99)	zhiishiigmewanzh	NA	'soft maple; red maple'
(100)	gaagaagwanzh	NA	'black spruce'
(101)	ninwanzh	NA	'milkweed'
(102)	bookdoowanzh	NA	'pear tree' W
(103)	zhgaagwanzh, zhgaagwinzh	NA	'onion'

Some nouns take /-wanzh/ to name the bush associated with particular berries. In these cases it appears that a medial term for berries /-minagaa-/ is used, even though the independent noun for berry term uses the simple noun final /-min/. In their tripartite structure, these words must be analyzed as representing primary derivation.

(104)	bgesaanmin'gaawanzh	NA	'American plum' W
(105)	bgaanensmin'gaawanzh	NA	'hazel bush' M
(106)	miinens'gaawanzh	NA	'hawthorn bush'
(107)	mskomnagaawanzh	NA	'raspberry bush'
(108)	zhaaboomnagaawanzh	NA	'gooseberry bush'

11.3.3 Noun Finals Pertaining to Fauna

A few concrete NOUN FINALS refer to particular classes of fauna, such as fish. As with the preceding group, most of these finals end in a glide, usually /w/, suggesting an abstract final.

10	NA /-amegw/	'fish'

The noun final /-amegw/ occurs in the names of many fish. INITIALS may be ROOTS or independent WORD STEMS. The first portion of the final appears to be related to the root occurring in the noun *nme* /name/, 'sturgeon,' and a stem initial /n/ is often lost when an initial is made into a medial or final. The word *nmegos*, 'brown trout' (W), appears too to contain this final, though in this case there is an additional element, perhaps the /-is/ (some type of DIMINUTIVE) found elsewhere.

(109)	dikmeg	NA	'whitefish'
(110)	gnebgomeg	NA	'lamprey' W
(111)	menmeg	NA	'catfish' W
(112)	zhigmeg	NA	'dogfish'
(113)	zhngomeg	NA	'bowfin' W

The use of the INITIAL, /name/, with various names for fish can be seen from the following set of terms. It may also occur in the word *nmepin*, 'coltsfoot,' referring to a kind of plant.

(114)	nme	NA	'sturgeon'
(115)	nmebin	NA	'carp, sucker'
(116)	nmegos	NA	'brown trout' W
(117)	nmegshens	NA	'rainbow trout' W

11	NA /-oozw/	'animal'

(118)	mooz	NA	'moose'
(119)	mzhaabooz	NA	'goat' Od (final here perhaps denominal from (w)aabooz)
(120)	waabooz	NA	'rabbit'

This element also occurs in the name of the brother of the culture hero/trickster Nenabush, *Jiibyaabooz*, though this word is perhaps an amalgamation of *jiibay*, 'spirit, soul,' and *waabooz*, 'rabbit.' In many Algonquian traditions, the culture hero sometimes assumes the form of a rabbit, or is actually represented as a rabbit, as in Montagnais (Cree), and the name of Nenabush's brother may be related to this.

11.3.4 Other Noun Finals

12	NI /-aaboo/	'liquid'

The very productive final /-aaboo/ designates liquids, and in keeping with Nishnaabemwin semantics in general, produces only inanimate nouns. Some initials ending in vowels or glides show a final /w/, such as *mkomiiwaaboo*, 'ice-water,' with initial /mikomy/, 'ice' NA, and *shkodewaaboo*, 'whiskey,' with stem /ishkode/, 'fire' NI. A couple of words ending in consonants also show /w/, sometimes called EXTENSIONAL-/W/, between the initial and final, as in *wiiyaaswaaboo*, 'broth, gravy,' with initial *wiiyaas*, 'meat' NI, and in *nbiishwaaboo*, 'liquid,' with initial *nbiish*, '(portable quantity of) water' NI.

(121)	bookdemnaaboo	NI	'lemonade' W
(122)	doodooshaaboo	NI	'milk'
(123)	gmiwnaaboo	NI	'rainwater'
(124)	goonaaboo	NI	'water from melted snow'
(125)	mdaaminaaboo	NI	'corn soup' W, CL
(126)	mkomiiwaaboo	NI	'ice-water'
(127)	mshkikwaaboo	NI	'liquid medecine'
(128)	mtigwaaboo	NI	'sap'
(129)	nbiishwaaboo	NI	'liquid' Od
(130)	niibiishaaboo	NI	'tea'
(131)	ninaatgwaaboo	NI	'maple sap'

(132)	shkodewaaboo	NI	'whiskey'
(133)	waasgonechganaaboo	NI	'kerosene'
(134)	waawnaaboo	NI	'raw egg' W
(135)	wiiyaaswaaboo	NI	'gravy' W
(136)	ziiwaaboo	NI	'vinegar'
(137)	ziiwtaagnaaboo	NI	'saltwater' Od

13	N /-aaby/, /-eyaaby/	'rope; string; chain' (stringlike)

This noun final is probably related to noun final /-by/. It is mostly used in secondary derivation to designate ropes and strings associated with the referent of the noun serving as initial. So, for example, *mtigwaab*, 'archery bow,' with final /-aaby/ attached to stem /mitigw/, 'stick' or 'tree.' The extended form /-eyaaby/ in general Anishinaabemowin most commonly appears after noun stems ending in /n/, as it does in one of the examples I have for Nishnaabemwin, *goodkikwaaneyaab*, 'chain for hanging a cooking pot' NI. This final complex also shows an obvious relationship to the classificatory medial /-aabii(g)-/, which occurs in words such as *gnwaabiigzi*, 'be long (of stringlike things)' VAI, and *dkwaabiigzi*, 'be short (of stringlike things)' VAI, suggesting that the medial is a complex of /-aaby-ag-/. It is probably related as well to the final element /(a)by/ in words such as *sab*, 'net' NA and *wiigob*, 'basswood bark' NA.

(138)	goodaagnaab	NI	'stove pipe support wire' M
(139)	goodkikwaaneyaab	NI	'chain for hanging a cooking pot'
(140)	mtigwaab	NA	'bow' (archery)
(141)	sabaab	NI	'rope'

14	NI /-gamigw/	'building; habitation' (all NI)

The noun final /-gamigw/ is extremely productive, used to name buildings, their parts, and even the habitations of animals and insects. Almost all initials are independent word-stems, and can be NOUNS (usually animate) or ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (VAI) VERBS. A few forms with roots occur, such as /miskw-/, 'red,' in *mskogmig*, 'red house,' and /gagwetaan-/, 'extreme, marvelous,' in *ggwetaan'gamig*, 'very impressive building.' An element /w/ commonly occurs with initials ending in VOWELS, whether VAI verbs, as in (142) and (146), or nouns, as in (144) and (154). Initials representing stems that end in /Cy/, such as /mikomy/, 'ice,' and /asiny/, 'stone,' show the VOCALIZATION and LENGTHENING of the final GLIDE /y/, resulting in /ii/, perhaps under the influence of extensional-/w/, as in (161). A couple of INITIALS ending in /sh/ show the addition of /ii/ and extensional-/w/, e.g. (158), with

noun initial *maashtaanish*, 'sheep' (stem /maashtaanish/) and (175), with noun initial *nimosh*, 'dog' (stem /animosh/). Note, however, *nimosh* with only link vowel /i/ in (174). Noun initials that end in /iw/, such as *bzhiki*, 'cow' (stem /bizhikiw/), lose final /w/, but lengthen the final /i/ to /ii/ by virtue of a following extensional-/w/. Verbs ending in short /i/ or /o/, i.e., in a SHORT VOWEL, show lengthened final vowels with extensional-/w/ in the same way, as in (142) and (156) for /i/ and (152) for /o/. Note however, that the noun *ki*, 'land, earth,' does not show lengthening of its final vowel (157).

Just as with English, SINGULAR forms of nouns are used even in cases where a notion of PLURALITY is SEMANTICALLY relevant, as in *mshigamig*, 'woodshed,' which has as initial the singular form for a piece of firewood, *mshi* NI, and *en'googmig*, 'anthill,' which has as initial the noun *en'goonh*, 'ant' NA.

In the following list, the STEM-FORM of the INITIAL for each item is given in parentheses after the gloss.

(142)	aakziiwgamig	NI	'hospital' (/aakozi/ VAI 'be ill')
(143)	bneshiinygmig	NI	'bird house' (/bineshiinh/, NA 'bird')
(144)	bzhikiiwgamig	NI	'cowshed' (/bizhikiw/, NA 'cow')
(145)	daabaan'gamig	NI	'garage' (/odaabaan/, NA/NI 'car')
(146)	daawewgamig	NI	'store, trading post' (/adaawe/ VAI, 'sell'
(147)	dkaashiiwgamig	NI	'tourist lodge' M (/dakaashi/ VAI 'be carefree')
(148)	ebgoonsgamig	NI	'anthill CL' (/ebigoons/ NA 'ant')
(149)	en'googmig	NI	'anthill M' (/enigoons/ NA 'ant')
(150)	gdotaagnigmig	NI	'belfry' Od (/gdotaagan/ NI 'bell')
(151)	ggwetaan'gamig	NI	'a very impressive building' (/gagwetaan-/ RT 'impressive')
(152)	giigdoowgamig	NI	'meeting hall' (/giigido/ VAI 'speak, talk')
(153)	gookooshgamig	NI	'pig sty, piggery' (/gookoosh/ NA 'pig')
(154)	jiibewgamig	NI	'cemetary; tomb' Od (/jiibay/ NA 'ghost, spirit')
(155)	jiimaan'gamig	NI	'boat house' (/jiimaan/ NI 'boat')
(156)	kinoomaadiiwgamig	NI	'schoolhouse' Od (/(gi)kinoo(ha)maadi/ VTA/VAI 'teach one another')
(157)	kiwgamig	NI	'root-house' (/aki/ NI 'earth, land')
(158)	maashtaan'shiiwgamig	NI	'sheep shed' (/maashtaanish/ NA 'sheep')
(159)	miinkaan'gamig	NI	'granary' (/miinikaan/ NI 'seed')
(160)	mikgamig	NI	'beaver lodge' (/amikw/ NA 'beaver')

(161)	mkomiiwgamig	NI	'ice house; freezer' (/mikomy/, NA 'ice')
(162)	mnikwewgamig	NI	'drinking place; tavern' (/minikwe/ VAI 'drink')
(163)	mshigmig	NI	'woodshed' (/mishi/ NI 'stick of wood')
(164)	msko-siniiwgamig	NI	'house made of bricks' (/misko-asiny/ NA/NI 'red rock')
(165)	mskogmig	NI	'red house' (/misko/ RT 'red')
(166)	mtiggamig	NI	'loghouse' (/mitigw/ NI 'log, wood')
(167)	nokaazwin'gamig	NI	'toolshed' M (/anokaazowin NI 'tool')
(168)	namhewgamig	NI	'church' (/anamahe/ VAI 'pray')
(169)	nbaggamig	NI	'house with a flat roof' M (/nabag-/ RT 'flat')
(170)	ngaasmoon'gamig	NI	'tent' (/ningaasimoon/ NI 'sail; canvas')
(171)	niimhidiiwgamig	NI	'dance house' M (/niimihidi/ VAI 'dance together')
(172)	nimgamig	NI	'doghouse, kennel' M (/animw/ NA 'dog')
(173)	nimookaajiinygmig	NI	'doghouse, kennel' M (/animookaanjiinh/ NA 'dog')
(174)	nimshigmig	NI	'doghouse, kennel' (/animosh/ NA 'dog')
(175)	nimshiiwgamig	NI	'doghouse; kennel' CL (/animosh/ NA 'dog')
(176)	ookaan'gamig	NI	'barn/shelter for animals' (/ookaan/ NA 'domestic animal')
(177)	skoon'gamig	NI	'school house' (/iskoon/ NI 'school')
(178)	taasoowgamig	NI	'storage shed' (/ataaso/ VAI 'store things')
(179)	wiishktewgamig	NI	'smoke house' (/wiishkwate/ VII 'be smoked')
(180)	zaaghamoogmig	NI	'outhouse' M (/zaagaham/ VAI 'go outside')
(181)	zhashkgamig	NI	'muskrat lodge' (/ozhashkw/ NA 'muskrat')

15	NI /-ikomaan/	'knife'

The noun final /-ikomaan/ is used to form nouns relating to knives. It may be related to the TRANSITIVE VERB FINALS /-koN/ (VTA) and /-kod+am/ (VTI), 'cut X (with a blade).'

(182)	biindkomaan	NI	'knife-sheath, scabbard'
(183)	mookmaan	NI	'knife'

(184)	shkikmaan	NI	'lead (metal); a piece of lead'
(185)	waagkomaan	NI	'curved knife (used in carving)'

11.4 Diminutives and Contemptives

There are many suffixes, occurring especially with animate nouns, that have a DIMINUTIVE, CONTEMPTIVE, or PEJORATIVE structure, but which generally lack such meanings in contemporary usage. In other words a diminutive flavour persists.

11.4.1 Productive Diminutive /-ens/ and Contemptive /-enh/

16	N /-ens/	'diminutive'

A common component of many words is the diminutive suffix /-(e)ns/. Virtually any noun can easily be made diminutive by the addition of this suffix, but some items of vocabulary occur only in diminutive form, typically those having referents that are perceived as physically small or juvenile relative to some standard, for example *bebiins* 'baby' NA, *maamaateshiins*, 'firefly' NA, and *en'goons* 'ant' NA. In other cases, items of vocabulary with distinctly different meanings are distinguished on the basis of the presence or absence of a diminutive suffix. For example, *bgaan* NI without a diminutive means 'hickory nut, general word for nuts' (Od), but with the diminutive, *bgaanens* NI, refers specifically to a peanut; *mnidoo* NA without a diminutive means 'spirit being with spiritual power,' but with a diminutive, *mnidoons* NA, means 'insect.' In the case of *zhoomin* 'grape' NI, and *zhoomnens*, 'raisin' NA, there is also a change of grammatical gender. Examples of this sort are very easy to find, and many more are presented in Chapter 4.6, beginning on page 185.

The following list provides examples of vocabulary showing diminutive suffixes.

(186)	biiwaabkoons	NI	'telephone'
(187)	bkwaakdoons	NI	'little ball; pill' [cf. bkwaakod NI 'ball']
(188)	bkwezhgaans	NA	'biscuit' [cf. bkwezhgan NA/NI 'bread']
(189)	bngwaashens	NA	'blackfly' M
(190)	bnoojiins	NA	'baby' [cf. bnoojiinh na 'child']
(191)	bshkozhgaans	NI	'lawn mower; scythe'
(192)	bwaabshkiigaans	NI	'handkerchief' W
(193)	bwiins	NA	'fan' [cf. bwi ni 'paddle']
(194)	en'goons	NA	'ant'
(195)	ezhaazhaans	NI	'flour dumpling' W

(196)	gaazhgens	NA	'cat; kitten'
(197)	gekekoons	NA	'pigeon hawk,' cf., gekek, various kinds of hawk
(198)	gwaagwaashknejiins	NA	'song sparrow' W
(199)	gwiiwzens	NA	'boy'
(200)	gyaashkshens	NA	'common tern' W [cf. gyaashkosh, 'gull' (pej.)]
(201)	jiisens	NI	'carrot' W
(202)	koojiins	NA	'louse'
(203)	kwezens	NA	'girl' [cf., kwe NA, 'woman']
(204)	maamaateshiins	NA	'firefly' M
(205)	memskon'gwiigaans	NA	'red-winged blackbird' W
(206)	miimiins	NA	'mayfly' M [cf., miimii NA 'pigeon; dove']
(207)	miinens	NA	'hawthorn berry'
(208)	mkomiins	NA	'icicle' Od [cf., mkom NA 'ice; piece of ice']
(209)	mnidoons	NA	'flying insect' [cf. mnidoo 'manitou']
(210)	mnidooshens	NA	'gnat' W [cf. mnidoo 'manitou']
(211)	mooshens	NA	'blackfly' M
(212)	mooshweniigaans	NA	'handkerchief'.
(213)	mskwaabiimnagoons	NA	'red osier'
(214)	mtigwaakiins	ni	'stand of trees' [cf., mtigwaaki ni 'forest']
(215)	naabdoochgaans	ni	'shoelace' W
(216)	nebaamaa-zhngobiins	ni	'common juniper' M
(217)	nenookaashiins	NA	'ruby-throated hummingbird'
(218)	nenooshkaashiins	NA	'ruby-throated hummingbird' W
(219)	nesegwaabdehgaans	NI	'pin'
(220)	oojiins	NA	'fly'
(221)	pahiins	NA	'leprechaun, elf; myth: race of small people'
(222)	shkikmaanens	NI	'little piece of lead; bullet'
(223)	shkodens	ni	'match' [cf. shkode ni 'fire']
(224)	waabnigiishwesiins	NA	'least bittern' W
(225)	wiigwaamens	NI	'bathroom; outhouse' [cf. wiigwaam NI 'house']
(226)	wiindgoo-bneshiins	NA	'Eastern kingbird'

(227)	zhaawshko-magkiins	NA	'species of small green frog' M
(228)	zhoomaankensag	NA	'small change' W (plural form)
(229)	zhoomnens	NA	'raisin' Od [cf. zhoomin ni 'grape']
(230)	zhooshkjiwaanens	NA	'dumpling'
(231)	ziibiins	NI	'brook' W, CL [cf., ziibi ni 'river']

17	N /-enh/	'contemptive'

Contemptives are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.6, beginning on page 185, so only a few examples of words having a contemptive final are included here. The initials to which the contemptive is attached are typically free word stems, though not invariably. The contemptive is also used in certain participle-like nouns, discussed in 11.8.2, beginning on page 514, below.

(232)	aandegshkwenh	NA	'Common crow'
(233)	esbikenh	NA	'spider'
(234)	gwiingsenh	NA	'chipmunk' (M)
(235)	mjigoodenh	NI	'dress'
(236)	mnisenh	NI	'island'
(237)	ndiyenh	NI	'my hip, rear end, backside'
(238)	wiikenh	NI	'sweetflag'
(239)	zhiishiibenh	NI	'duck'

11.4.2 Other Diminutives and Contemptives

Many other suffixes and suffix complexes occur that have something of a diminutive flavour, though it is often very difficult to be certain of their presence, their segmentation, or their contribution to the present meaning of the nouns they occur in. Often these represent combinations of diminutives, pejoratives, or contemptives. In this section I list a few examples. I am uncertain about the analysis of many. Susceptible consonants sometimes show palatalization, and the suffixes themselves usually have alveolar or alveopalatal fricative or affricate consonants, such as /s/, /sh/ (IPA /ʃ/) and /j/ (IPA /dʒ/).

18	NA /-isiw/	'diminutive'

(240)	biikokwaawesi	NA	'black-billed cuckoo' W
(241)	gwaabgesi	NA	'mullet' W
(242)	jiigaawesi	NA	'cricket'
(243)	memengwesi	NA	'elflike being' CL
(244)	memeskniin'si	NA	'red-winged blackbird'
(245)	mooshkhosi	NA	'American bittern' W, CL
(246)	Naadwesi	NA	'Iroquois; kind of snake'
(247)	nepaajnikesi	NA	'mole' CL
(248)	oojiigaawesi	NA	'cricket' M
(249)	waawaatesi	NA	'firefly' W, CL

19	NA /-jiiny/, /-jiish/, /-jiins/, /-jiis/	'diminutives'

Bloomfield 1958:65 analyzes noun final /-jii/ as having a meaning 'small round body,' and points out that almost all noun stems containing this element have an additional diminutive noun final.

(250)	bshkwaanaajiinh	NA	'bat (mammal)'
(251)	kakjiish	NA	'woodchuck' W
(252)	kakjiishenh	NA	'woodchuck'
(253)	nimookaajiinh	NA	'dog'
(254)	(waa)waabgonoojiinh	NA	'mouse'
(255)	gwaagwaashknejiins	NA	'song sparrow' W
(256)	koojiins	NA	'louse'
(257)	mnaagjiinh	NA	'bedbug; stinkbug' W
(258)	mnaagjiis	NA	'bedbug; stinkbug' M
(259)	binoojiinh	NA	'child'
(260)	bnoojiins	NA	'baby'
(261)	pashkwaajiinh	NI	'balloon' M

20	N /-sheny/, /-shens/	'diminutives'

(262)	bngwaashens	NA	'blackfly' M
(263)	mnidooshens	NA	'gnat' W
(264)	mnishenh	NI	'island'
(265)	mooshens	NA	'blackfly' M
(266)	zhaashaawnibiishens	NA	'tree swallow' W, CL

21	NA /-isii/, /-isiins/, /-isiiny/	'diminutives'

(267)	biimskodsiinh	NA	'snail'
(268)	diindiisiinh	NA	'bluejay' W
(269)	gashkman'sii	NA	'belted kingfisher'
(270)	jiindiisiinh	NA	'bluejay'
(271)	misksii	NA	'water bug' Od
(272)	mskwaadesiinh	NA	'mud turtle'
(273)	oohoomsii	NA	'great horned owl'
(274)	oojiigaawesiinh	NA	'cricket' M
(275)	waabnigiishwesiins	NA	'least bittern' W
(276)	waasiinh	NA	'catfish' M
(277)	wesiinh	NA	'animal'

22	NA /-ishiins/, /-ishiiny/, /-ishiish/	'diminutives'

(278)	bneshiinh	NA	'bird'
(279)	dbahgenshiish	NA	'inchworm' CL
(280)	gaagaagshiinh	NA	'crow, raven'
(281)	godaashiinh	NA	'bluegill'
(282)	jigjigaaneshiinh	NA	'black-capped chickadee' Od
(283)	maamaateshiins	NA	'firefly' M
(284)	ndomaakmeshiinh	NA	'monkey'
(285)	nenookaashiins	NA	'ruby-throated hummingbird'
(286)	nenooshkaashiins	NA	'ruby-throated hummingbird' W

(287)	sabkeshiinh	NA	'spider' M, CL
(288)	zhaageshiinh	NA	'crayfish'
(289)	zhaangweshiinh	NA	'mink'

11.5 Nouns Finals with Classifiers and Classifier-like Elements

Several finals with classifiers or classifier-like elements occur, and are commonly added secondarily to independent noun stems, though forms with roots occur as well. All such finals show a final /w/, suggesting that these components are a combination of a classificatory medial and an abstract noun final. These finals do service in allowing for the specification of accessory concepts, such as *waasechganiigin*, 'curtain' NI, with the final for cloth, /-iiginw/, and *waasechganaabik*, 'glass, window pane' NI, both of which are attached to the independent noun, *waasechgan*, 'window' NI.

23	N /-aabikw/	'metal, glass, plastic' (inorganic solid)

This final is used to refer to objects representing inorganic solids, such as glass, stone, or metal. It has become specialized in some uses to refer to money, as it commonly does when a number serves as initial, as in *bezhgwaabik*, 'one dollar' NI, and *niizhwaabik*, 'two dollars' NI.

(290)	bezhgwaabik	NI	'one dollar'
(291)	biiwaabik	NI	'wire'
(292)	nbagaabik	NI	'flat piece of metal; shovel; spade'
(293)	niizhwaabik	NI	'two dollars'
(294)	zhoomaankiwaabik	NI	'copper'

This final is also used to indicate something of metal or glass pertaining to the base noun, as in the following.

(295)	shkwaandemaabik	NI	'doorknob'
(296)	waasechganaabik	NI	'windowpane, glass'

However, meanings are not always predictable from the meanings of component parts, as can be seen from the following.

(297)	kikwaabik	NI	'tin can' (stem /akikw/, 'pot, kettle' NA)

24	N /-aatigw/	'wood; tree'

The final /-aatigw/ is also used to form nouns designating hardwood trees, as in the following.

(298)	baakwaanaatig	NA	'staghorn sumac'
(299)	gaawaandgwaatig	NA	'white spruce'
(300)	mshkiigwaatig	NA	'tamarack'
(301)	ninaatig	NA	'maple tree'
(302)	wiigbaatig	NA	'American basswood'
(303)	wiigbiishaatig	NA	'American basswood'
(304)	wiigwaasaatig	NA	'paper birch tree'
(305)	wiigwaasminaatig	NA	'cherry tree'
(306)	zaswemnaatig	NA	'(choke)cherry tree'

It may also be added to independent noun stems to designate a wooden or pole-like object associated with the referent of the noun stem, as in *bshazheyganaatig* 'whipstock' NI (CL), which has the noun *bshazheyigan*, 'whip' NI as initial, and *daabaanaatig*, 'runner on a sled' NI, which has as initial *daabaan*, 'car, sled' NA/NI.

(307)	aazhdeyaatig	ni	'cross, crucifix' [cf. aazhde 'cross' vai]
(308)	bdakiighignaatig	NI	'rod of a quilting frame'
(309)	bshanzhehganeyaatig	NI	'whipstock'
(310)	bshazheyganaatig	NI	'whipstock' CL
(311)	daabaanaatig	NI	'runner (on a sleigh)'
(312)	dewehganaatig	NI	'drumstick'
(313)	jiibyaatig	NA	'cross; crucifix'
(314)	nbaagnaatig	NI	'bed board; bed post' W, CL
(315)	zhibiihganaatig	NI	'pencil' M
(316)	zhibiihganaatig	NA	'pen' M
(317)	zhooshkjiwaanaatig	NA	'ski M'

Some NOUN STEMS ending in a GLIDE, /y/ or /w/, lose their final glide before this SUFFIX. Compare, for example, the following two words, both having the initial meaning 'axe,'

/waagaakodw/. In the first example, final /w/ is lost from the noun stem, and in the second, there is an inexplicable connective element /-aan-/.

(318)	waagaakdaatig	NI	'axe-handle'
(319)	waagaakdwaanaatig	NI	'axe-handle' M

The following word shows the loss of final /y/ from the noun initial.

(320)	wiigbaatig	NA	'American basswood' (stem /wiigoby/)

The final /-aatigw/ is undoubtedly related to the general words for 'tree' and 'stick,' *mtig* NA and *mtig* NI, respectively, in that it appears to share a final component with them /-tigw/.

25	N /-iiginw/, /-eginw/	'cloth; sheetlike'

The final /-iiginw/ is used to designate clothlike objects. After stems ending in /w/, it shows the variant /-eginw/. It may be attached to roots, as in *mskwegin*, 'red cloth' NI, where it is added to the root /miskw/, 'red,' or to free words, as in *nbaagniigin*, 'bedspread, bedsheet' NI, where it is added to the independent noun stem /nibaagan/, 'bed' NI.

(321)	bshkwegin	NA	'leather'
(322)	bshkwegniigin	NI	'leather clothing'
(323)	doopwiniigin	NI	'tablecloth'
(324)	gdagiigin	NI	'cloth; piece of cloth'
(325)	mooshweniigin	NA	'curtain'
(326)	mskwegin	NI	'piece of red cloth'
(327)	naabkwaaniigin	NI	'sailcloth, canvas'
(328)	nbaagniigin	NI	'bedspread, bedsheet'
(329)	nbaagniigin	ni	'bedsheet' Od
(330)	ngaasmooniigin	NI	'canvas'
(331)	pakwaaniigin	NI	'canvas cover'
(332)	waabshkiigin	NI	'white cloth' Od
(333)	waasechganiigin	NI	'window curtain' M
(334)	zenbaawegin	NI	'silk cloth'

11.5.1 Classificatory Elements on Verbs of Counting

Traditionally Anishinaabemowin had a large set of classifiers that were used in counting objects, such as *bezhgwaatig*, 'one stick; one bottle,' which has the number *bezhig*, 'one' as initial, and the classificatory element /-aatig/, referring to wooden objects. Some of these classifiers are still used, though their use has diminished in recent years. They are presented in detail in Chapter 17.

11.6 Nominalizers

There are several suffixes which DERIVE NOUNS from VERBS. Verbal stems are almost always animate intransitive (VAI) verbs, though a few examples of other verb classes occur as well. Sometimes it is difficult to know exactly what the form of the nominalizing suffix should be, whether /-n/, /-gan/, or /-aagan/.

26	N /-n/	Nominalizer

Many nouns "of instrument or product" (Nichols 1980:78) are formed by adding final /-n/ to VAI verbs ending in DETRANSITIVIZING suffix /-ge/, formed from VTI verbs. In such cases, the final /e/ of the stem changes to /a/, as in *bkitehgan*, 'hammer, instrument for hitting' NI, from VAI verb *bkitehge*, 'hit, strike.' In many cases, it is unlikely that the logical VAI verb stem corresponding to the noun form is presently used in the language, if it ever was, such as in *bezhgoobiihgan*, 'ace,' which is theoretically derived from an VAI verb **bezhgoobiihge*, 'do writing involving the concept "one" in some way.' This is commonly the case, and sometimes creates uncertainty as to the proper analysis of such words.

The grammatical gender of nouns derived by the addition of nominalizers is determined by the semantic properties of their referents, that is, by general conventions of animacy in Nishnaabemwin. Most such nouns, because they name inert objects, are inanimate, but a few are animate, such as those naming playing cards, for example, *bezhgoobiihgan*, 'ace.' Gambling instruments are often animate.

All of the following nouns appear to be derived from VAI verbs formed by adding detransitivizing suffix /-ge/ to transitive verbs having instrumental causative finals ending in /-h/.

(335)	aazhdeyaakbiihgan	NI	'something with an X on it' M
(336)	bezhgoobiihgan	NA	'ace; the number one'
(337)	biijbiihgan	NI	'(incoming) letter' Od
(338)	bkitehgan	NI	'hammer; instrument for hitting'
(339)	boojiingwehgan	NI	'Indian bread baked in ashes'
(340)	dewehgan	NI	'drum' (NI at CL; NA elsewhere)

(341)	gziingwehgan	NI	'face towl' CL, W
(342)	gziinjaanehgan	NI	'kleenex' CL
(343)	maajiibiihgan	NI	'(outgoing) letter'
(344)	niizhoobiihgan	NA	'deuce; the number two'
(345)	nesegwaabdehgaans	NI	'pin' (cf. vai nesegwaabdeho 'pick one's teeth'

The following are nouns derived from a VAI verb by the addition of /-n/.

(346)	bootaagan	NI	'mortar hole, mortar, mill' (cf. *bootaage* 'stamp things in a mortar' VAI)
(347)	nminiingwaan	NI	'my sand [in eyes], my sleep [in eyes],' (cf. *miniingwe*, 'have sand in one's eyes (from sleeping' VAI)

A few nouns derived from verb stems that end in /o/ are also formed with nominalizer /-n/. The following forms suggest GOAL FOCUS verbs such as **wiikwendbebizo*, 'have one's head tied up in a wrap,'

(348)	wiikwendbebzon	NI	'babushka, woman's head scarf'
(349)	tibninjiibzon	NI	'finger-ring' W

The nominalizing suffix /-n/ also occurs in the following forms, in both cases attached to animate intransitive (VAI) verbs ending in /e/, which is changed to /aa/.

(350)	bmikwaan	NI	'track' W, CL	bmikwe	VAI	'make tracks'
(351)	pakwaan	NI	'roof' Od	pakwe	VAI	'make a roof' W

27	N /-gan/	Nominalizer

Some inanimate nouns appear to be derived by the addition of /-gan/ to a form representing or resembling a VAI verb, such as *kwaandwaagan*, 'ladder' NI, which has initial *kwaandwe*, 'climb' VAI, and which shows mutation of /e/ to /aa/ before /-gan/.

(352)	kwaandwaagan	NI	'ladder'

The examples below all contain incorporated MEDIAL ELEMENTS, either the stem for 'sun,' /giizisw/, or the body part medial, /-shkiizhigw-/, 'eye, face.' Presumably these medial elements would be followed by /-e/, which appears as /aa/. In these cases, though, there is no corresponding VAI verb in current use.

(353) dbahgiiswaagan NI 'clock' W

(354) dbahgiiswaagan NI 'clock' W

(355) miishkiizhgwaagan NI 'eyelash' M

Initials representing VAI stems ending /aa/ retain the vowel in the original form, though I have only a single example by which to verify this.

(356) nbaagan NI 'bed' (cf. vai nbaa 'sleep')

In some cases, a relationship exists between a noun and an associated verb, but it is not straightforward.

(357) n'gwaagan NI 'trap' (cf. VTA n'gwaa(ni)zh, 'trap AN')

28	N /-aagan/	Nominalizer

The following words appear to be derived by adding /-aagan/ to transitive animate (VTA) verb stems ending in /aw/, such as *biiskawaagan*, 'jacket, coat' NI, which has VTA stem /biiskaw/, 'wear AN' as initial. This final forms both animate and inanimate nouns.

(358) biiskawaagan NI 'jacket, coat' (VTA biiskaw, 'wear AN')

(359) naabkawaagan NA 'scarf, necklace' (VTA naabkaw, 'wear AN around neck')

(360) noodaagan NA 'messenger, employee' (VTA noodaw, 'hire AN')

One word appears to add /-aagan/ to a VTA verb ending in /m/.

(361) wiidgemaagan NA 'spouse' (cf., VTA wiidgem, 'live with AN')

The VTA verb *dsoozh* (or *dsoonizh*), 'trap AN, pin AN down' Od, is the initial for *dsoonaagan*, 'trap' ni (CL).

The follow word appears to be derived from a transitive inanimate (VTI) verb minus its theme suffix, *gshkibdoon*, 'manage to pull IN'

(362) gshkibdaagan ni 'pouch'

A couple of VAI verbs appear to show the addition of /-waagan/, evidently due to the presence of EXTENSIONAL-/w/, as in the following:

(363) damnowaagan NA 'doll, toy' (cf. VAI damno, 'play')

(364) wiisniwaagan NI 'dining table' CL (cf. VAI wiisni, 'eat'

One otherwise unanalyzable noun appears to be related to a verb form with an initial ending in /s/.

(365) zgataagan NI 'tinder' (cf VTI zgaswaadan 'smoke IN')

The element /-aagan/ appears to be added to a noun in a couple of words, though my analysis is very uncertain.

(366) miishkiizhgwaagan NI 'eyelash' M

(367) miishdoonaagan NI 'hair around the mouth'

29	NI /-win/	Nominalizer

The nominalizer /-win/ is freely added to VAI stems, producing nouns of 'action, product, place, and instrument' (Bloomfield 1958:68). Such nouns are evidently always inanimate. In the following examples, the addition of /-win/ produces a noun referring to a concrete object.

(368) aazdibebzowin NI 'headband (decorative)'

(369) biiwaabkoons-giigdowin NI 'telephone' CL

(370) bsikwebzowin NI 'halo'

(371) dipsowin NI 'apron'

(372) dnakiiwin NI 'town, village'

(373) gaandhigwaaswin NI 'thimble'

(374) gawaatewin NI 'umbrella' W, CL

(375) gozhewin NI 'quilt, blanket'

(376) gshkidaasebzowin NI 'garter'

(377) gshkinkebzowin NI 'arm garter'

(378) gwiwin NI 'garment'

(379) gziizdeshmowin NI 'doormat'

(380)	kajgaatehwin	NI	'umbrella; parcel'
(381)	kiwewin	NI	'flag' M
(382)	migiiwin	NI	'scabs, leprosy'
(383)	migziwin	NI	'boil, blister'
(384)	mkomii-taaswin	NI	'refrigerator (ice-cupboard)'
(385)	mnikwewin	NI	'drink, beverage'
(386)	naabshebzowin	NI	'earring'
(387)	nokiiwin	NI	'engine; work; job'
(388)	pabwin	NI	'chair'
(389)	pikweshmowin	NI	'pillow'
(390)	pishmowin	NI	'mattress'
(391)	pizwin	NI	'apron' M
(392)	taaswin	NI	'cupboard, pantry'
(393)	tibninjiibzowin	NI	'finger-ring' Od
(394)	waasmowin	NI	'light; electric power'
(395)	wewebzowin	NI	'swing'
(396)	wiisniwin	NI	'eating, meal, food'
(397)	zaabwin	NI	'look-out tower; observation point'
(398)	zaswin	NI	'nest' M
(399)	zhgiwin	NI	'urine' CL

In the following examples, /-win/ is added to verbs to derive nouns for ABSTRACT CONCEPTS or ACTION NOMINALIZATIONS. For example, added to the VAI verb *aabjiibaa,* 'come back to life, revive, come to, regain consciousness,' /-win/ produces the abstract noun meaning 'resurrection,' *aabjiibaawin.*

(400)	aabjiibaawin	NI	'resurrection' W, CL
(401)	aakziwin	NI	'sickness'
(402)	aapwewin	NI	'nightmare; bad dream'
(403)	bgwaashaagdiwin	NI	'nakedness' M
(404)	bmibzowin	NI	'trip; fare for travel'
(405)	dbaajmowin	NI	'story, narrative, news'
(406)	dkajwin	NI	'cold' (illness)

(407)	dnaan'gidoonwin	NI	'talk, gossip'
(408)	dnakmigziwin	NI	'game, activity'
(409)	ggweji-bkinaadwin	NI	'contest'
(410)	ggwejkandiwin	NI	'race' M
(411)	gindaaswin	NI	'account, reading'
(412)	ginjgewin	NI	'reading'
(413)	goopesewin	NI	'confession (religious)'
(414)	kidwin	NI	'word, saying'
(415)	mdewiiwin	NI	'medicine ritual'
(416)	migiiwin	NI	'scabs, leprosy'
(417)	miigaadwin	NI	'fight'
(418)	miigaazwin	NI	'fight'
(419)	mshkawziiwin	NI	'strength, power'
(420)	naabndamwin	NI	'dream; vision'
(421)	naadmaagewin	NI	'help, aid'
(422)	nakiiwin	NI	'work; job' Od
(423)	namhewin	NI	'prayer'
(424)	nbewin	NI	'sleep'
(425)	ndindwin	NI	'my fault, my blame'
(426)	ngamwin	NI	'song'
(427)	Nishnaabemwin	NI	'Indian speech/language'
(428)	nwewin	NI	'manner of speaking; language'
(429)	wiijiiwewin	NI	'membership' M
(430)	yekziwin	NI	'tiredness, fatigue'
(431)	zhigaawin	NI	'manner of doing, way of acting'
(432)	zhwenjgewin	NI	'grace' W
(433)	znagziwin	NI	'difficulty M, CL'

John Nichols has pointed out that a significant difference between Nishnaabemwin abstract nouns and those of English is that in the latter language complex abstract nominals are common, such as *the anticipation of the rejection of the proposal by the committee.* One reason for this is that English allows abstract nominals to be formed from transitive verbs, with their objects then specified by means of of phrase, such as *of the rejection* and *of the*

proposal, as in the example provided above. Nishnaabemwin abstract nouns are formed almost exclusively from intransitive verbs, which generally do not have objects, and as such, do not allow for the complex constructions of English.

11.7 Reduplication in Nouns

Some words naming animals and other fauna show apparent REDUPLICATION, but it is not systematic, and often gives little evidence of being meaningful, as in the following forms, all of which are animate nouns. There are fairly obvious motivations for a few words, as in the case of butterflies, which flap their wings in a repetitive manner. By contrast, neither the form nor the behaviour of the mouse seems to motivate reduplication, and indeed the word is variable in its behaviour in different communities, showing forms both with and without reduplication, as in *waawaabgonoojiinh* (CL) and *waabgonoojiinh* (M). Reduplication does show some apparent semantic motivation, however, in its prominence in the names of birds.

The following tables provide examples of reduplication in the names of birds, insects, and animals. All examples are animate nouns (NA), since they name mobile creatures.

	Reduplication in the Names of Birds	
(434)	biipiigenh	'general word for wood warblers and nuthatches'
(435)	diindiisiinh	'bluejay' W
(436)	gaagaagshiinh	'crow, raven'
(437)	gekekoons	'pigeon hawk'
(438)	gookookoo	'owl'
(439)	gwaagwaashknejiins	'song sparrow' W
(440)	gwiingwiish	'bluejay'
(441)	jigjigaaneshiinh	'black-capped chickadee' Od
(442)	jiichiishkwenh	'killdeer'
(443)	jiindiisiinh	'bluejay'
(444)	meme	'woodpecker'
(445)	memeskniin'si	'red-winged blackbird'
(446)	memsaadkon'gwiigaans	'bank swallow' W
(447)	miimii	'pigeon'
(448)	nenookaashiins	'ruby-throated hummingbird'
(449)	nenooshkaashiins	'ruby-throated hummingbird' W
(450)	oohoomsii	'great horned owl'
(451)	wewiimgwaagens	'blue-winged teal' W
(452)	wewenjganoo	'long-eared owl'
(453)	zhaashaawon	'Eastern bluebird' W
(454)	zhaashaawnibiish	'tree swallow' W
(455)	zhiishiibenh	'duck' Od

	Reduplication in the Names of Insects	
(456)	eyebig	'ant'
(457)	maamaateshiins	'firefly' M
(458)	memengwaanh	'butterfly' Od
(459)	memengwenh	'butterfly' W
(460)	miimiinh	'general word for flying insects' M
(461)	miimiins	'mayfly' M
(462)	waawaatesi	'firefly' W, CL

	Reduplication in the Names of Animals	
(463)	gookoosh	'pig'
(464)	jejiibdakiinh	'elephant'
(465)	kakjiish	'woodchuck' W (stem: /akakojiish/)
(466)	waawaabgonoojiinh	'mouse'
(467)	waawaashkeshi	'deer'
(468)	yaabesim	'male dog' (stem: /ayaabesim/)

It is difficult to know in the case of terms for animals whether repeated syllables actually constitute deliberate reduplication or are only serendipitous. In the case of bird names, however, the process is so common that it must be deliberate. Some names of birds are rather obviously ONOMATOPOEIC, as in (436) and (438) above (see below as well); others reduplicate an action or descriptive root, such as (439), which has the root /gwaashkon/, 'jump,' and (445), which has the root /miskw-/, 'red.' Several reduplicative patterns are used.

- Reduplication of a C(w)VV syllable. e.g., (436), (439), (444), (447).
- Reduplication of a C(w)VV unit, and addition of /n/, e.g., (435), (440), (443)
- Reduplication of the C of the first syllable with vowel /e/, e.g., (445), (446), (448), (459), (461), (462).
- Reduplication pattern CV(V)h, which causes STRENGTHENING of ROOT consonant, e.g.,

(434), (437), (438), (442), (453), and (455).

- Reduplication of a CVC unit, e.g., (441)

ONOMATOPOEIA. Reduplication in bird names is often for the effect of producing onomatopoeia, that is, the naming of a creature on the basis of the way it sounds. Another vocabulary item that illustrates onomatopoeia is the word for 'chicken,' which shows considerable dialect variation, as can be seen from the follow variant forms.

(469)	baagaakwenh	'chicken' CL
(470)	baaghaakwaanh	'chicken' W
(471)	baaghaakwenh	'chicken' M

11.8 Participles and Deverbal Nouns

PARTICIPLES are special verb forms which function as nouns, such as *e-wepjiged*, 'batter (baseball)' NA (W), and *e-kandood*, 'fielder (baseball)' NA (M). Participles show INITIAL CHANGE, and are inflected in the CONJUNCT ORDER, but take endings that resemble noun endings more than their corresponding conjunct verbal suffixes. For example, the plural *e-wepjigejig*, 'batters,' has an animate plural suffix /-ig/ that resembles the animate noun plural suffix /-ag/ more than the customary animate third person conjunct suffix /-waa/ found on verbs, as in *wepjigewaad*, '(when/if/that) they hit.' Participles are thus hybrids, consisting of verbal bases, showing much verbal inflection, but having some noun-like inflectional features, and functioning as nouns in sentences.

DEVERBAL NOUNS. Nishnaabemwin has another construction in which verbs are used to derive nouns, such as in *gekaanh*, 'old person,' which is based on the VAI verb *gkaa* /gikaa/, 'be old.' In this case, though, the derived form does not retain verbal features, other than in showing initial change. I designate words having this derivational form as DEVERBAL NOUNS, since they are nouns derived from verbs.

In the following sections I will present examples of the two types of participial construction found in Nishnaabemwin.

11.8.1 True Participles

True participles are easy to recognize, since they are fundamentally verbal, and retain verbal features such as conjunct order inflection, which means that they always have a verbal suffix of some sort, though noun-like endings may appear as well. So, for example, in an obviative form such as *wepjigen'jin*, 'batter(s) obv.,' we find the ending /-ini-j-in/, in which the first element /-ini/ is a verbal inflectional marker of OBVIATION, the element /-j/ a (PALATALIZED) third person animate conjunct order verbal inflectional marker, and the last component, /-in/ a NOMINAL inflectional marker of obviation. The form is thus doubly, redundantly marked for obviation, once with a verbal suffix and once with a nominal suffix.

These facts underscore the dual nature of participles as both verbal and nominal.

Participles also show obligatory INITIAL CHANGE. Many participles have a PREVERB /e-/, perhaps an initial changed form of the preverb /a-/, which seems often to function as a rather general SUBORDINATOR, and so can have a variety of English interpretations, including 'who…,' 'where…,' and 'when…,'

Participles arise all the time in normal conversation, but are not listed in the dictionary as nominal forms, because such usage is completely predictable from the meaning of the word that is participialized. A couple of examples will illustrate this point.

(1) Semaan gii-miinaawag giw kiwenziinyag ***gaa-bi-zhaajig***.

'The old men ***who had come*** were given tobacco.' (AK10.6)

> **Semaan** *na 3obv* 'tobacco'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given Y'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **kiwenziinyag** *na 3pProx* 'old men'; **gaa-bi-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) came.'

(2) Mii naa gaa-zhichgewaad giw nishnaabeg ***gaa-niigaan'zijig***.

'This is what the Indians ***who were leaders*** did.' (AK5.1)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **naa** *av* 'indeed'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gaa-niigaan'zijig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* 'who (ANpl) were leaders.'

Here the speaker has simply chosen to identify individuals on the basis of some verbal notion, in these examples either with verb *bi-zhaa*, 'come' (VAI) or *niigaan'zi*, 'be a leader, take the lead' (VAI). The meaning 'who had come' in (1) follows completely predictably from the verbal components *gaa-*, past tense (with initial change), *bi-zhaa*, 'come' and the VAI participial ending /-jig/, signifying proximate animate third person plural.

In other cases, however, participials may come to represent a consistent and conventional way of expressing a concept, and so, may need to be listed in the dictionary. Often the meanings of the component parts of the participle suggest a meaning that is more general than the concept the participle comes to identify, so a semantic process of specialization (also called narrowing) takes place. For example, the term for 'clover,' *nesoobgak* NI/VII, is a participle based on a VII verb *nsoobgad* /nisoobagad/, 'have three leaves,' which consists of INITIAL /nisw-/, 'three,' MEDIAL /-bag-/, 'leaf,' and VII FINAL /-ad/, 'have, be.' The meaning 'that which has three leaves' makes perfect sense as a means of identifying clover. Note, however, that many plants other than clover have three leaves, and that the general participial word meaning 'that which has three leaves,' has come to represent a particular kind of plant having three leaves, clover. This is not to say that this word could not be used as a general participle in the context where its more general meaning was also applicable, certainly it could. But the point here is that a significant number of Nishnaabemwin speakers consis-

tently identify the plant in question with the participial expression *nesoobgak*, and so it must be listed in the dictionary with the particular meaning of 'clover.'

The following examples represent a few participles that Rhodes chose to list in the dictionary on the basis of their having conventionalized meanings shared by a significant number of speakers. Rhodes labels these words as NOUNS, though it must be understood that they take the special conjunct order verbal inflections of participles. The dictionary is particularly rich in participial forms referring to terms for the game of baseball, with terms from both Walpole Island (W) and Manitoulin Island (M).

(472)	baatewaagmiseg	NI	'beer'
(473)	bemaabiigniged	NA	'manager (baseball)'
(474)	biinjyihiing e-kandood	NA	'shortstop' M
(475)	biinjyihiing ekwaabdang	NA	'infielder' Od
(476)	biinjyihiing nji-kandood	NA	'shortstop' M
(477)	debninkaang e-kandood	NA	'right fielder' M
(478)	e-bi-naadmaaged	NA	'volunteer' W
(479)	e-ggiibaadzid	NA	'clown' W, CL
(480)	e-kandood	NA	'fielder' M
(481)	e-pagdang	NA	'pitcher' W
(482)	e-wepdang	NA	'batter' W
(483)	e-wepjiged	NA	'batter' W
(484)	eknoomaaged	NA	'coach' W
(485)	eko-niizhing e-kandood	NA	'second baseman' M
(486)	eko-nsing e-kandood	NA	'third baseman' M
(487)	ekwaabdang	NA	'fielder' W
(488)	ezaawaabgoniig	NI	'mustard weed'
(489)	e-zhaangseg	NI	'jello' W
(490)	first ekwaabdang	NA	'first baseman' W
(491)	genaajwang	NI	'fancy thing'
(492)	gidaagon bembizod	NA	'snowmobile'
(493)	maanwang	NI	'fruit'
(494)	meshkwaagmig	NI	'hard liquor' W, CL
(495)	namjinkaang e-kandood	NA	'left fielder' M

(496)	nesoobgak	NI	'clover'
(497)	netmising e-kandood	NA	'first baseman' M
(498)	second ekwaandang	NA	'second baseman' W
(499)	third ekwaabdang	NA	'third baseman' W
(500)	waasgang	NI	'pepper' Od
(501)	zaagjiyhiing ekwaabdang	NA	'outfielder' W

PHRASAL PARTICIPIALS. Forms such as (485), (486) and (492) point to another aspect of participial nouns, namely that they can consist of whole phrases involving a verb and associated words, such as *eko-niizhing e-kandood*, 'second baseman,' with a verb and an associated adverb, *eko-niizhing*, 'second' in (485), and *gidaagon bembizod*, with VAI verb *bmibzo* /bimibizo/, 'drive along,' and adverb *gidaagon*, 'on top of the snow' in (492).

PARTICIPLES LACKING INITIAL CHANGE. A couple of participle forms listed in the Rhodes dictionary lack INITIAL CHANGE. The first example listed here can be compared to the same form showing initial change, *baatewaagmiseg*.

(502)	biitewaagmiseg	NI	'beer' CL
(503)	gzhiibdeg	NI	'fastball' W, CL

One particularly intriguing participial form is that of *shwaachgwaasang*, 'applique' NI (W), which appears to have an English borrowing 'swatch,' in initial position, to which a final complex /-gwaas+am/, a hybrid of the VAI final /-gwaaso/ and TI final /-gwaad+am/ has been added. The element *swatch-* fortuitously looks as if it were an initial changed variant of a fictional root */sooch/, as well. This is truly an example of creative word formation.

REDUPLICATED PARTICIPLES. The word for 'banana' at Walpole Island (listed as rare by Rhodes), *wewaagaag*, appears to show reduplication of the initial syllable of the VII verb *waagaa*, 'bend, warp, curve,' creating an extra syllable by reduplication of the first consonant and providing the short vowel /a/, producing /wawaagaa/, which is then subjected to initial change to produce /wewaagaa/. This type of reduplication also shows up in a few other words, of uncertain origin, though some are possibly of participial origin, or DEVERBAL NOUNS (discussed in the next section), e.g.,(505), or at least modeled on the pattern of deverbal nouns (504) and (507). The following words illustrate.

(504)	bebaabgaanh	NA	'pancake' W
(505)	jejiibdakiinh	NA	'elephant'
(506)	memeskniin'si	NA	'red-wing blackbird'
(507)	nenaabgaanh	NI	'rolled oats'

DE-PARTICIPIALIZED NOUNS. The form *waasgan*, 'pepper' NI (CL), appears to have lost its CONJUNCT VERBAL INFLECTION and thereby become an ordinary noun. Other dialects of Nishnaabemwin have this word with a final (inflectional) /-g/, *waasgang*, evidently a participial form of the VII verb *wiisgan*, 'be bitter.'

Another example is the expression *endzhi-mzinaatesjige*, 'movie theatre' M, which has a plural, *endzhi-mzinaatesjigengin*, but a locative form, *endzhi-mzinaatesjigeng*. Locatives, formed by suffixation of this sort, are nominal inflections. However, the word also shows presence of RELATIVE PREVERB *dzhi-*, 'at a particular place,' with INITIAL CHANGE to *endzhi-* associated with the ITERATIVE inflection it carries (signalled by the suffix *-in*), representing canonically verbal behaviour. This word is thus quite a hybrid between nominal and verbal forms.

11.8.2 Participial Nominals

One group of participle-like terms shows INITIAL CHANGE of a VERBAL BASE, but no other formal features of participles. Often a CONTEMPTIVE suffix, a strictly nominal feature, appears as well, and the word is inflected as a noun, lacking any verbal inflectional features. I call such words PARTICIPIAL NOMINALS for lack of a better term. The following forms illustrate this type of word-formation. In most cases the base is a verb, but in the case of the archaic term for gunpowder, *mekde*, it is a root form meaning 'black.'

	Item		Gloss	Verbal Base
(508)	bemdaabaazhwenh	NA	'taxi driver'	/bimidaabaazhwe/ VAI 'drag people along; drive a taxi'
(509)	bemnaagnekwe	NA	'waitress' W (rare)	/*biminaagane/ VAI 'go along with dishes'
(510)	dekaashiinh	NA	'tourist'	/dakaashi/ VAI 'be carefree, have fun'
(511)	detbizenh	NA	'wheel; goody-goody (person w/ halo) M'	/ditibizo/ VAI 'roll'
(512)	esbikenh	NA	'spider'	/asabike/ VAI 'make a net'
(513)	eshkmegwenh	NA	'osprey (fish hawk)'	/ashkime/ VAI 'lace snowshoes' ??
(514)	gekaanh	NA	'old person'	/gikaa/ VAI 'be elderly'
(515)	geshkgwaasoonh	NI	'sewing machine' M	/gashkigwaaso/ VAI 'sew'
(516)	mekde	NI	'gunpowder'	/makade-/ ROOT 'black'

Some words that would be expected to have initial-changed forms with initial /w/ lose the /w/, a process that is also found in INFLECTIONAL contexts, such as the prevalence of *enji-* as an initial-changed form of the RELATIVE PREVERB /onji-/, 'from, source,' where /wenji-/ is expected.

(517)	ezaawaanh	NI	'cantaloupe'	/ozaaw/ 'brown, yellow'
(518)	ezaawaabgoniig	NI	'mustard weed'	/ozaaw/ 'brown, yellow'

The following words appear to have a structure similar to that outlined above, but do not contain attested verbs.

(519)	eshkdamoonh	NI	'watermelon'
(520)	ezhaazhaanh	NA	'flour dumpling' W
(521)	ezhaazhaans	NI	'flour dumpling' W

11.9 Compound Nouns

COMPOUND NOUNS are quite common in Nishnaabemwin. A compound is a word made up of two relatively independent word-stems, though in Nishnaabemwin, as with other dialects of Anishinaabemowin, this criterion is blurred by the fact that PRENOUNS behave PHONOLOGICALLY as semi-independent words, in that their last VOWEL is never affected by SYNCOPE, as if it were at the end of a 'word.' MORPHOLOGICALLY, however, prenouns are not autonomous words, because they cannot stand alone as separate words. Compounds in Nishnaabemwin always consist of exactly two elements at their most immediate ("highest") level, and when not EXOCENTRIC, are always RIGHT-HEADED, that is, the element on the right almost always determines the primary morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties of the word. For example, the compound *jiibaakwe-kik*, 'cooking pot,' consists of two elements: on the left, an animate intransitive (VAI) verb, *jiibaakwe*, 'cook, prepare food,' and on the right, an animate noun (NA) *kik*, 'pot, ashcan, kettle.' It is the element on the right that determines the part of speech of the whole word, and the compound *jiibaakwe-kik* is thus a noun. Furthermore, because *kik* is of animate gender, a compound with *kik* as its primary element will also be animate. This is commonly the case in Nishnaabemwin except for a few exocentric compounds, such as *Gchi-Mookmaan*, 'American.' In this case, the element on the right is an inanimate noun, *mookmaan*, 'knife,' but the compound as a whole is an animate noun, meaning 'Big-Knife,' perhaps originally in reference to the sabres worn by U.S. cavalrymen. This feature of gender anomaly, however, is not a property of compounds *per se*, but of naming conventions in the language in general. Names of people are invariably animate nouns, though they may be based on words that are not inherently animate, or even nouns, such as *Biidaankod*, 'Cloud Approaching,' which is a VII verb when not used as a name, though it can be argued that the name has a final /w/ that derives nouns

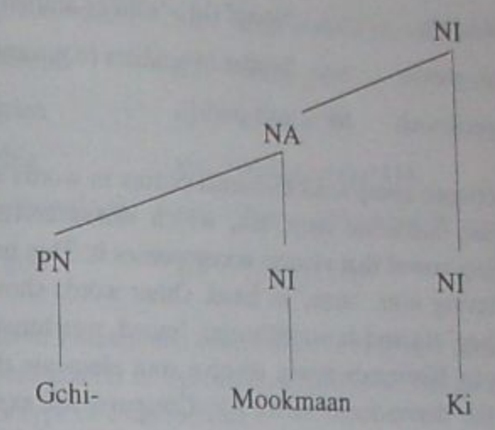
from VII verbs, which would then serve as the head of the word. Compounds that have the same gender as their right element are said to be ENDOCENTRIC, that is, have their heads inside of them, and those that do not, EXOCENTRIC. Another example of an exocentric compound is *ziiwtaagni-gookoosh*, 'salt pork,' NI, which has an animate noun in right position, but which, as a compound word, is inanimate. Generally it is the case in Nishnaabemwin that compounds are endocentric, that is, have the same morphological properties as their right (head) elements.

Another property of compounds clearly demonstrating that the right element is the head can be seen from INFLECTED forms of compounds. For example, the form *njiibaakwe-kik* (or alternatively *njiibaakwe-kikom*), which means 'my cooking pot,' appears to have a FIRST PERSON PREFIX (/n/) on the verb *jiibaakwe*, creating *njiibaakwe*, which, when the word is not in a compound, would be interpreted to mean, 'I am cooking.' However, the person prefix in a compound is never understood to apply to the first element, such as the verb *jiibaakwe* in this case, but rather to the compound as a whole, and because the compound is a noun, the person prefix is understood to represent a *possessor prefix*, and thus add the meaning, 'my.' It is important to note, however, that the possessive prefix is attached to the compound as a whole, and not to its head word, and from forms such as *njiibaakwe-kik(mi)naan*, 'our (excl.) cooking pot,' it can be seen that possessive suffixes are added to the end of the compound as a whole as well.

Another feature of compounds is that the left element loses all of its morphological properties. For example, the verb *jiibaakwe* can be inflected with PAST TENSE, as in *gii-jiibaakwe*, 'ANsg cooked, prepared food.' However, when *jiibaakwe* is the first element of a compound, it cannot be inflected for tense, that is, one cannot say **gii-jiibaakwe-kik*, perhaps, for example, if one wanted to refer to a cooking pot that was used one hundred years ago, or to a cooking pot that had recently been converted into a plantholder. The only way to relate time to the compound *jiibaakwe-kik* is to use the PRETERIT suffix /-ban/, as discussed in Chapter Section 4.11, page 206ff.

Semantically, too, it is clear that the right element is the head, in that the term *jiibaakwe-kik* refers to a kind of pot, rather than to a kind of cooking, which we might expect if the left element, the verb *jiibaakwe*, were the head.

THE BINARY NATURE OF COMPOUNDS. Nishnaabemwin compounds can consist of more than two word-elements, but in such cases, the elements always show sub-grouping into units of two. So, for example, in the case of *Gchi-Mookmaan-Ki*, 'United States,' there are three elements, a PRENOUN *gchi-*, 'great, big,' an inanimate noun (NI), *mookmaan*, 'knife,' and another inanimate noun, *ki*, 'land, earth.' These three elements are not related to each other in the same way, however, because the elements *Gchi-* and *Mookmaan* combine to form the compound *Gchi-Mookmaan*, 'American,' and this compound noun is then used as the left element of another compound, in which the right element is this time *ki*, 'land.' The following diagram illustrates the relationships between the elements of this word.



THE CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOUNDS BY PHONOLOGICAL LINKAGE. Compounds show four distinct kinds of PHONOLOGICAL LINKAGE between their elements.

1. The most loosely bound compounds simply juxtapose free words, and have no explicit linkage, as in the following examples:

(522)	shkode-daabaan	NA	'train' W (lit., 'fire-vehicle')
(523)	waasgang-kosmaan	NI	'bell pepper' (lit., 'pepper-squash')
(524)	waawan-kokbinaagan	NI	'Easter basket' W (lit., 'egg-basket')
(525)	wiigwaas-makak	NI	'birchbark box'

2. Another type of linkage involves the addition of /i/ to the end of the first member of the compound. In these cases, noun stems ending in /Cy/, such as /opiny/ (or /apiny/), 'potato,' VOCALIZE the /y/ to /i/ and lengthen it, as in *pinii-mshkimod*, 'potato sack' NI. Stems ending in /iw/, such as /ininiw/ (or /aniniw/), 'man,' show loss of /w/ and lengthening of the final /i/ to /ii/, as in *ninii-miiknod*, 'man's trousers, man's underwear' NI. The word *zhmaaganish*, 'soldier' Od also acts as if it ended in /iw/. This compound-formation process is especially common with noun stems ending in /Cy/. The following examples illustrate compounds showing this degree of linkage.

(526)	mkomii-mkak	NI	'freezer' (lit., 'ice box')
(527)	ninii-miiknod	NI	'man's trousers'
(528)	pinii-mnidoons	NA	'cutworm; potato bug'
(529)	pinii-mshkimod	NI	'sack for potatoes'
(530)	sinii-waagaakod	NI	'stoneaxe'
(531)	zhmaagni-gimaa	NA	'jack' (lit. 'soldier-leader')

(532)	zhmaagni-wesiinh	NA	'wasp' (lit., 'soldier-animal')
(533)	zhmaagnishii-gimaa	NA	'leader of soldiers (e.g. captain, general)'
(534)	ziiwtaagni-gookoosh	NI	'salt pork'

3. A tight linkage between compound elements occurs in words such as *mshkikiiwnini*, 'herbal remedy specialist, medicine man' NA, which shows EXTENSIONAL-/W/ and the lengthening of a preceding vowel that always accompanies it. This behaviour is quite common with compounds having *nini*, 'man,' as head. Other words showing the same pattern are *daakewnini*, 'helmsman' NA and *kawaabiiwnini*, 'guard, watchman' NA.

4. Some compounds in Nishnaabemwin involve root elements that are not quite prenouns, since they lack the derivational suffix /-i/. Compare, for example, the two words *waabi-mnoomin*, 'white rice' NI, which has a derivationally straightforward prenoun element, *waabi-*, and *waab-signaak*, 'bobolink' (NA), which has a prenominal element that is identical to the root form meaning 'white,' /waab/. Several prenominal units specifying colours, as well as other prenouns, appear in this root form in compounds. Words such as *zaaw-bmide*, 'butter' NI suggest that these elements are in fact prenouns, because the first short vowel of the right stem element, /bimide/, is deleted by syncope, which it would not be if the stem form of the first element were /waabi/, and its last segment, /i/, was being deleted by syncope.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOUNDS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR LEFT ELEMENTS. Another way of classifying compounds is on the basis of the basic part of speech class of the element that serves as the left component. This element may be a prenoun, a noun, or an intransitive verb, most commonly an animate intransitive (VAI) verb, but occasionally an INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (VII) verb. I will treat each of these types in turn.

PRENOUN + NOUN COMPOUNDS. Compounds consisting of a PRENOUN and a NOUN are quite common. The following table lists examples.

(535)	bgoji-bzhiki	NA	'buffalo'
(536)	Gchi-Mookmaan	NA	'American'
(537)	gchi-nishnaabe	NA	'person'
(538)	Gzhe-mnidoo	NA	'God (Christian)'
(539)	maazhi-gnoozhe	NA	'musklunge' W
(540)	mji-gnoozhe	NA	'musklunge' CL
(541)	mji-mnidoo	NA	'devil; Devil'
(542)	mkade-mskomin	NI	'blackberry' CL (lit. 'black redberry')
(543)	mkade-pakne	NA	'cricket'
(544)	msko-nagek	NI	'cinnamon' W

(545)	myagi-baaghaakwaanh	NA	'ring-necked pheasant'
(546)	waabi-mnoomin	NI	'white rice'
(547)	waawye-bgaan	NI	'walnut' W
(548)	wenda-gnebig	NA	'garter snake' Od
(549)	zhaawshko-bneshiinh	NA	'Eastern bluebird' W
(550)	zaawi-san'goo	NA	'fox squirrel'

In the previous section I mentioned compounds having first elements that are roots lacking the usual derivational marker of a prenoun, a suffix /-i/. The following list provides additional examples of this type of construction.

(551)	biitoo-babgiwyaan	NI	'undershirt'
(552)	biitoo-miiknod	NI	'underwear, panties'
(553)	biitoo-mkizin	NI	'boot liner; overshoe'
(554)	des-naagan	NI	'plate' W
(555)	waab-gekek	NA	'marsh hawk'
(556)	waab-gookookhoonh	NA	'snowy owl'
(557)	waab-gookookoonh	NI	'wedding cake' W
(558)	waab-signaak	NA	'bobolink' W, CL
(559)	zaaw-bmide	NI	'butter'
(560)	zaaw-jiis	NI	'carrot'
(561)	zaaw-zhoon'yaa	NI	'gold' CL, M

NOUN + NOUN COMPOUNDS. Compounds consisting of two nouns are quite common as well. The following examples illustrate.

(562)	aamoo-ziisbaakod	NI	'honey' W (bee-sugar)
(563)	aamoo-ziiwaagmide	NI	'honey' W (bee-syrup)
(564)	baapaas-yahaawish	NA	'highfalutin' dude' W (highfalutin' being)
(565)	biiwaabkoons-giigdowin	NI	'telephone' CL (wire-speaking thing)
(566)	bkwaakdo-bgamaagan	NI	'round-headed club' (ball-club)
(567)	dbik-giizis	NA	'moon' (night-sun)
(568)	Gchi-Mookmaan-Ki	NI	'the U.S.A. (lit. Big Knife land)'

(569)	gookoosh-wiiyaas	NI	'bacon' (pig-meat)
(570)	jiig-weyaan	NI	'fisher pelt' CL (fisher-pelt)
(571)	kaad-gnebig	NA	'alligator; crocodile; lizard' (legged-snake)
(572)	kwe-miiknod	NI	'panties' (woman-underwear)
(573)	maashtaan'shiiwniniikwe	NA	'shepherdess' (sheep-woman)
(574)	mko-dsoonaagan	NI	'bear trap' (bear-trap)
(575)	Mko-giizis	NA	'Bear Moon' (bear-moon)
(576)	mkomii-mkak	NI	'freezer' (ice-box)
(577)	mkomii-taaswin	NI	'refrigerator (ice-cupboard)'
(578)	mshkode-daabaan	NA	'train' Od (fire-vehicle)
(579)	mshkode-jiimaan	NI	'steamboat' (fire-boat)
(580)	mtig-zhiishiigwenh	NA	'chameleon' (tree-urinator)
(581)	mzise-miijim	NI	'a species of fern' W (turkey-food)
(582)	ninii-miiknod	NI	'man's trousers, underwear' (man-underwear)
(583)	Nishnaabe-kwe	NA	'Indian woman'
(584)	oodenaw-bneshiinh	NA	'house sparrow' (town-bird)
(585)	pinii-mnidoons	NA	'cutworm; potato bug' (potato-bug)
(586)	pinii-mshkimod	NI	'sack for potatoes' (potato-bag)
(587)	shkode-daabaan	NA	'train' W (fire-vehicle)
(588)	sinii-waagaakod	NI	'stoneaxe'
(589)	waasgang-kosmaan	NI	'bell pepper' (pepper squash)
(590)	waawan-kokbinaagan	NI	'Easter basket' W (egg-basket)
(591)	wiigwaas-makak	NI	'birchbark box'
(592)	wiindgoo-bneshiins	NA	'Eastern kingbird' (wendigo-bird)
(593)	zaawi-san'goo	NA	'fox squirrel' (brown-squirrel)
(594)	zhimaagni-gimaa	NA	'jack' (soldier-leader)
(595)	zhimaagni-wesiinh	NA	'wasp' (soldier-animal)
(596)	zhmaagnishii-gimaa	NA	'leader of soldiers (e.g. captain, general)'
(597)	ziiwtaagni-gookoosh	NI	'salt pork' (salt-pig)

VERB + NOUN COMPOUNDS. Compounds consisting of a verb as left element with a noun as head are also quite common. Verbs in left position are either animate intransitive (VAI) or inanimate intransitive (VII). The following examples illustrate such compounds.

(598)	Bnaakwii-giizis	NA	'Falling-leaves Moon'	bnaakwii vii 'leaves fall'
(599)	gchi-aawdaas-daabaan	NA	'truck' W	aawdaaso vai 'haul'
(600)	Gtige-giizis	NA	'Planting Moon'	gtige vai 'plant'
(601)	gziibiignigenaagan	NI	'dishpan' W	gziibiignige vai 'wipe'
(602)	jiibaakwe-kik	NA	'cooking pot'	jiibaakwe vai 'cook'
(603)	nbwaakaawnini	NA	'wise man; sage'	nbwaakaa vai 'be wise'
(604)	waabshkidye-aamoo	NA	'species of large stinging insect' W	waabshkidye vai 'have a white backside'
(605)	ziignigewnini	NA	'bartender; bootlegger'	ziignige vai 'pour things'

11.9.1 Some Example Compound Sets

In this section I provide a couple of compound sets, that is, small families of compound words. Another group of common compound words are the traditional names for months and days of the week, which are listed in Chapter 16, p. 805ff.

NINI 'MAN'. Many compounds exist with the head element *nini*, 'man' (stem traditionally /aniniw/ or /ininiw/).

(606)	daakewnini	'helmsman; one who steers'
(607)	jiiskiiwnini	'man with power of predicting unknown; shaker'
(608)	kawaabiiwnini	'guard, watchman'
(609)	maanjiinoo-nini	'magician'
(610)	maashtaan'shiiwnini	'shepherd'
(611)	mandaagnini	'gentleman, well-groomed man'
(612)	mdewnini	'traditional medicine man'
(613)	miigaazoownini	'professional fighter'
(614)	mshkikiiwnini	'herbal remedy specialist; medicine man'
(615)	mzinbiihgewnini	'artist'
(616)	nbwaakaawnini	'a wise man; a sage'
(617)	ziignigewnini	'bartender, bootlegger'

KWE 'WOMAN'. Compound nouns are rather freely formed with the term for woman, *kwe*. Sometimes terms for males are used to derived the corresponding terms for females, such as with *Nishnaabe-kwe*, 'Indian woman,' *zhigaakwe*, 'widow,' and even *maashtaan'*= *shiiwniniikwe*, 'shepherdess,' which has a compound *maashtaan'shiiwnini*, 'shepherd,' as first compound element. In other cases, parallel forms exist, such as *mandaagkwe*, 'lady' and *mandaagnini*, 'gentleman.'

(618)	jiiskiiwniniikwe	'woman with power of predicting unknown; shaker'
(619)	maanaabekwe	'water nymph (mermaid)'
(620)	maashtaan'shiiwniniikwe	'shepherdess'
(621)	mandaagkwe	'lady; well-groomed woman'
(622)	Nishnaabe-kwe	'Indian woman' (cf, Nishnaabe, 'Indian man')
(623)	shkiniigkwe	'young woman'
(624)	Zhaagnaashiikwe	'Canadian woman'
(625)	zhiigaakwe	'widow' (cf., zhiigaa, 'widower; widow')

11.10 A Brief Introduction to Adverb Finals

In this section I will briefly outline a few ADVERB FINALS. Adverbs represent the least unified part of speech class in Nishnaabemwin, consisting of words that correspond to English ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, CONJUNCTIONS, and INTERJECTIONS. The class of adverbs basically consists of all of those words that are not NOUNS, PRONOUNS, or VERBS, outside of NUMBERS and a very small set of words classed by Rhodes as PARTICLES (see Chapter 3 for discussion of adverbs). Numbers are treated at length in Chapter 17, so will not be considered here. My discussion is quite limited, and the reader should consult Bloomfield 1958 for a more comprehensive treatment of adverb finals.

THE GENERAL STRUCTURE OF ADVERBS. As with nouns and verbs, many adverbs show evidence of having internal structure, and some of these structural components correspond to elements found in nouns and verbs. For example, there is a fairly large set of locational adverbs that incorporate familiar noun-like elements found in verbs as medials or finals, and in nouns as concrete noun finals. Examples of the latter include *naamaatig*, 'under a tree' (Od), *jiigaatig*, 'near the woods; near the wall,' and *gidaatig*, 'at the top of a tree; on a log.' Each of these words ends with the element, /-aatig/, which appears to have the meaning 'tree; wood; log' and is almost identical to a final used with nouns, as in *waagaakdaatig*, 'axe handle.' On the other hand, the locational adverbs *gidaajwan*, 'upstream' and *niisaajwan*, 'downstream,' have a final element similar to that found in INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (VII) verbs such as *maajjiwan*, 'start to flow,' *bmijwan*, 'flow along' and *gzhiijwan*, 'flow quickly.' The only difference in this case is that the adverb final /-aajwan/ appears to have a leading element /aa/ not found in the corresponding verb final /-jiwan/.

Further evidence of the structure of adverbs can easily be seen by comparing sets having related meanings, as in the following list.

(626)	gidaa	'up; on'
(627)	gidaagon	'on the snow'
(628)	gidaajwan	'upstream'
(629)	gidaaki	'up the hill'
(630)	gidaatig	'at the top of a tree; on a log'
(631)	gidbag	'on the roof'
(632)	gidbiig	'on top of the water'
(633)	gidgamig	'on top of the building'
(634)	gidkamig	'on the earth, on the ground'
(635)	gidsag	'on the floor' (W, CL)
(636)	gijyahii	'on [top of s.t.]; on top of s.t.
(637)	gijyahiing	'on [top of s.t.]; on top of s.t.

Here we can easily determine that there is an initial component, having the shape /gid-/ or /gij-/, which means 'on top of; upon; up.' The variation in form between the final /d/ of /gid-/ and the final /j/ of /gij-/ can be explained on the basis of PALATALIZATION. Removal of the initial component reveals a variety of finals with meanings ranging from the fairly ABSTRACT, as in *gidaa*, 'up, on,' with final /aa/ functioning only to create an adverb, to those with quite CONCRETE meanings, such as /-biig/, 'water,' as in *gidbiig*, 'on top of (the) water,' and /-gamig/, as in *gidgamig*, 'on top of (the) building.'

11.10.1 Some Adverb Finals

In this section I will briefly survey some of the more common adverb groups. These examples are merely representative of a vast area of productive vocabulary.

ADVERB FINALS SPECIFYING UNITS OF TIME. Several adverb finals specify units of time, such as /-gon/, 'days,' e.g., *niizhgon*, 'two days ago, for two days (with root /niizhw/, 'two'), /-dbik/, 'nights,' e.g., *ngodbik*, 'for one night' (with root /ngo(d)/, 'one'), and /-bboon/, 'years,' e.g., *ngo-bboon*, 'one year.' These and many other units of time are discussed in more detail in Chapters 16 and 17. These words are sometimes analyzed as nouns.

ADVERB FINALS OF LOCATION. Many adverb finals exist which indicate various locations. The finals incorporate nominal notions and often have noun-like elements. A couple of related adverb finals are used to make general adverbs of relative location. These include /-yihii/ (or /-yahii/) and /-yihiing/. The final /-yihii/ resembles the inanimate generalized noun final /-hii/ presented on page 484, above, and the form /-yihiing/ looks as if it were a

locative form of the same stem. The lists which follow are merely representative, mostly culled from the Rhodes dictionary. Examples of the use of these finals can be found in Chapter 15 (on pp. 739ff.)

30	/-yihii/, /-yahii/	'relative location'

(638) aabtawyihii 'at the middle [of a line]'
(639) aazhwihii 'on the other side'
(640) gijyahii 'on [top of s.t.]'
(641) jiigyahii 'close by, right next to'
(642) naamyihii 'underneath; at the bottom'
(643) niisyihii 'below the place' (Od)

31	/-yihiing/, /-yahiing/	'relative location'

(644) aabtawyihiing 'at the middle [of a line]'
(645) aazhwihiing 'in the other room, on the other side'
(646) biinjyihiing 'inside'
(647) biitwiyhiing 'in the middle [of layers]'
(648) gijyahiing 'on top of [something]'
(649) jiigyahiing 'close by; right next to' (Od)
(650) jiigyihiing 'close by; right next to'
(651) megweyhiing 'in the middle [of an area]'
(652) myaawyihiing 'exactly in the middle'
(653) naamyihiing 'underneath; at the bottom'
(654) naanaawyihiing 'right in the middle [of an area]'
(655) naawyihiing 'in the middle'
(656) niisyihiing 'below the place'
(657) zaagjiyhiing 'outside [a group]'

LOCATIONAL ADVERB FINALS OF PARTICULAR LOCATIONAL REFERENCE. There is a large set of adverb finals which specify location in reference to different features of landscape, buildings, and even parts of the body.

- /-aajiwan/, 'body of water; river, stream' *gaamaajwan*, 'at the other side of a body of water'; *gidaajwan*, 'upstream'; *niisaajwan*, 'downstream.'

- /-biig/, 'water, body of water' *gidbiig*, 'on top of the water'; *jiigbiig* 'at the waterfront.'
- /-biing/, 'waterfront' *jiigbiing*, 'at the waterfront.'
- /-gaam/, /-gaami/, 'lake, water' *aazhoogaam*, 'across the lake, river, water' (W); *aazhoogaami*, 'across the lake, river, water' (CL); *naawgaam*, 'in the middle of the lake' (Od).
- /-aabik/, 'rock' *naamaabik*, 'under the rock.'
- /-aazhibik/, 'rocks'; *naamaazhbik*, 'under the rocks.' (M)
- /-aagon/, 'snow' *gidaagon*, 'on the snow.'
- /-aaki/, 'hill' *aabtawdaaki*, 'halfway up a hill.'
- /-aakwaa/, 'woods' *aazhwaakwaa*, 'on the other side of the woods' (Od); *megwaakwaang*, 'in the woods.'
- /-aatig/, 'tree' *naamaatig*, 'under a tree' (Od); *jiigaatig*, 'near the wall, near the woods, on the wall'; *gidaatig*, 'at the top of a tree, on the log.'
- /-akamig/, 'ground' *bgodkamig*, 'out in the wilds'; *gidkamig*, 'on the earth, on the ground'; *naamkamig*, 'underground'; *nikekamig*, 'on a certain side (of a border).'
- /-bag/, 'roof' *gidbag*, 'on the roof.'
- /-gamig/, 'building, house' *gidgamig*, 'on top of the building'; *jiiggamig*, 'near the house.'
- /-ikana/, 'road' *bkekna*, 'at the side of the road'; *gaamkana*, 'across the road'; *shawekna*, 'at the side of the road.'
- /-isag/, 'floor, room' mchisag, 'on the floor,' aazhwisag, 'in another room, to another room.'
- /-isagong/, 'basement, floor' *naamsagong* 'downstairs, in the basement.'
- /-sabak/, 'wall' *jiigsabak*, 'near the wall' (M).
- /-gaakan/, 'chest' *naanaawgaakan* 'in the middle of the chest.'
- /-gatig/, 'forehead' *naanaawgatig*, 'in the middle of the forehead.'

11.11 Locational Roots

The following list provides examples of many root forms that occur with locational finals. The list is very meagre. A comprehensive study of Nishnaabemwin root forms would be very useful, and belongs in a thorough grammar, but time has not permitted me to undertake such a study.

(658) /aabtaw-/ 'in the midst; in the middle; halfway'
(659) /aazhoo-/ 'across'
(660) /aazhwi-/ 'other (side), another'
(661) /biind-/, /biinj-/ 'inside, into'
(662) /biitwi-/ 'in-between (layers)'
(663) /bke-/ 'at the side of'

(664)	/gaam-/	'across'
(665)	/gid-/, /gij-/	'on top of'
(666)	/jiig-/	'near'
(667)	/megwe-/	'in the midst of'
(668)	/myaaw-/	'exactly in the middle'
(669)	/naam-/	'under'
(670)	/naam-/	'underneath'
(671)	/naaw-/	'in the middle'
(672)	/niis-/	'below, down'
(673)	/shawe-/	'at the side of'
(674)	/shkwaa-/	'behind'
(675)	/zaagid-/, /zaagij-/	'outside, out of'

11.12 Deriving Preverbs and Prenouns

Preverbs and prenouns are commonly derived by the addition of final /-i/ to a root or other initial. This final PALATALIZES a susceptible stem-final consonant. For example, RELATIVE PREVERBS *zhi-*, 'manner, to,' /izhi-/ and *nji-* /onji-/, 'from, source,' are formed from relative roots /iN/ and /ond/, respectively. Final /-i/ shows standard phonological behaviour with respect to glides, e.g., fuses with a stem-final /w/ to become /o/, as in *mno-*, 'good, well,' from stem /minw/, 'good.'

11.13 Additional Reading

An excellent source for those interested in the structure of Ojibwe nouns is Nichols 1980. Bloomfield 1958 and 1962 are also very useful, though they are both quite schematic in their treatment. Goddard 1990 represents a significant revision of Bloomfield's analyses of Algonquian word structure. O'Meara 1990 is also very valuable.

12

Nominals and Pronominals

12.1 Introduction

Noun phrases can consist of a solitary noun or PRONOUN, two nouns in APPOSITION, or a group of words HEADED by a noun or pronoun. They may represent a name (proper noun) or a COMMON NOUN. They may show POSSESSION, as in *ndoo-nmemag*, 'my sturgeon (pl.),' or be qualified by one or more PRENOUNS, as in *bgoji-mnoomin*, 'wild rice.' They may be quantified by specific numeral QUANTIFIERS, as in *bezhig jiimaan*, 'one boat,' and *ngodwewaan mkiznan*, 'one pair of shoes,' or by more general quantifiers, such as *kina* (also *gkina*), 'all,' and *aanind* (also *aaning*), 'some,' or qualified by the NEGATIVE pronoun, *gaa wiya* (also *gaa waya*), 'no one.' They may show further specification by RELATIVE CLAUSES, that is verbal expressions used as modifiers or identifiers of participants in verbal actions, such as in *giw kiwenziinyag gaa-bi-zhaajig*, 'those old men who came,' which has the relative clause *gaa-bi-zhaajig*, 'who (pl.) came,' modifying and further delimiting the class identified by the noun *kiwenziinyag*, 'old men.' All of these strategies for forming noun phrases will be discussed in this chapter.

Nishnaabemwin also has a wealth of PRONOUNS which can either stand in the place of noun phrases, occur together with nouns, or provide various kinds of emphasis or focus. PERSONAL PRONOUNS identify individuals on the basis of their conversational roles as speakers (first person), addressees (second person), or topics of conversation (third person). A rich and well-used set of DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS exist which are indexed to agree with their associated nouns for the grammatical categories of gender, number, and obviation. The inanimate singular demonstrative pronouns, especially *iw* (or *wi*), 'that,' is used in many SYNTACTIC constructions as a pronominal substitute for an entire CLAUSE or SENTENCE, rather similarly to the way that English *it* is used, as in 'Helen didn't know *it*, but I'd already baked her birthday cake,' or English *that*, as in 'I know *that* you love autumn.' There are also INDEFINITE PRONOUNS indexed only for gender but not number or obviation, similar to the English pronouns 'someone' and 'something.' These pronouns are also used to form negative pronouns, analogous to English 'no one' and 'nothing,' and universal pro-

nouns, roughly like English 'everyone' and 'everything.' SUBSTITUTIVE PRONOUNS such as *nahii* function as placeholders and generics in conversation. These and several other kinds of pronouns are treated in this chapter.

We have also seen in the previous chapters that there is a rich system for the INFLECTIONAL marking of actors and goals on verbs, by means of PREFIXES and SUFFIXES. The inflectional system is so rich that it is not uncommon for verbs to be used without any associated noun phrases or pronouns, since the inflections alone allow the determination of who or what is involved in the verbal action, event, or state. In addition to the three person categories mentioned above, there also exist generalized actor forms, used when reference is to general activity rather than to that of specific individuals.

PHYSICAL AND LINGUISTIC CONTEXTS. To clarify several issues pertaining to the use of nouns and pronouns, I will distinguish between the PHYSICAL CONTEXT, which is defined as the spatial, temporal, and social context in which the communicative act of using language takes place, and the LINGUISTIC CONTEXT, which is wholly within language, and refers to the context in which a given word or sentence occurs relative to other words and sentences in a communicative event. The physical context thus consists of people and objects, is situated in time and space, but can be referred to linguistically, such as when a speaker says *maaba gwiiwzens*, 'this boy,' and indicates a particular boy in the immediate physical context. The physical context often provides the means of interpreting DEICTIC words such as *maanda*, 'this (inan.)' and *iw* 'that (inan.),' *maanpii*, 'here,' and *odi*, 'there,' and *noongo(m)*, 'now,' since these words are defined on the basis of some reference point, usually the speaker's location and the time of speaking. Many of these words can have discourse-internal meanings as well, as we will see.

In language use there is typically a rich interplay of physical context and linguistic context, and every language has many ways to introduce and maintain "characters" in a discourse. In this chapter we will examine some of the ways in which Nishnaabemwin speakers do so, using the rich assortment of linguistic resources the language provides, including nouns, pronouns, prenouns, inflections, and more elaborate devices such as possessive constructions and relative clauses.

12.2 Some Terminology

The following terms are used extensively throughout this chapter, in quite specific ways. First a NOUN PHRASE is a grouping of words consisting of a noun as the main unit (or HEAD) of the group, possibly modified by such categories of words and phrases as numbers, pronouns, and relative clauses, as in, for example, *niizh ninwag*, 'two men,' *giw ninwag*, 'those men,' and *giw niizh ninwag gaa-ngamjig*, 'those two men who sang.'

NOMINAL. The term NOMINAL is sometimes used to refer to the grammatical properties of nouns. This is the case when the term "nominal" is itself used as an adjective, as when, for example, the PARTICIPIAL inflectional endings /-ig/ and /-in/, as in *bemaadzijig*, 'people' (lit., 'those who live'), and *bemaadzin'jin*, 'person/people (obv.),' are said to be NOMINAL, because of their similarity to the animate plural and obviative suffixes found on nouns. The term NOMINAL, when used itself as a noun, specifies any word or phrase functioning as a noun phrase, whether a noun, pronoun, or a relative clause. For example, *mik*, 'beaver,' *aw mik*, 'that beaver,' *wiinwaa*, 'they/them,' *giw niizh mikog*, 'those two beavers,' and *waasnijig*, 'those eating,' can all be nominals.

RELATIVE CLAUSES. RELATIVE CLAUSES describe characters on the basis of some verb-based modifying description, as in *naagaaniid*, '(the one) who leads' (VAI), where someone is identified on the basis of leading, or *gaa-bi-mwinewaajig*, '(the ones) who come attacking them (anim.)' (VTA), where characters are identified on the basis of their action in coming to attack. Nishnaabemwin relative clauses usually have participial verbs as their heads (main elements), and these verbs show both nominal and verbal inflectional features. Participles are verbal constructions which function as nouns. They are discussed at length below.

In the following sections we will examine the means available to speakers for identifying characters in conversation and other kinds of discourse. These include verbal affixation, pronouns, simple nouns, noun phrases, and relative clauses.

12.3 Ways of Identifying Discourse Entities

The entities being referred to in speech are often called referents, and the linguistic act of associating these entities to particular language forms is called reference. I will refer to words or phrases that are used to identify individuals and groups as referring expressions.

VERBAL MARKING ALONE. The simplest way to identify participants is INFLECTIONALLY, that is, by means of combinations of prefixes and suffixes on verbs, without any independent nominal expression. This is the normal means of introducing first and second persons, singular and plural, as mentioned above, whose reference is determined or understood from the conversational context, as in the following examples, both of which appear as the first sentences of various episodic narratives.

(1) ***E-shki-waabmag*** aw Gchi-mookmaan maa ddibew ziibing ***ngii-zeghig***.

'***The first time that I saw*** a white man there by the bank of the river, he ***frightened me.***' (AM3.1)

E-shki-waabmag *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) when I first saw ANsg'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Gchi-mookmaan** *na 3sProx* 'white American'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **ddibew** *av* 'on the bank'; **ziibing** *ni 0 loc* 'by the river'; **ngii-zeghig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg frightened me.'

(2) Mewnzha ***gaa-zhiwebziyaan gii-waabmangid*** aw meko-bmased.

'A long time ago ***it happened to me that we saw*** this bear-walker (witch).'

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **gaa-zhiwebziyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) what happened to me'; **gii-waabmangid** *vta conj 1p»3sProx* '(CONJ) we saw ANsg'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **meko-bmased** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg who is a bear walker.' (AK8.1)

Sentence (2) can be contrasted with a narrative about a third person, which requires introduction of the protagonists by means of separate nominals, though even here, reference may be in part contextually determined by the speaker, since the identity of textual characters may be on the basis of their kinship or social relations with the speaker (or addressee), as in the following.

(3) Mewnzha ***aw nmishoomis*** gaa-zhiwebzinid ***niw wdedeman miinwaa niw wdoodooman***.

'What happened to ***my grandfather's father and mother***, long ago.' (AK2.1)

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **gaa-zhiwebzinid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) what happenened to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdedeman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S father'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdoodooman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S mother.'

VOCATIVES. By using a VOCATIVE form, that is, a term of direct address, a speaker can simultaneously address and identify one or more individuals, as in the following example. Vocative plurals have a distinct ending, /-dig/ (or /-dog/), formally related to the INDEPENDENT ORDER DUBITATIVE VERBAL MODE.

(4) ***Nooshenh***, bi-zhaan maampii. | 'Come here, ***(my) grandchild***.' (AM39.717)

> **Nooshenh** *nad (voc)*[1] *1s(3sProx)* 'my grandchild'; **bi-zhaan** *vai imp 2s* 'come hither'; **maampii** *av* 'here.'

1. The vocative form of this term is commonly *noozis*, but here the term-of-reference is used in a vocative context.

(5) Boozhoo ***nwiijkiwenydig*** giinwaa mnik bezndaageyeg.

'Good-day, ***my friends***, as many of you as who are listening.' (SO6.189)[1]

> **Boozhoo** *av* 'hello'; **nwiijkiwenydig** *nad voc 1s(2p)* 'you my friends'; **giinwaa** *pr pers 2p* 'you'; **mnik** *av* 'as many as'; **bezndaageyeg** *vai ic conj 2p* 'you (pl) who are listening.'

IDENTIFICATION INVOLVING VERBAL INFLECTION IN TANDEM WITH SEPARATE NOMINALS. It is also possible to have plural forms which include *both* discourse LOCAL (first and second person) and discourse NON-LOCAL (third person) referents. First and second person plural can both include reference to third persons. In such cases, third person referents may be introduced by means of explicit nominals in clauses having verbs with first or second person plural inflections. The following examples are illustrative. In both sentences, the verb is inflected for first person plural exclusive, but a separate nominal occurs as well, in the first, *niijkiwenh*, 'my friend,' and in the second, *niidgemaagan*, 'my wife.'

(6) ***Niijkiwenh ngii-nmadbimi*** endzhi-bgizwaad.

'***My friend and I sat*** at the bathing beach.' (AM39.578)

> **Niijkiwenh** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my friend'; **ngii-nmadbimi** *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl.) sat'; **endzhi-bgizwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl swim.'

(7) ***Niidgemaagan nnanaamdabmi*** biindig wiigwaaming.

'***My wife and I are sitting*** inside the house.' (AM39.41)

> **Niidgemaagan** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my spouse'; **nnanaamdabmi** *vai redup ind 1p* 'we (excl.) are sitting'; **biindig** *av* 'inside'; **wiigwaaming** *ni 0 loc* 'in house.'

Once a third person referent has been introduced and established in the discourse context, an additional third person can be introduced in a new clause or sentence, and the verb inflected for plural, thus including reference to both the previously introduced third person and the new one. For example, prior to the occurrence of both of the example sentences below, a third person referent has already been well established in the discourse.

(8) Mii gwa eta go ***niizhiwaapa aniw ogwisan bimaadiziwaad***.

'There were only ***the two of them living, his son and he***.' (AW9.41)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **niizhiwaapa** *vai ind pret 3pProx* 'ANpl were two in number'; **aniw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ogwisan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S son(s)'; **bimaadiziwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl lived.'

1. While speakers and addressees are normally physically and temporally contiguous, the nature of contemporary linguistic recording sometimes gives rise to rather unnatural speech contexts, such as that in which a narrator may be required to imagine an audience who may hear him or her at a later date by means of electronic recording, and whom he may address *in absentia*, which is the case in this sentence.

(9) Mii sa ***gii-minozekwed gii-wiisiniwaad***. | 'Then ***she cooked*** and ***th***ey ate.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-minozekwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg cooked'; **gii-wiisiniwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl ate.' (AW14.95)

In (8), an explicit third person nominal form is added, a kinship term with a third person possessor, *aniw ogwisan*, 'that son of his.' The head of the possessed nominal expression, *ogwisan*, is obligatorily obviative, though both associated verbs are inflected as third person plural proximates, *niizhiwaapa*, 'they (prox.) were two in number,' and *bimaadiziwaad*, 'they (prox.) live.' In (9), the verbal inflection simply switches from singular to plural in the sequential clauses.

NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS. More commonly in discourse, however, third person characters are introduced and identified expressly by means of nominals, as in the following examples, where noun phrases consisting of demonstrative pronouns modifying nouns are used.

(10) "Dbik-giisong giiwenh gii-baa-zhaa ***wa Gchi-mookmaan***," naajmo ***wa kiwenziinh***.

'"***Some American*** allegedly went to the moon," ***some old man*** tells the story.'

> **Dbik-giisong** *na loc 3* 'to the moon'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-baa-zhaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went around'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **Gchi-mookmaan** *na 3sProx* 'white American'; **naajmo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg relates'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kiwenziinh** *na 3sProx* 'old man.' (FF1.1)

(11) Megwaa ko mekdekewaad ***giw Nishnaabeg*** gii-ndo-gkendmowaad gegoo.

'Back in the days when ***th(os)e Indians*** used to fast, they sought to obtain knowledge of something.' (AM23.1)

> **Megwaa** *av* 'while'; **ko** *av* 'used to'; **mekdekewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) when ANpl fasted'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gii-ndo-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg sought to know IN'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something.'

Once characters have been introduced and identified, they can subsequently be referred to by means of verbal inflection alone. For this reason, personal pronouns in particular are much less commonly used than in English. The inflections on verbs fill a role very similar to that played by English personal pronouns. The following example represents a very common pattern, in which reference to the grammatical subjects is solely by means of verbal inflection. There are no personal pronouns, nor any another type of nominal to identify the subject.

(12) Naabndamwin *w*gii-aabjitoo***naawaa***. Gii-naabndam***waad*** dash gegoo mii iw giishpin *w*daapn***aawaad*** niw sa waa-zhwenm***igwaaj***in.

'***They*** made use of dream visions. When ***they*** had dreamt anything, the question was whether ***they*** would accept that one which offered to bless ***them***.'

> **Naabndamwin** *ni 0s* 'dream vision'; **wgii-aabjitoonaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl used INsg.' **Gii-naabndamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl dreamed IN'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **wdaapnaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl accept ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **waa-zhwenmigwaajin** *vta ic conj part 3obv»3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) desired to bless ANpl.' (AM23.6-7)

12.3.1 Making Reference to Generalized Activity

Specific resources exist to make reference to general activities or experience, that is, those that are normal or common, representing customary activity. In these cases the emphasis is less on *who* undertakes the activity, than the fact of the activity itself. There are several ways to make statements of generalized activity, including the use of unspecified subject inflections, second person forms, third person plural forms, expressions with indefinite pronouns, and generic reference, all of which are discussed below.

GENERALIZED SUBJECT INFLECTIONS. Specific generalized activity inflectional markers exist in Nishnaabemwin for the grammatical subjects of animate intransitive (VAI) and transitive inanimate (VTI) verbs. The following examples illustrate the use of these inflections.

(13) Eshkam znagad ***wii-debnaming*** iw ***waa-boodweng***.

'It is getting harder and harder ***for one to obtain that*** with which ***one might make a fire***.' (AM15.15)

> **Eshkam** *av* 'increasingly'; **znagad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is difficult'; **wii-debnaming** *vti conj x»0* '(CONJ) that one will get IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waa-boodweng** *vai ic conj x* '(CCNJ) one makes fire.'

(14) Aabdeg sa gwa ***gchi-nakiim*** wii gwa miinwaa ***zhoon'yaakem*** gwa aanwi.

'***One indeed works hard***, (N.B. in the auto industry) and, thankfully, ***one does make a lot of money***.' (JF)

> **Aabdeg** *av* 'necessarily'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed'; **gchi-nakiim** *vai ind x* 'there is much work'; **wii** *av* 'indeed'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed'; **miinwaa** *av* 'also'; **zhoon'yaakem** *vai ind x* 'there is money making'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed'; **aanwi** *av* 'besides.'

SECOND PERSON INFLECTIONS. Just as with English, the second person can be used to refer to general activity or experience as well. Both singular and plural second person forms occur in this function.

(15) Mii maa naa gaa-zhi-debweyendmowaad giw nishnaabeg giishpin ***waabmad*** aw baanaabe. Waya da-nbo maa ***endaayan***. Mjihiiwan giishpin ngoding ***waabmad*** baanaabe.

'See, that's what the Indians believed if ***you (sg.) see*** a mermaid. Someone will die there where ***you (sg.) live***. It's a bad omen if ***you (sg.)*** ever ***see*** a mermaid.'

Mii *av* 'that's'; **maa** *av* 'in that case'; **gaa-zhi-debweyendmowaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANpl believed IN'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **waabmad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you (SG) see ANsg'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **baanaabe** *na 3sProx* 'mermaid.' **Waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'someone'; **da-nbo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will die'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **endaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) where you (SG) live.' **Mjihiiwan** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is an ill omen'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **ngoding** *av* 'sometime'; **waabmad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you (SG) see ANsg'; **baanaabe** *na 3sProx* 'mermaid.' (AK4.11)

(16) "Gii-mzhwaagniwi," gii-zhinkaajgewag wi pii; nango wii go naa gnimaa 'gii-mzhikoozo,' ***gdaa-kidom***.

"'Gii-mzhwaagniwi," that's the term they used then; nowadays perhaps ***you (pl.) would say***, "gii-mzhikoozo."' (SO6.46)

Gii-mzhwaagniwi *vta/ai ind x»3sProx* 'ANsg was wounded'; **gii-zhinkaajgewag** *vaio ind 3pProx* 'ANpl called Y so'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **nango** *av* 'nowadays'; **wii** *av* 'however'; **gnimaa** *av* 'probably'; **gdaa-kidom** *vai ind 2p* 'you (pl) would say.'

INDEFINITE PRONOUN *Waya*. Another way to make general statements is by using the indefinite pronoun *waya*, 'someone, anyone' (also *wiya)* as in the following statements by Andrew Medler on the traditional use of the sweatlodge, which also uses iterative verbal inflections to index the generality of the events narrated.

(17) (a) Mii sa maanda gaa-zhichgewaad giw Nishnaabeg zhaazhi go. (b) ***Waya yaakzijin*** mii go gii-mdoodoohind maa mdoodoowgamgong. (c) Gye go mii go mno-bmaadzid sa ***gaa-shkwaa-mdoodoojin***$_{ITER}$. (d) Maa dash nbaagning kawe-giizhooshin ***gaa-shkwaa-mdoodoojin***$_{ITER}$.

'(a) That was what those Indians did of old. (b)***Whenever anyone fell ill*** he was given a steam bath there in the sweat lodge. (c) Then he would be well, after ***he had taken the steam bath***. (d) He would first lie warmly covered a while in bed, ***after he had taken his steam bath***.' (AM21.20-23)

(a) **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago.' (b) **Waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **yaakzijin** *vai ic conj iter 3sProx* '(CCNJ) whenever ANsg was ill'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-mdoodoohind** *vta conj x»3sProx* 'ANsg was given a sweat bath'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **mdoodoowgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'in the sweat lodge.' (c) **Gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **mno-bmaadzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was well'; **gaa-shkwaa-mdoodoojin** *vai ic conj 3sProx iter* '(CCNJ) whenever ANsg had taken a sweat bath.' (d) **Maa** *av* 'there'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **nbaagning** *ni 0 loc* 'in bed'; **kawe-giizhooshin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg lies keeping warm'; **gaa-shkwaa-mdoodoojin** *vai ic conj 3sProx iter* '(CCNJ) when ANsg had taken a sweat bath.'

PLURALS OF TRADITIONAL ACTIVITY. When participants are understood from the conversational context, particularly in the rather conventionalized accounts of traditional practices that apply to the customary practices of ancestors, third person plurals of a general nature may be introduced solely by means of verbal inflection, or with inflection in conjunction with personal pronouns, and not require explicit nominals. The following sentences illustrate these possibilities.

(18) Mii-sh giiwenh ***gaa-zhichgewaad gii-bbaamaadziwaad*** pane.

'This is reportedly ***what they did, they traveled*** all the time.' (AK16.1)

Mii-sh *av* 'that's then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **gii-bbaamaadziwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl travelled about'; **pane** *av* 'always.'

(19) Mii maa naa iw gaa-naabdizid maaba gii-bmiwdood iw kidwin, mzhinwe ***wgii-zhinkaanaawaan***.

'It was this one's work to carry a message, messenger ***they called him.***' (AK9.2)

Mii *av* 'it's'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-naabdizid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) that ANsg was put to such use'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gii-bmiwdood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg carried IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **kidwin** *ni 0s* 'message'; **mzhinwe** *na 3sProx* 'messenger'; **wgii-zhinkaanaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl called ANobv so.'

(20) Zhaazhi go ***gaa-zhichgewaad ge-wiinwaa giw*** gii-bgidendwaad ji-bwaa-dgoshing aw yaabshkiiwed.

'The way ***they did*** when they held burial rites before the white man came.'

Zhaazhi *av* 'long ago'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **ge-wiinwaa** *pr 3p* 'they ANpl also'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gii-bgidendwaad** *vta/vai recip conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl held funerals for one another'; **ji-bwaa-dgoshing** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) before ANsg arrive'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **yaabshkiiwed** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who ANsg is white in race.' (AM24.1)

GENERIC AND NON-SPECIFIC REFERENCE. Generic reference, that is, general statements identifying characteristic behaviour of groups or classes of people or things, is indicated in Nishnaabemwin by means of either simple singular or plural nouns (or obviatives) (as in (21), below), or with singular nouns with a demonstrative (as in (22) and (23)).

(21) Bezhig dash aw nishnaabe wgii-nsidtawaan ***zhaagnaashan***.

'And this one Indian understood ***white people***.' (AK2.10)

Bezhig *nm* 'one'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **wgii-nsidtawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg understood ANobv'; **zhaagnaashan** *na 3obv* 'white(s).'

(22) Niijkiwenh ngii-wiindmaag ngoding bezhig wshkiniigkwe Menomini girl nsitawaad ***niw Wjibwen***.

'My friend once told me that a certain Menomini girl understood ***Ojibwe (people speaking their language)***.' (AM8.25)

Niijkiwenh *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my friend'; **ngii-wiindmaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg told me'; **ngoding** *av* 'one time'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one; a certain'; **wshkiniigkwe** *na 3sProx* 'young woman'; **nsitawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg understood ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **Wjibwen** *na 3obv* 'Ojibwe.'

(23) Mii ***aw kwezens*** ntaawgid mii ***aw gimaa*** pii iw enaad, "Mii sa noongo ji-gkinoohmoonaan iw sa ge-ni-naadziyan niigaan."

'When ***a young woman*** reaches maturity, ***the chief*** at that time says to her, "Now I would instruct you about the way you're going to live in the future."' (AK6.1)

Mii *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwezens** *na 3sProx* 'young woman'; **ntaawgid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg grows up'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'chief'; **pii** *av/ni* 'time'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **enaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg spoke to ANobv'; **Mii** *av* 'so'; **noongo** *av* 'now'; **ji-gkinoohmoonaan** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) I will teach you (SG)'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ge-ni-naadziyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) will live so'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future.'

Another kind of reference related to that of generic nouns is non-specific reference. By non-specific reference, I mean reference that simply mentions the existence of something without referring to specific individuals. In the following sentence, for example, the words *miinan*, 'berries,' and *giigoonyag*, 'fish (pl.)' are non-specific, in that they don't refer to particular berries and fish, but rather make vague, general reference to these things as groups.

(24) Mii odi gii-mkamaang iw zaaghigan, miinwaa baatiindoon ***miinan, giigoonyag*** ge yaawag maa zaaghigning.

'And there we found this lake, and there were lots of ***berries***, and there were also ***fish*** there in the lake.' (AK1.3)

Mii *av* 'it's'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-mkamaang** *vti conj 1p* '(CONJ) we (excl) found IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **zaaghigan** *ni 0s* 'lake'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **baatiindoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl are abundant'; **miinan** *ni 0p* 'blueberries'; **giigoonyag** *na 3pProx* 'fish PL'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **yaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **zaaghigning** *ni 0 loc* 'in lake.'

The variability in generic and non-specific forms between simple nouns and noun phrases with demonstratives is made particularly clear by the variation that occurs in some of Andrew Medler's stories which recount the same events and situations variably, as in the following.

(25) ***Bzagaakoog*** ngii-aawnaanaanig. | 'We were hauling ***boards***.' (AM8.22)

> **Bzagaakoog** *na 3pProx* 'boards'; **ngii-aawnaanaanig** *vta ind 1p»3p* 'we were hauling ANpl.'

(26) Gye dash ngii-aawnaanaanig ***giw bzagaakoog*** endso-giizhgak gii-wzhitooyaang iw miishkogmig.

'Every day we hauled those ***boards***, for we were building a barn.' (AM9.22)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **ngii-aawnaanaanig** *vta ind 1p»3p* 'we were hauling ANpl'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **bzagaakoog** *na 3pProx* 'boards'; **endso-giizhgak** *vii ic conj 0* 'every day'; **gii-wzhitooyaang** *vti conj 1p»0* '(CONJ) we made IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **miishkogmig** *ni 0s* 'barn.'

Here the reference is non-specific, and in one case shows a simple noun (25), and in the other a noun with a demonstrative (26).

12.3.2 Indefinites

The terms definite and indefinite are used to characterize the English articles *the* and *a(n)*, respectively. The definite article is typically used when the identity of the referent of a noun phrase is known, either because it is familiar or can be inferred from context or from our assumptions about the nature of the world; otherwise, the indefinite article is used. In English narrative the indefinite article is typically used to introduce characters, while the definite article is used with referents that have already been introduced. Nishnaabemwin does not use specific indefinite or definite articles, but instead has a variety of other devices to introduce characters and maintain reference to them.

INDEFINITES WITH *BEZHIG*. Nominal phrases containing *bezhig*, 'one,' can be used to introduce characters in a discourse, as in the following examples:

(27) Aanii-sh mii sa gii-maajaad giiwenh ***bezhig nini***, gii-zhaad wadi ziisbaakdokaaning.

'So ***a certain man*** set off alone, and went over there to the sugar camp.' (SO1.8)

> **Aanii-sh** *av* well; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-maajaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg left'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **bezhig** *nm* 'a certain; one'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **gii-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went there'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **ziisbaakdokaaning** *ni loc 0* 'to the sugaring place.'

(28) Nbwaanwihaanaa wadi wii-nsangid ***bezhig mnidoo***, mii sa gaa-zhi-mkwenmigooyan wii-bbaa-wiijiiwyaang, wii-wa-naadmawyaang."

'We have tried in vain to kill ***a manitou*** over there, and we thought you would come along with us and help."' (SO4.11)

> **Nbwaanwihaanaa** *vta ind 1p»3sProx* 'we tried in vain to do to ANsg'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **wii-nsangid** *vta conj 1p»3sProx* 'we want to kill ANsg'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one, a certain'; **mnidoo** *na 3sProx* 'manitou'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gaa-zhi-mkwenmigooyan** *vta ic conj 1p»2s* 'we thought of you'; **wii-bbaa-wiijiiwyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* 'you would come along with us'; **wii-wa-naadmawyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* 'you would go and help us.'

The construction *miinwaa bezhig*, 'another one,' is very common, too, for introducing additional characters to those already introduced.

(29) Jiimaaning ngii-boozmi ***miinwaa bezhig kwe***, gii-bbaa-yaamwaad iw bgoji-mnoomin widi waabshkokiing.

'We went in a canoe, along with ***another woman***, and they went about gathering wild rice there in the marsh.' (AM5.2)

> **Jiimaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'into a boat'; **ngii-boozmi** *vai ind 1p* 'we got on board'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **bezhig** *nm* 'a certain; one'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **gii-bbaa-yaamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl were going around getting IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bgoji-mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'wild rice'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **waabshkokiing** *ni 0 loc* 'in the marsh.'

(30) Aanii-sh mii sa gmaapiich go ***miinwaa bezhig*** bmaadgaad go ***wesiinh***, aanii-sh mii go nendmaad go yaabmaajin go bmaadgaanid.

'A little later ***another animal*** swam by, and he (n.b. Nenabush) called out to the one he saw swimming by.' (SO5.10)

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gmaapiich** *av* 'after awhile'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **bmaadgaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg swims along'; **wesiinh** *na 3sProx* 'animal'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **go nendmaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg summoned ANobv'; **yaabmaajin** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv whom ANsg saw'; **bmaadgaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) as ANobv swims along.'

Another common means of introducing characters in a discourse is by means of a combination of *bezhig* with a demonstrative pronoun, as in the following examples, which show variable ordering of the number and demonstrative. See also (21), above (p. 536), where the order *bezhig aw* N occurs.

(31) Mii dash ***aw bezhig gwiiwzens*** gii-maajiidmawaad niw oosan, mii-sh gii-biijmaamaad aw kiwenzii, "Semaa sa go aw."

'And ***one boy*** took it to his father, and the old man smelled it, "Why, it's tobacco."' (AK16.4)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'a certain; one'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **gii-maajiidmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg took Y to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **oosan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's father'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-biijmaamaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg smelled ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kiwenzii** *na 3pProx* 'old man'; **semaa** *na* 'tobacco'; **sa go** *av* 'indeed'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that.'

(32) Boodwed iidig ***maaba bezhig***. | '***One*** of them evidently made a fire.' (SO3.4)

> **Boodwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg make a fire'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one.'

INDEFINITES WITH SIMPLE NOUNS. Another way to introduce characters and props into a discourse is by means of simple nouns, that is, nominals which consist of only an unmodified noun. The following examples illustrate some indefinite nouns.

(33) Ndoozhtoon ***aazhgan***. | 'I am building ***a bridge***.' (AM39.171)

> **Ndoozhtoon** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I am making INSG'; **aazhgan** *ni 0s* 'bridge.'

(34) Mzi gii-baa-yizhaa gii-baa-waabmaad ***nishnaaben***.

'He went around all over seeing ***Indians***.' (AK5.9)

> **Mzi** *av* 'everywhere'; **gii-baa-yizhaa** *vai ind 3sProx redup* 'ANsg went about over and over'; **gii-baa-waabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg went about seeing ANobv'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s).'

(35) Mii dash gii-bi-zhaad ***wshkinwe*** odi endaayaan.

'***A young man*** came there where I live.' (AK7.1)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bi-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg came hither there'; **wshkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

INDEFINITES WITH DEMONSTRATIVES AND NOUNS. Indefinite nominals can also have demonstratives, in contrast to the practice of many languages, suggesting that demonstratives are not inherently definite in Nishnaabemwin.

(36) ***Aw*** dash ***gwiiwzens*** gii-zhaa odi gidaaki gii-wi-boodaajged, mii dash gii-noondwaawaad giw nishnaabeg.

'And ***a small boy*** went up on a hill where he whistled/blew on something, so the Indian men heard him.' (AK2.6)

> **Aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **gii-zhaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went there'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gidaaki** *av* 'on top of hill'; **gii-wi-boodaajged** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went and whistled (or blew on a whistle)'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gii-noondwaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl heard ANobv'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians.'

(37) Mii dash iw eta gaa-gshkihaajin ***niw zhgaagon*** ji-nsaad gii-bshazhewaad gii-bi-giiwewdamwaad niw ookmisan, mii dash niw gaa-mnazwaajin gii-mwaawaad.

'He could only kill ***skunks***, hitting them with a stick and bringing them home to his grandmother, and that's what they cooked to eat.' (AK13.6)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **gaa-gshkihaajin** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) ANsg was able to do Y'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhgaagon** *na 3obv* 'skunk(s)'; **ji-nsaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg kill ANobv'; **gii-bshazhewaad**[1] *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg whipped ANobv'; **gii-bi-giiwewdamwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg brought them home for ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ookmisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's grandmother(s)'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **gaa-mnazwaajin** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) what (ANobv) ANsg cooked'; **gii-mwaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl ate ANobv.'

1. For some speakers this word used in this context prompts a chuckle, in that it suggests a kind of punitive strapping or spanking of the skunks.

RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH INDEFINITES. Indefinites may also be further specified by means of relative clauses.

(38) Ngii-naadmaag ***gwiiwzens bebaa-wiijiiwag***.

'***A boy I was going around with*** helped me.' (AM7.5)

Ngii-naadmaag *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg helped me'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **bebaa-wiijiiwag** *vta ic conj part 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) I was going around with.'

(39) Mii dash gaa-kidwaad giw zhaagnaashag, "***Jiimaan*** sa gga-wzhitoomin ***ge-zhiwdooyang*** odi.

'And this is what these white men said, "We'll build ***a boat that we'll take up*** there.' (AK1.5)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-kidwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl said'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **zhaagnaashag** *na 3pProx* 'whitemen'; **gga-wzhitoomin** *vti ind 21»0* 'we will make IN'; **ge-zhiwdooyang** *vti ic conj 21»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) we will take'; **odi** *av* 'there.'

12.3.3 Mass Nouns

MASS NOUNS, that is those representing things that are usually expressed as undifferentiated substances or materials, are typically used without demonstratives.

(40) Ggizheb dash ngii-naadin ***nbiish***. | 'In the morning I fetched ***water***.' (AM10.5)

Ggizheb *av* 'in the morning'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ngii-naadin** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I fetched INsg'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water.'

(41) Maajiigi ***mdaamin***. | '***The corn*** is growing.' (AM39.84)

Maajiigi *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is growing'; **mdaamin** *na 3sProx* 'corn.'

Mass nouns also typically occur with verbs inflected as singulars.

(42) ***Baatiino*** semaa. | '***There is lots*** of tobacco.' (AM39.112)

Baatiino *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is abundant'; **semaa** *na 3sProx* 'tobacco.'

(43) ***Baatiinad*** wiiyaas. | '***There is plenty*** of meat.' (AM39.242)

Baatiinad *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is abundant'; **wiiyaas** *ni 0s* 'meat.'

(44) ***Nbaatiintoon*** wiisniwin. | '***I have lots*** of food.' (AM39.168)

Nbaatiintoon *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I have lots of INsg'; **wiisniwin** *ni 0s* 'food.'

Compare the forms above to the following verbs having plural COUNT NOUNS, and plural verbs.

(45) ***Gii-baatiinwag*** bemaadzijig. | '***There were many*** people.' (AM39.653)

Gii-baatiinwag *vai ind 3pProx* 'they were many'; **bemaadzijig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) people (lit :ANpl who live).'

(46) ***Baatiindoon*** siniin. | '***There are many*** stones.' (AM39.249)

Baatiindoon *vii ind 0p* 'INpl are abundant'; **siniin** *ni 0p* 'stones.'

Mass nouns may also have a PARTITIVE sense in their usage, referring to some portion of the group specified by the noun.

(47) Wgii-mkaanan ***gwiwnan***. | 'He found ***(some) clothes***.' (AM39.413)

Wgii-mkaanan *vti ind 3sProx»0p* 'ANsg found INpl'; **gwiwnan** *ni 0p* 'garments.'

(48) Wgii-miijin ***bkwezhgan***. | 'He ate ***(some) bread***.' (AM39.183)

Wgii-miijin *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg ate INsg'; **bkwezhgan** *ni 0s* 'bread.'

This partitive sense is also evident in the glosses of many mass nouns in Rhodes 1985, e.g., *bkwezhgan*, 'bread, (a piece) of bread,' *mkom*, 'ice, a piece of ice,' *semaa*, 'tobacco, a wad of tobacco,' *mdaamin*, 'corn, a kernel of corn.' However, there can also be reference to a specific quantum, in which case a demonstrative can occur, as in the following example.

(49) Mii dash gaa-nag, Waabndamog ***ow nbiish*** e-zhnaagwak.

'I said to him, "Look at the way ***this water*** looks."' (AM10.13) [NB, different from *maanda*, usual word for 'this' (inan.)]

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-nag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I said to ANsg'; **Waabndamog** *vti imp 2p* 'look at IN'; **ow** *pr 0s* 'this'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water'; **e-zhnaagwak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) how IN looks.'

PARTICIPLES freely occur with mass nouns. In the following example, the noun *mdaamin*, 'corn,' is separated from its associated participle by the verb.

(50) ***Mdaamin*** naazh ***gaazhiingwed***. | 'Fetch ***corn which is ripe***' (AM39.783)

> **Mdaamin** *na 3sProx* 'corn'; **naazh** *vta imp 2s»3* 'go get AN'; **gaazhiingwed** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg which is ripe.'

Mass nouns such as *mdaamin*, 'corn,' can also occasionally occur in the plural, as in the following example.

(51) Kina gegoo da-temgad netaawging, jiisan, eshoonyan, mskodiisminag, piniig, *mdaamnag*, bnagzignag, mnijiimin.

'There will be everything that is raised: turnips, cabbages, beans, potatoes, ***Indian corn***, hard-shell corn, peas.' (AM16.13)

> **Kina** *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **da-temgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg will be there'; **netaawging** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which IN grows to maturity'; **jiisan** *ni 0p* 'turnips'; **eshoonyan** *ni 0p* 'cabbages'; **mskodiisminag** *na 3pProx* 'beans'; **piniig** *na 3pProx* 'potatoes'; **mdaamnag** *na 3pProx* 'corn (pl)'; **bnagzignag** *na 3pProx* 'hard shell corn (pl)'; **mnijiimin** *ni 0s* 'pea.'

Mass nouns may also be used with a demonstrative, even upon introduction into a discourse. In the following sentences, *semaa*, 'tobacco,' *wiigwaas*, 'birchbark,' and *zhoon'yaa*, 'money,' are used with demonstratives, and each represents the first mention of each noun in its respective discourse.

(52) ... mii dash go naa iw gaa-baateg niw niibiishan bbaa-dzhiikewaad giw binoojiinyag mii iw gii-biijmaamaawaad ***niw semaan***.

'...and after the leaves had dried, as the children were playing there, they smelled ***tobacco***.' (AK16.3)

> **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-baateg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was dry'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **niibiishan** *ni 0p* 'leaves'; **bbaa-dzhiikewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl play around'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-biijmaamaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl smelled ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **semaan** *na 3obv* 'tobacco.'

(53) Mii dash aw nishnaabe gii-jekaakhang gii-biidood ***iw wiigwaas***, mii dash gii-wzhitood niw wiigwaasnaagnan nooj eyaan'gokwaan'gin.

'And then the man went into the bush and brought ***some birchbark***, so he made some birchbark dishes of different sizes.' (AK17.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **gii-jekaakhang** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went into the woods'; **gii-biidood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg brought IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wiigwaas** *ni 0s* 'birchbark'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-wzhitood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg made IN'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **wiigwaasnaagnan** *ni 0p* 'birchbark dishes'; **nooj** *av* 'various'; **eyaan'gokwaan'gin** *vii ic conj part 0p* '(CCNJ) which (INpl) are different sizes.'

(54) Giw kwewag gii-mnisewag iw waa-boodwewaad maa endaawaad, giw maa wii go naa ninwag gii-mnisewag miinwaa gii-mtigkewag gii-wiikjitoowaad ***iw zhoon'yaa*** waa-wnji-shamaawaad niw wniijaan'siwaan.

'The women cut firewood to burn there where they live, and as for the men they put up firewood and cut lumber to try and earn ***money*** in order to feed their children.' (AK17.12)

> **Giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **gii-mnisewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl cut firewood'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waa-boodwewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl will make fire'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **endaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl lived'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wii** *av* 'indeed'; **ninwag** *na 3pProx* 'men'; **gii-mnisewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl cut firewood'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gii-mtigkewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl cut lumber'; **gii-wiikjitoowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* 'ANpl tried to get IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money'; **waa-wnji-shamaawaad** *vta ic conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) by which (Y) ANpl will feed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wniijaan'siwaan** *na 3pProx(3obv)* 'ANpl's child(ren).'

12.3.4 Definite Expressions

DEFINITE EXPRESSIONS are those referring to referents that have already been established in the discourse, or can be readily identified on the basis of knowledge shared by those participating in the discourse, either through shared cultural knowledge or through personal experience.

NOUNS WITH DEMONSTRATIVES. A very common construction in Nishnaabemwin is that of a nominal expression consisting of a demonstrative pronoun and a noun. This construction is customarily used with definite expressions, though demonstrative pronouns also commonly occur with indefinites as well, as was shown in the previous section. The following examples illustrate some definite expressions.

(55) ***Aw*** maa ***mandaagnini*** mii maaba ***aw*** sa ***jiindiisiinh*** ezhnikaazod. (AM23.13)

'***That fine gentleman***, you must know, it's this one that's called ***the bluejay***.'

> **Aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **maa** *av* 'in that case'; **mandaagnini** *na 3sProx* 'gentleman'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **jiindiisiinh** *na 3sProx* 'bluejay'; **ezhnikaazod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg is called so.'

(56) Mii dash gii-waabmag ***maaba Menomini girl*** dzhi-gziibiignang waasechganan.

'There I saw ***this Menomini girl*** washing windows.' (AM8.31)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-waabmag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I saw ANsg'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **dzhi-gziibiignang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg was washing IN there'; **waasechganan** *ni 0p* 'windows.'

AGREEMENT BETWEEN DEMONSTRATIVES AND ASSOCIATED NOUNS. Demonstratives customarily agree with the nouns they are associated with in gender, number, and obviation (for animates). For example, in the following sentence, the demonstrative *giwi*, 'those' agrees in gender (animate), number (plural), and obviation (proximate) with its associated nouns *Nishnaabeg*, 'people,' and *Nimkiig*, 'Thunderers.'

(57) Gii-yaawag-sh giiwenh go iidig wadi ***giwi Nishnaabeg Nimkiig***.

'***Those Thunder People*** were over there.' (SO4.22)

> **Gii-yaawag-sh** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were there'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **Nimkiig** *na 3pProx* 'Thunderers.'

Uncommonly, agreement requirements may be relaxed, as in the following example, where the proximate animate plural demonstrative *gonda* modifies the obviative possessed noun, *wdooshkniigman*, 'his (young) men.' The associated verb, *gii-nibaawag*, 'they slept,' is also proximate. Here it cannot be the case that the third person plural is being used due to the reference including Nibakom, who is proximate, because the following clause explicitly excludes him.

(58) Gii-nbaawag dash giiwenh ***gonda Niibaakhom wdooshkniigiman***, Niibaakhom gaawiin nibaasii.

'So these (prox.) young men of Nibakom's went to sleep; Nibakom himself didn't sleep.' (SO6.157)

> **Gii-nbaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were sleeping'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **wdooshkniigiman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's young man/men'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **nbaasii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg does not sleep.'

LOCATIVE NOMINALS AND DEMONSTRATIVES. Nouns inflected as locatives, particularly inanimates, tend to lack demonstratives even when their reference is definite, that is where reference is to a particular (discourse-established) place, as in the following examples. Nouns inflected for location resemble locative adverbs, and this too undoubtedly contributes to their lacking demonstratives.

(59) Maanda mkokbinaagan, ni-zhaan maa ***gtigaaning*** gwyak, enaabiishing aw mdaamin. (AK6.2)

'Here's a basket, go there ***into the garden*** where the corn lies in a straight row.'

> **Maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **mkokbinaagan** *ni 0s* 'basket'; **ni-zhaan** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) go there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gtigaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'in garden'; **gwyak** *av* 'straight'; **enaabiishing** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) where ANsg lies'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mdaamin** *na 3sProx* 'corn.'

(60) Gii-giimoozaabid maa waasechganing mii gii-waabndang nsawhigan gii-wzhitood maa shkweyaang maa ***wiigwaaming***. Mii dash epiichi-yaad odi shpimsagong mii iw gii-ningsenig ***iw wiigwaam*** aapji dash gii-zegzi.

'She peeked out a window and saw that he had made a tepee there ***at*** the back of ***the house***. And while she was upstairs, ***the house*** shook and she was very afraid' (AK11.9-10)

> **Gii-giimoozaabid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg peeked'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **waasechganing** *ni 0 loc* 'in window'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-waabndang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg saw IN'; **nsawhigan** *ni 0s* 'conical lodge'; **gii-wzhitood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg made IN'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **shkweyaang** *av* 'behind'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wiigwaaming** *ni 0 loc* 'in wigwam.'

NAMES. Names can be used to identify characters as well. Names may involve those known only within a local context, such as in (61), or those known by common cultural

knowledge, as in (62), where the culture hero/trickster Nenabush is introduced. Both of these sentences introduce discourses.

(61) Geget sa naa gii-waawiizhi-yaa go ***This Week***.

'That ***Joe Williams*** (we called him '***This Week***') was really a riot.' (NS2.1)

| **Geget** *av* 'truly'; **gii-waawiizhi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was hilarious.'

(62) ***Nenbozh*** giiwenh gii-bmosegban ddibew.

'It is said that ***Nenabush*** was walking along the bank of a stream.' (AM35.1)

| **Nenbozh** *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-bmosegban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg was allegedly walking along'; **ddibew** *av* 'on the river bank.'

Names are also often modified by demonstratives, as in the following examples:

(63) Mii sa gaa-kidod ***wa Niibaakhom***. | 'That's what (***that***) ***Nibakom*** said.' (SO6.87)

| **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **gaa-kidod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg said'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom.'

(64) Gii-zegzi dash ***aw Nenbozh***. | '***That Nenabush*** was frightened.' (AM35.23)

| **Gii-zegzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was frightened'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Nenbozh** *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush.'

(65) ***Maaba*** dash ***Nenbozh*** gii-zegzi. | 'Then ***this Nenabush*** was frightened.'

| **Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **Nenbozh** *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush'; **gii-zegzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was frightened.' (AM36.19)

NOMINAL COLLECTIVES. The names of more abstract or collective entities, such as countries, can also be modified by demonstratives:

(66) Mii sa go ***maanda Genada*** wii-mkanding, giishpin bkinwind zhaagnaashii-gchi-gimaa.

'(***This***) ***Canada*** would certainly be seized, if the English general was beaten.'

| **Mii** *av* 'and'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **Genada** *ni 0s* 'Canada'; **wii-mkanding** *vti conj x»0* '(CONJ) IN will be taken'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bkinwind** *vta conj x 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is defeated'; **zhaagnaashii-gchi-gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'the English leader.' (SO6.94)

ASSOCIATIVE PARTICIPANTS. Once a character is introduced, associated characters can be introduced on the basis of cultural knowledge of conventional social relationships. For example, in Ms. Soney's brief anecdote about Joe Williams, after her initial sentence ((61) above), the next sentence shifts to a plural actor, who are understood to be Joe Williams and his wife.

(67) ***Wgii-baatiin'haawaan*** binoojiinyan. | '***They had lots of*** kids.' (NS2.2)

| **Wgii-baatiin'haawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl had many ANobv'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren).'

In her next sentence, Ms. Soney broadens the reference group to Joe Williams' family:

(68) Wiikaa-sh go naa wiiyaas ***wgii-yaanaawaa***. | 'So ***they*** only rarely ***had*** meat.'

| **Wiikaa** *av* 'rarely' **dash** *av* 'then'; **wiiyaas** *ni 0(s)* 'meat'; **wgii-yaanaawaa** *vaio 3pProx»0* 'ANpl had INsg.' (NS2.3)

The following example explicitly identifies and introduces two third person participants, then in the next sentence uses a verb inflected for third person plural along with a singular noun phrase, *aw gitigewinini*, 'that farmer.' Bloomfield translates this NP[sing] + V[plur] as 'the farmer and his wife.'

(69) (a) Bezhig aw akwe gii-aawi animoshishan gaa-ogitiziimimaad, miinawaa bezhig aw anini. (b) Mii dash ***aw gitigewinini ogii-manezinaawaa*** giziibiigahigan.

'(a) This one woman was a person who had a dog as a parent, and this one man.
(b) ***This farmer and his wife*** ran short of soap.' (AW15.6-7)

| (a) **Bezhig** *nm* 'a certain; one'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **akwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **gii-aawi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was'; **animoshishan** *na pej 3spej* 'worthless dog'; **gaa-ogitiziimimaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) whom (ANobv) ANsg has as a parent'; **miinawaa** *av* 'and'; **bezhig** *nm* 'a certain'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **anini** *na 3sProx* 'man.' (b) **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gitigewinini** *na 3sProx* 'farmer'; **ogii-manezinaawaa** *vaio ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl ran short of INsg'; **giziibiigahigan** *ni 0s* 'soap.'

Another example has a singular noun phrase, *maaba Niibaakhom*, 'this Nibakom' (a prominent Odawa war chief at the turn of the nineteenth century) with an associated verb inflected for plural, *gchi-miigaazwaad*, 'they were fighting hard,' referring to Nibakom and his men.

(70) Megwaa-sh go ***maaba Niibaakhom gchi-miigaazwaad***, mii-sh ***gii-gkendmowaad***.

'While ***this Nibakom*** (and his men) ***were fighting*** hard, they realized something.'

> **Megwaa-sh** *av* 'while'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **gchi-miigaazwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl greatly fought'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl realized IN.' (SO6.30)

ORDERING OF DEMONSTRATIVE AND NOUN. The most common ordering pattern is for the demonstrative to directly precede the noun it is associated with. In some cases, though, the two constituents may be separated, in which case the demonstrative is usually to the left of the noun, that is, occurs earlier in the clause or sentence. In the following examples, the discourse particles *dash*, which always comes second in its clause, and *sa*, intervene between the demonstrative and noun.

(71) ***Giw*** dash ***kwewag*** wgii-gnawenmaawaan niw binoojiinyan.

'***And the women*** took care of the children.' (AK2.3)

> **Giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **dash** *av* 'and'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **wgii-gnawenmaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl took care of ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren).'

(72) Ambe gegoo zhichgen, wi-nda–waabam ***aw*** sa ***jiiskiiwnini***…"

'"Now do something, go and look for ***the shaking tent diviner***…"' (AK11.5)

> **Ambe** *av* 'come on'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **zhichgen** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) do so'; **wi-nda-waabam** *vta imp 2s»3* 'you SG go see AN'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **jiiskiiwnini** *na 3sProx* 'shaking tent diviner'; **odi** *av* 'there'

In the following example, a RELATIVE CLAUSE (PARTICIPLE) intervenes between the demonstrative and noun. The position of the participle is somewhat unusual, in that clausal modifiers typically follow the nouns they modify. Richard Rhodes has pointed out that such pre-nominal relatives tend to consist of a single word.[1]

1. Rhodes, Richard. n.d. Ottawa word order. Ms., University of California at Berkeley.

(73) Bekish gii-bmi-giigoonyke gii-ndawenjge ge gii-shamaad ***niw bekden'jin nishnaaben***.

'Besides he fished as he went along and he went hunting, giving food to ***those Indians who were hungry***.' (AK5.11)

> **Bekish** *av* 'at the same time'; **gii-bmi-giigoonyke** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went along fishing'; **gii-ndawenjge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg hunted'; **ge** *av* 'and'; **gii-shamaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg fed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **bekden'jin** *vai ic conj part 0obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv who are hungry'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s).'

(74) Miinwaa wgii-bshanzhehaan gye go miinwaa wgii-wiiwkwejiinaan ***iw nembiiwegdinig bbagwayaanenh***, mii dash gii-giizhtood.

'She whipped it again and wrapped it in ***a damp piece of cotton cloth***, and then she finished it.' (AM26.11)

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **wgii-bshanzhehaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg whipped INsg'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **miinwaa** *av* 'also'; **wgii-wiiwkwejiinaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg wrapped INsg up'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nembiiwegdinig** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which INobv is wet cloth'; **bbagwayaanenh** *ni 0s* 'thin cloth'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-giizhtood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg finished IN.'

In the following sentence, a demonstrative pronoun referring to another participant occurs between a demonstrative and its associated noun. This is possible because the intervening demonstrative is proximate, while the demonstrative and noun of the interrupted phrase are both marked as obviative.

(75) Gii-mnozwaan giiwenh go ***niwi***$_B$ ***wa***$_A$ ***giigoonyan***$_B$, gii-mwaad.

'***That***$_A$ (fellow) evidently cooked ***that***$_B$ ***fish***$_B$, and ate it.' (SO3.15)

> **Gii-mnozwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg cooked ANobv'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **go niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'that/those'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **giigoonyan** *na 3obv* 'fish'; **gii-mwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg ate ANobv.'

FLOATING (FRONTING) OF DEMONSTRATIVES. As with other modifiers of nouns, demonstratives can move in front of verbs associated with the noun phrase, which often remains post-verbal, as in the following examples:

(76) Mii ***maaba*** gaa-kidod ***zhaagnaashii-gchi-gimaa.***

'That's what ***this white officer*** said.' (SO6.15)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gaa-kidod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg said'; **zhaagnaashii-gchi-gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'English (white) leader.'

(77) 'Aanii pii-sh ***maaba*** gaa-ndinad ***giigoonh?*** | 'Where did you get ***this fish?***'

> **Aanii pii-sh** *av* 'where then'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gaa-ndinad** *vta ic conj 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) that you SG got ANsg from'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish.' (SO3.8)

DEMONSTRATIVES WITH CONJOINED NOUN PHRASES. A single demonstrative pronoun can serve to modify both elements of a conjoined noun phrase, such as in (78) below, or both nominals in parallel constructions, as in (79). In most cases, the demonstrative occurs before the first noun phrase in the conjoined group.

(78) Mii maa naa eta iw gaa-wndaadziwaad, ***niw miinan miinwaa mshkiigminan*** kina gegoo wgii-zgaknaanaawaa, …

'See, this is the only way they made a living, they harvested ***(those) blueberries and cranberries*** and everything,…' (AK17.11)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wndaadziwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl lived by means of Y'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **miinan** *ni 0p* 'blueberries'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **mshkiigminan** *ni 0p* 'cranberries'; **kina** *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **wgii-zgaknaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl harvested IN.'

(79) Maaba gwiiwzens giigoonykenid ***niw wdedeman wdoodooman ge*** wgii-wiiji-yaawaan niw ookmisan. (AK13.1)

'This boy stayed with his grandmother while ***his father and mother*** were fishing.'

> **Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **giigoonykenid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv fished'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdedeman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S father'; **wdoodooman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S mother'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wgii-wiiji-yaawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg stayed with ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ookmisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S grandmother.'

(80) Bezhig shkiniigkwe wdayaan ***mtig-naagan gye iw mtigo-emkwaan.***

'A young woman has a ***wooden dish and a wooden ladle.***' (AM25.1)

> **Bezhig** *nm* 'a certain'; **shkiniigkwe** *na 3sProx* 'young woman'; **wdayaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg has INsg'; **mtig-naagan** *ni 0s* 'wooden bowl'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mtigo-emkwaan** *ni 0s* 'wooden ladle.'

In other cases, both nouns may be marked with an identical demonstrative.

(81) Mewnzha aw nmishoomis gaa-zhiwebzinid ***niw wdedeman*** miinwaa ***niw wdoodooman***.

'A long time ago this happened to my grandfather's ***father*** and ***mother***.' (AK2.1)

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **gaa-zhiwebzinid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) what happenened to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdedeman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S father'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdoodooman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S mother.'

The variability in strategies and their frequent equivalence can be seen from the following pair of sentences from a narrative by Andrew Medler: in (82), a demonstrative appears with each conjoined noun, but in (83), only with the first.

(82) Iw dbishkoo go naa noongo sa ezhchigewaad giw geknoohmaagzijig iw pii gii-mkadekewag ***giw shkinweg*** gye go ***giw*** sa ***kwewag*** iw gegoo wii-gkendmowaad iw niigaan waa-ni-mno-aabjitoowaad.

'Just as now they do who receive schooling, so at that time ***those young men*** and ***those women*** used to fast in order to obtain knowledge which they would use in the later course of their lives.' (AM23.2)

> **Iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **dbishkoo** *av* 'like'; **noongo** *av* 'nowadays'; **ezhchigewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl do so'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **geknoohmaagzijig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who ANpl are in school'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **gii-mkadekewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl fasted'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **shkinweg** *na 3pProx* 'young men'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **wii-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will know IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future'; **waa-ni-mno-aabjitoowaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which ANpl will well use IN.'

(83) Aapji dash gii-mkadekewag naan'godnong ***giw*** dash ***shkinweg*** gye go ***shkniigkweg*** iw gegoo wii-gkendmowaad iw waa-bwaadmowaad.

'Sometimes they fasted very much, ***those young men*** and ***women***, in order to obtain that knowledge which they were to get in a dream.' (AM23.5)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-mkadekewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl fasted'; **naan'godnong** *av* 'sometimes'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **shkinweg** *na 3pProx* 'young men'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **shkniigkweg** *na 3pProx* 'young women'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **wii-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will know IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waa-bwaadmowaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANpl will dream IN.'

DEMONSTRATIVES WITH POSSESSED NOUNS. Demonstratives are very common modifiers of possessed nouns in Nishnaabemwin.

(84) Mewnzha ***aw nmishoomis*** gaa-zhiwebzinid ***niw wdedeman*** miinwaa ***niw wdoodooman***.

'A long time ago this happened to ***my grandfather's father*** and ***mother***.' (lit., 'that grandfather of mine's that father of his and that mother of his') (AK2.1)

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **gaa-zhiwebzinid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) what happenened to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdedeman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S father'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdoodooman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S mother.'

(85) Mii dash ngoding enmahe-giizhgak wgii-bi-ndawaabmaan ***aw kwe niw wdaansan*** odi namhewgamgong.

'Then one time when it was Sunday ***a woman*** came there to the church to look for ***her daughter***.' (AK3.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ngoding** *av* 'once'; **enmahe-giizhgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN be Sunday'; **wgii-bi-ndawaabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg came to look for ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdaansan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's daughter'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **namhewgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'at the church.'

DEFINITE REFERENCE BY DEMONSTRATIVES ALONE. Once characters are established in a discourse, they can then be referred to solely by means of verbal inflections, or by a combination of verbal inflections and demonstrative pronouns. Establishment of reference may

be due to the proximity and immediacy of the referents in the internal context of the story, as in the following examples.

(86) Mii sa ***maaba*** ge-wiidgemag," kido sa giiwenh.

'***This is the one*** that I'll marry," she said.' (SO2.7)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **ge-wiidgemag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) I will marry'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly.'

(87) Aanpiish naa ***gonda*** gaa-ndindwaa? | 'Where did you get ***these***?' (SO2.14)

> **Aanpiish** *av* 'where'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **gaa-ndindwaa** *vta ic conj 2s»3pProx* '(CCNJ) that you got ANpl from.'

DEMONSTRATIVES WITH RELATIVE CLAUSES. Relative clauses commonly occur in association with demonstrative pronouns. The first example below is interesting in that the only reference to weeds prior to their reference with a demonstrative and relative clause is by means of the medial element /-ashkw/, 'plant, grass,' in *moonshkwe*, 'weed (verb).'

(88) Mii dash maaba nishnaabe ***moonshkwed*** maa wii-gtiged mii gii-ni-kosdood ***niw gaa-bkojbidoojin***, ...

'And this Indian was ***weeding*** intending to make a garden there and he piled up ***those which he pulled out***, ...' (AK16.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **moon'shkwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg weeds'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wii-gtiged** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg intended to garden'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-ni-kosdood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg heaped IN up'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **gaa-bkojbidoojin** *vti ic conj part 3sProx»0p* '(CCNJ) which (INpl) ANsg pulled out.'

(89) E-ni-dgoshnaan wiinaagmi ***iw nbiish e-ndhamaang***.

'When I got there, it was dirty, ***that (place) from which we got water***.' (AM10.7)

> **E-ni-dgoshnaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) when I arrived there'; **wiinaagmi** *vii ind 0s* 'the water is dirty'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water'; **e-ndhamaang** *vti ic conj 1p»0* '(CCNJ) where we got IN from.'

PROXIMAL VERSUS DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES. PROXIMAL DEMONSTRATIVES are used to specify objects in close proximity to the speaker, or in close proximity relative to some other point of reference. DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES are used to specify objects that are rela-

tively farther away. Examples occur throughout this chapter. A further degree of remoteness is indicated with the invariant word *wedi*, 'over there, yonder' (also *wadi*), as in the following.

(90) Gyak maaba nimosh, ***wedi*** dash bezhig dkonge.

'This dog is well-behaved, but ***that*** one ***(over there)*** bites.' (AM39.65)

> **Gyak** *av* 'proper'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **nimosh** *na 3sProx* 'dog'; **wedi** *na 3sProx* 'over there'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **dkonge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg bites.'

(91) ***Wedi*** ge gii gga-miijin, maanda dash ge nii nga-miijin waawan.

'You may eat ***that*** egg ***(over there)***, and I shall eat this one.' (AM39.174)

> **Wedi** *ni 0* 'that over there'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **gii** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **gga-miijin** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you will eat INsg'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I/me'; **nga-miijin** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I will eat INsg'; **waawan** *ni 0s* 'egg.'

THE OPTIONALITY OF DEMONSTRATIVES. While demonstratives occur with great frequency in Nishnaabemwin, they generally seem to be optional in many cases, and furthermore, the distinction between the PROXIMAL and DISTAL is subtle, often rather like the discourse use of 'this' and 'that' in English, where, for example, each of the following might be said in similar contexts:

(a) And then that guy had the nerve to try to shake my hand…
(b) And then this guy has/had the nerve to try to shake my hand …

Compare the behaviour of demonstratives in the following three sentences, all from different versions of Andrew Medler's telling of the same story. The proximal form, *maaba*, occurs with present tense.

(92) Gaa wgikenmaasiin manj ge-kidgwen ***maaba noos***.

'She does not know what (this) my father might say.' (AM4.10)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **wgikenmaasiin** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv neg* 'ANsg does not know about ANobv'; **manj** *av* 'however it may be'; **ge-kidgwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg might say'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **noos** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my father.'

(93) Gaa wgii-gkenmaasiin manj ge-kidgwen ***aw noos***.

'She did not know what (that) my father would say.' (AM5.12)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **wgii-gkenmaasiin** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv neg* 'ANsg did not know about ANobv'; **manj** *av* 'however it may be'; **ge-kidgwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg might say'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **noos** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my father.'

(94) Gye gaa wgii-gkenmaasiin manj iidig ge-kidgwen sa ***noos***.

'She did not know what () my father would say.' (AM6.10)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wgii-gkenmaasiin** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv neg* 'ANsg did not know about ANobv'; **manj** *av* 'however it may be'; **iidig** *av* 'perhaps'; **ge-kidgwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg might say'; **noos** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my father.'

The presence or absence of demonstratives in Nishnaabemwin is quite variable in running narrative. It is easy to find sentences such as these which differ in the variable presence of a demonstrative. This seems to particularly be the case with POSSESSED NOUNS, as evidenced by the following examples as well.

(95) Ngii-nkwetwaa dash ji-zhaayaambaanh giishpin bgidniwaad ***ngitziimag***.

'I answered him that I would go if my parents permitted me to go.' (AM8.3)

> **Ngii-nkwetwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I answered ANsg'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ji-zhaayaambaanh** *vai ic conj pret 1s* '(CCNJ) I would go there'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bgidniwaad** *vta conj 3pProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANpl would let me'; **ngitziimag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my parents.'

(96) Ngii-nkwetwaa dash da-zhaayaambaan giishpin bgidniwaad ***giw ngitziimag***.

'I answered him that I would go if my parents permitted me.' (AM9.3)

> **Ngii-nkwetwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I answered ANsg'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ji-zhaayaambaanh** *vai ic conj pret 1s* '(CCNJ) I would go there'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bgidniwaad** *vta conj 3pProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANpl would let me'; **giw** *pr 3p* 'those'; **ngitziimag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my parents.'

DISCOURSE USES OF PROXIMAL AND DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES. Proximal demonstratives (words equivalent to English 'this' and 'these') tend to be used more often in narratives in reference to the story's protagonist, that is, the character from whose perspective the story is told. For example, in a cautionary tale about a young man who is taught bear-walk-

ing by his grandmother, and later pays for his knowledge with his life, Alice King structures her story from the perspective of the boy, and all uses of proximal demonstratives are in reference to the boy, as in the following examples.

(97) Gii-nbowan wgitziiman ***maaba gwiiwzens***, ntam gii-nbowan oosan mii dash giiwenh egod ***niw wdoodooman***, gchi-aakziwan giiwenh, "Maawndoopdoon niw gdayhiiman maajaan odi ji-wi-wiij-yaawad aw gookmis.

'***This boy***'s parents died, first his father and then ***(that) his mother*** reportedly said to him (she was reportedly very sick), …' (AK14.1a)

> **Gii-nbowan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv died'; **wgitziiman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's parents'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **ntam** *av* 'first'; **gii-nbowan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv died'; **oosan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's father'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **egod** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANobv said to ANsg'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdoodooman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S mother'; **gchi-aakziwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANsg is very ill'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'.'

(98) Mii dash gii-gkinoohmawaad gbeyhiing go mii-sh gii-mkwendang ***maaba gwiiwzens***, mii dash iw ngoding nshike-yaad, gii-ndomaa ***aw mdimooyenh*** ji-wi-wiidookwaad ***niw getgen'jin***.

'And so she taught him for a long time and ***this boy*** remembered it, and then one time when he's alone, ***that old woman*** was invited to go and help ***those who were gardening***.' (AK14.9)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gii-gkinoohmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg taught ANobv'; **gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-mkwendang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg remembered IN'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ngoding** *av* 'one time'; **nshike-yaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was alone'; **gii-ndomaa** *vta ind x»3sProx* 'ANsg was summoned'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **ji-wi-wiidookwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg go and help ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **getgen'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv who is/are gardening.'

Another striking usage of proximal demonstratives is found in Sam Osawamick's telling of a traditional story of a man who foolishly eats a suspicious fish, despite the warnings of a friend, and as a result turns into a fish. To make the action more vivid and immediate, Osawamick's protagonists consistently refer to the fish with the proximal demonstrative. The frequency of its usage in this short passage is striking as well, underscoring its rhetorical function.

(99) (a) Mii dash giiwenh gii-naadid nbiish wa, giigoonyan giiwenh wbi-dgojiinaan.
(b) "Aanii pii-sh ***maaba*** gaa-ndinad giigoonh?"
(c) "Wadi sa ngii-mkawaa, ndahbaaning."
(d) "Gaa wii ***maaba*** gdaa-mwaasii."
(e) "Oonh, oonh! Gaa wii gegoo ***maaba*** zhi-yaasii. (f) Giigoonh sa wii ***maaba***!
(g) Nwii-mwaa sa wii go ***maaba***."
(h) Gesge naa wdaano-gnahmawaan wiijkiwenyan wii-bwaa-mwaanid niwi, gaa sa giiwenh go maamda.

'(a) So that fellow went and got some water, but he's holding a fish also.
(b) "Where did you get ***this*** fish?"
(c) "I found it over there, in the water-hole."
(d) "You shouldn't eat ***this***."
(e) "Oh, there is nothing wrong with ***this***. (f) ***This*** is just a fish! (g) I am going to eat ***this***."
(h) He really tried to persuade his friend not to eat that, but he couldn't.'

> (a) **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-naadid** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg fetched IN'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **giigoonyan** *na 3obv* 'fish'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **wbi-dgojiinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg carries ANobv hither.'
> (b) **Aanii** *av* 'where'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gaa-ndinad** *vta ic conj 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) that you SG got ANsg from'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish.'
> (c) **Wadi** *av* 'there'; **ngii-mkawaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I found ANsg'; **ndahbaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'in the water hole.'
> (d) **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gdaa-mwaasii** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you (SG) should not eat ANsg.'
> (e) **Oonh** *av* 'oh'; **oonh** *av* 'oh'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **zhi-yaasii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg is not out of order.'
> (f) **Giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish'; **wii** *av* 'indeed'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this.'
> (g) **Nwii-mwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I want to eat ANsg'; **wii** *av* 'indeed'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this.'
> (h) **Gesge** *av* 'although?' **wdaano-gnahmawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg tries in vain to warn ANobv'; **wiijkiwenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S friend (ANobv)'; **wii-bwaa-mwaanid** *vta conj 3obv»3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv will not eat ANobv'; **niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'that/those'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **maamda** *av* 'able.' (SO3.8-14)

It is less common for a proximal demonstrative to be used with an inanimate noun in this way, or with an obviated animate noun. The use of proximal forms lends immediacy to the reference. It is more common when the verbs are in present tense, too, which represents another common way of making a discourse more immediate.

It is interesting to examine Andrew Medler's Nenabush stories for his use of demonstratives in association with the name of the culture hero/trickster, Nenabush. In all four of Mr. Medler's stories, Nenabush is introduced without a demonstrative, as in the following examples:

(100) ***Nenbozh*** giiwenh gii-bmosegban ddibew.

'Once upon a time, the story goes, Nenbozh was walking along the bank of a stream.' (AM35.1)

> **Nenbozh** *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-bmosegban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg was allegedly walking along'; **ddibew** *av* 'on the river bank.'

(101) Ndaadsookaan giiwenh gii-daagba ***Nenbozh***.

'Once upon a time, so goes my Sacred Story, there dwelt Nenabush.' (AM37.1)

> **Ndaadsookaan** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my sacred story'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-daagba** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg allegedly lived there'; **Nenbozh** *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush.'

However, most other references to Nenabush within these stories contains a demonstrative, usually *aw*, 'that,' but occasionally *maaba*, 'this.'

(102) Pii dash ***aw Nenbozh*** bi-dgoshing mii gii-gziked, gye go wmbiigweweshmaad wningwiihganan.

'Then, when ***that Nenabush*** came to that place, she (a partridge) flew up and moved her wings so as to make a whirring noise.' (AM35.22)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Nenbozh** *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush'; **bi-dgoshing** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg arrived hither'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-gziked** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg flew up'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wmbiigweweshmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg flapped ANobv noisily'; **wningwiihganan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's wing(s).'

(103) Mii dash gii-bngishing ***maaba Nenboozhoonh*** maa gii-biindnaksed wiimbnakdoonying.

'Then ***this poor Nenabush*** fell and landed inside a hollow tree.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bngishing** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg fell'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **Nenboozhoonh** *na contemp 3sProx* 'Nenboozhoonh'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gii-biindnaksed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg fell into a hollow tree'; **wiimbnakdoonying** *ni 0 loc* 'into a hollow stump.' (AM38.13)

A similar pattern occurs with nominals other than names as well. Typically, they are introduced without demonstratives, and have subsequent reference with a distal demonstrative (equivalent to English 'that' or 'those'). The following sentences provide two examples of this typical pattern. Introduction into story…

(104) Wgii-noondwaan ***kwewan*** bi-dnaangidoonnid.

'He heard ***some women*** talking as they approached.' (AM37.14)

> **Wgii-noondwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg heard ANobv'; **kwewan** *na 3obv* 'woman/women'; **bi-dnaangidoonnid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv come talking.'

…and the next nominal reference…

(105) Mii dash gaa-kidwaad ***giw kwewag***, Gaag maanpii yaa wiimbnakdoonying.

'Then ***those women*** said, "There is a porcupine here in this hollow tree."'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-kidwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl said'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **Gaag** *na 3sProx* 'porcupine'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is there'; **wiimbnakdoonying** *ni 0 loc* 'in hollow stump.' (AM37.17)

Introduction into story…

(106) Wgii-waabmaan dash ***waawaashkeshwan*** niibwinid gidaaki.

'He saw ***a deer*** standing there at the top of the bluff.' (AM35.27)

> **Wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **waawaashkeshwan** *na 3obv* 'deer'; **niibwinid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv stood'; **gidaaki** *av* 'on top of hill.'

…and the next nominal reference…

(107) Mii dash gii-bkonaad ***niw waawaashkeshwan***. | 'Then he skinned ***that deer***.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bkonaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg skinned ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **waawaashkeshwan** *na 3obv* 'deer.' (AM35.30)

So the absence of a demonstrative in these stories is somewhat equivalent to English indefinite reference, used for introducing characters into a story, at least for those that enter the story in the grammatical role of goals. While it would be nice if this generalization consistently held, it obviously does not. Characters in goal roles are frequently introduced into narratives with demonstratives. In another Nenabush story, twice told by Mr. Medler, ducks are introduced as goals, and in both recountings of the story, have demonstratives, as in the following example:

(108) Wgii-waabmaan niibna ***niw zhiishiiban***. | 'He saw many ***ducks***.' (AM37.6)

> **Wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **niibna** *av* 'many'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhiishiiban** *na 3obv* 'duck(s).'

As to the use of a proximal demonstrative (equivalent to English 'this' or 'these'), this choice at least sometimes seems to be a matter of empathy or focus. For example, note that Mr. Medler uses *maaba*, 'this' (anim.) in the sentence above containing a CONTEMPTIVE form of the name *Nenbozhoonh* (103), which also indicates sympathy for the character. Another place where Mr. Medler uses *maaba* is in two very parallel references to a partridge who is outraged at the abuse one of her chicks receives from Nenabush. Twice Mr. Medler uses the proximal demonstrative, perhaps to foreground her indignation and the likelihood of her seeking revenge, which motivates the action of the story.

(109) Mii dash gii-nshkaadzid ***maaba*** gchi-bne.

'Then ***this*** big partridge was angry.' (AM36.12 *and* AM36.15)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gii-nshkaadzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was angry'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gchi-bne** *na 3sProx* 'big partridge.'

In another version of the same story, the same proximal reference occurs again, and once more, the statement is reiterated.

(110) Aapji dash gii-nshkaadzi ***maaba*** gchi-bne. | '***This*** big partridge was very angry.'

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-nshkaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was angry'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gchi-bne** *na 3sProx* 'big partridge.' (AM35.15)

(111) Gii-nshkaadzi dash ***maaba*** gchi-bne. | '***This*** big partridge was angry.' (AM35.18)

Another point in favor of an empathy and focus analysis of the use of proximals is that proximal obviatives seem relatively uncommon, which makes sense, given that obviation is a backgrounding strategy, suggesting the distancing of a character.

DEMONSTRATIVES AS PRO-CLAUSES AND PRO-SENTENCES WITH MII. The singular inanimate demonstratives *maanda* and *iw* (or *wi*) are used to make pronominal reference to a clause, a sentence, or even an entire discourse, as in the following examples. In such usage the demonstrative resembles English 'that,' which is both a demonstrative and a subordinating conjunction, e.g., in *He said that he was leaving.*

(112) Maaba dash shkinwe wgii-nkwetwaan ***iw*** ji-zhwenmigod.

'Then this young man accepted his blessing.' (AM31.15)

> **Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **shkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man'; **wgii-nkwetwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg accepted ANobv'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ji-zhwenmigod** *vta conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANobv will bless ANsg.'

(113) Mii sa go naa ***iw*** ekoozid ndaadsookaan.

'And ***that's*** the length of my Sacred Story.' (AM38.23)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ekoozid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) such length ANsg is'; **ndaadsookaan** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my sacred story.'

(114) Gchi-nakiiwin ***wi*** binoojiins naagdawenmind.

'It's a big job (***that***) caring for a baby.' (MC)

> **Gchi-nakiiwin** *ni* 'great work'; **wi** pr 0s 'that'; **binoojiins** *na 3sProx* 'child'; **naagdawenmind** *vta conj x»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is taken care of.'

DEMONSTRATIVES AS COMPLEMENTS OF RELATIVE ROOTS. Inanimate demonstratives often serve as the COMPLEMENT of a RELATIVE PREVERB or RELATIVE ROOT.

(115) Aa ***mii wi gaa-zhiwebziyaang***. | 'Ah, ***that is what happened to us.***' (SO1.31)

> **Aa** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-zhiwebziyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) which happened to us (excl).'

(116) ***Mii*** dash ***wi*** Nimkiig ***gaa-nji-zhiingenmaawaad***, aano-wii-nsaawaad.

'***That's why*** the Thunderers ***hated him*** and tried (in vain) to kill him.' (SO4.30)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **Nimkiig** *na 3pProx* 'Thunderers'; **gaa-nji-zhiingenmaawaad** *vta ic conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) why ANpl hated ANobv'; **aano-wii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl tried in vain to kill ANobv.'

Often when *wi/iw* functions as antecedent to a relative root or relative preverb, the verb bearing the relative is inflected with CONJUNCT INFLECTION, but does not show INITIAL CHANGE:

(117) Mii wi ***gii-zhiwebdagbanen*** mdaaswaak-shi-nshwaaswaak miinwaa mdaaswi-shi-niizh.

'It probably occurred in the year 1812.' (SO6.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-zhiwebdagbanen** *vii conj pdub 0* '(CONJ) what allegedly happened'; **mdaaswaak-shi-nshwaaswaak** *nm* 'eighteen hundred'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **mdaaswi-shi-niizh** *nm* 'twelve.'

(118) Mii sa maanda ***zhi-aabnaabndmaazod***.

'This is how he (Nibakom) came to look back.' (SO6.32)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **zhi-aabnaabndmaazod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg looks back so.'

Sometimes a demonstrative pronoun is omitted in these constructions, as in the following examples.

(119) ***Mii-sh*** giiwenh ko (maanda)[1] zhaazhi ***gaa-zhiwebak***.

'***This is what*** generally happened long ago.' (SO1.3)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'that's then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **ko** *av* 'used to'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **gaa-zhiwebak** *vii conj 0* '(CCNJ) what (IN) happened.'

1. According to MC, *maanda*, 'this (in.),' can optionally be used here.

(120) ***Mii*** giiwenh ***enaajmotwaad*** wa mdimooyenh niwi wniijaansan.

'***This is what*** the old lady ***told*** her children.' (SO2.20)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **enaajmotwaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg related to ANobv'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'that/those'; **wniijaansan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's child(ren).'

VERBLESS CONSTRUCTIONS WITH DEMONSTRATIVES. The demonstrative *wi* may be used alone with *mii*, in a number of formulaic expressions, such as the following.

(121) Mii wi! | 'That's it; that's so; that's right.' (SO5.43)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that.'

12.3.5 Nominal Possessive Constructions

In POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS, a POSSESSED noun (called a POSSESSUM) is modified by another nominal representing its POSSESSOR. Usually only animates can be possessors, and any possessed animate must be inflected for obviation. The grammatical features of person and number of the possessor are coded inflectionally on the possessum. In the following sentence, for example, the person and number features of the possessor, first person plural inclusive, are coded on the two possessums, *gdakiimnaa*, 'our land,' and *gwiijkiwenynaanig*, 'our friends,' by means of the second person prefix /gi(d)-/ and the first person plural suffix /-naany/.

(122) Gwii-mkamgoomi ***gdakiimnaa***, giishpin bwaa-naadmawngwaa gonda ***gwiijkiwenynaanig***.

'***Our land*** will be taken from us, if we fail to help these ***friends of ours***.' (SO6.18)

> **Gwii-mkamgoomi** *vta ind x»21* 'we will be robbed of Y'; **gdakiimnaa** *ni 21(0s)* 'our land'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bwaa-naadmawngwaa** *vta conj 21»3pProx* '(CONJ) we fail to help ANpl'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **gwiijkiwenynaanig** *nad 21(3pProx)* 'our friends.'

The obviative status of the possessor may be coded on the possessum as well. In the following example, *Naadweswag*, 'Iroquois (pl.)' is proximate, and *zaazbaakdoken'jin*, 'those who make sugar,' an obviative participle (from *ziizbaakdoke*, 'make sugar' VAI). When the latter functions as possessor of *ziizbaakod*, 'sugar,' the possessum is marked with the obviative possessor suffix /-iniw/.

(123) Memdage go zaazbaakdokejin aw Wjibwe, mii iw pii giw Naadweswag widi gii-bi-zhaawaad maanpii nikekmig gii-bi-mkamaawaad niw zaazbaakdoken'jin iw sa ***wziizbaakdomni.***

'Especially when the Ojibwe were making sugar, that was when those Hurons would come over to this side of the water to rob the sugar makers of ***their sugar.***' (AM32.1)

> **Memdage** *av* 'especially'; **zaazbaakdokejin** *vai ic conj 3sProx iter* '(CCNJ) whenever ANsg made sugar'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Wjibwe** *na 3sProx* 'Ojibwe'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Naadweswag** *na 3pProx* 'Iroquois (PL)'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **gii-bi-zhaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl came hither'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **nikekmig** *av* 'side of the border'; **gii-bi-mkamaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl came to rob ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zaazbaakdoken'jin** *vai ic conj part 0obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv who make sugar'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wziizbaakdomni** *ni 3obv(0)* 'ANobv's sugar.'

(124) Ogii-maawandoonan gakina ***odagowaansini*** gaye wiinawaa odagowiniwaan.

'She gathered up all ***(the child's) little garments*** and also their own clothes.' (AW15.23)

> **Ogii-maawandoonan** *vti ind 3sProx»0p* 'ANsg gathered up INpl'; **gakina** *av* 'all'; **odagowaansini** *ni 3obv(0)* 'ANobv's little clothing'; **gaye** *av* 'and'; **wiinawaa** *pr pers 3p* 'their'; **odagowiniwaan** *ni 3pProx(0p)* 'ANpl's clothes.'

Usually the possessor precedes the possessum, and may even be discontinuous with it by virtue of fronting before the verb, as in (126).

(125) ***Ngashi wdaadsookaanan*** giiwenh gii-daa, waaboozoonh gii-zhinkaazo.

'According to ***my mother's Sacred Story***, there was a creature and Rabbit was his name.' (AM33.1)

> **Ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **wdaadsookaanan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S sacred story'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-daa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg lived there'; **waaboozoonh** *na 3sProx* 'rabbit'; **gii-zhinkaazo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was named.'

(126) ***Aw*** maa ***gaazhgens*** waawyeyaani ge wii ***wmakdewshkiinzhgwaan.***

'A cat's pupil (of eye) is round.' (AM27.3)

> **Aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gaazhgens** *na 3sProx* 'cat'; **waawyeyaani** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv be round'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **wii** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **wmakdewshkiinzhgwaan** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANSG'S pupil of eye.' [n.b., perhaps too **ge wii** *av* 'also']

However, as sentence (127) illustrates, the possessum can also precede the possessor as well, and may even be fronted, as in (128).

(127) Gii-nbowan ***wgitziiman maaba gwiiwzens***... | '***This boy's parents*** died...

> **Gii-nbowan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv died'; **wgitziiman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's parents'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy.' (AK14.1)

(128) Bezhig ***otawag*** ogii-giishkitawagebwaan aw Naadawens ***aniw Anishinaaben.***

'One young Huron bit off ***an Indian's ear.***' (AW 8.21)

> **Bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **otawag** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANSG'S ear'; **ogii-giishkitawagebwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg cut off the ear of ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Naadawens** *na 3sProx* 'Huron'; **aniw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **Anishinaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s).'

POSSESSUM NOMINALS (the ones possessed) usually do not have demonstratives, but may, as in (81) above (p. 553) and (129), below. The possessor may be a pronoun, as in (132), or a noun phrase, including even a possessed noun, as in sentence (131). When the possessor is obviative, the possessum may show a special inflectional suffix for an obviative possessor, as in (131), where *odayini,* '(obviative's) dog' occurs.

(129) Gii-nbaawag-sh giiwenh ***gonda Niibaakhom wdooshkniigiman***; Niibaakhom gaawiin nbaasii.

'So ***these men of Nibakom's*** went to sleep; Nibakom himself didn't sleep.' (SO6.157)

> **Gii-nbaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were sleeping'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **wdooshkniigiman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S young man/men'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **nbaasii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg does not sleep.'

(130) ***Maaba nini wiidgemaagnan*** nbaawan. | '***This man's wife*** is sleeping.'

> **Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **wiidgemaagnan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's spouse'; **nbaawan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv is sleeping.' (AM39.156)

(131) Bezhig oshkiniigikwe ogii-wiijiiwaan apane ***oosan odayini*** ningoji.

'A certain young woman took along ***her father's dog*** wherever she went.'

> **Bezhig** *nm* 'a certain'; **oshkiniigikwe** *na 3sProx* 'young woman'; **ogii-wiijiiwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg accompanied ANobv'; **apane** *av* 'always'; **oosan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's father'; **odayini** *nad 3obv(3obv)* 'ANobv's dog'; **ningoji** *av* 'anywhere.' (AW14.5)

(132) Aapii dash ***giin gwiiwkwaan***? | 'And you, where is ***your hat***?' (AM39.853)

> **Aapii** *av* 'where'; **dash** *av* 'then' **giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you(r)'; **gwiiwkwaan** *ni 2s(0s)* 'your hat.'

12.3.6 Conjoined Noun Phrases

Noun phrases can be conjoined either with a CONNECTING ADVERB/CONJUNCTION, such as *miinwaa* or *gye*, or with no connective. Conjoined goals (objects) seem somewhat more frequent than conjoined subjects, though both are common. Often when the goal is a conjoined noun phrase, the verb shows agreement for a singular object, as in (133) and (80) (above, p. 553). In (135), a conjoined actor shows singular inflection on the verb as well.

(133) Ngii-zaaghaa ***nookmis gye go aw nmishoomis.***

'I loved ***my grandmother and my grandfather.***' (AM2.3)

> **Ngii-zaaghaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I loved ANsg'; **nookmis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather.'

(134) Gii-naningishkaa ***okaading onikaang.***

'He had a palsy ***in his leg and in his arm.***' (AW6.32)

> **Gii-naningishkaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg had palsy'; **okaading** *nid loc 3sProx(0)* 'in ANsg's leg'; **onikaang** *nid loc 3sProx(0)* 'in ANsg's arm.'

(135) Zhaazhi go megwaa binoojiinywiyaan ngii-maajiinig ***aw ngashi gye bezhig kwe*** gii-wa-yaamwaad iw bgoji-mnoomin.

'Long ago, when I was a little child, ***my mother and another woman*** took me along as they went to get wild rice.' (AM4.1)

> **Zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **megwaa** *av* 'while'; **binoojiinywiyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I was a child'; **ngii-maajiinig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg took me along'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one; a certain'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **gii-wa-yaamwaad** *vta 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl went to get it'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bgoji-mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'wild rice.'

When more than two noun phrases are conjoined, the last one is customarily preceded by a conjoining adverb such as *gye* or *miinwaa*, as illustrated by (136), below. In some cases, as in (137), below, more than one conjoining adverb may be used. In (149), however, on p. 573, below, no conjoining adverb is used.

(136) Gii-baatiinwag go ***giigoonyag*** iw pii, ***goodaashiinyag***, ***shignag***, ***nmebnenyag***, ***gnoozheg***, ***zhigmegog***, gye ***giw gwaabgeswag***.

'There were many ***fish*** then; ***rock bass***, ***black bass***, ***suckers***, ***pike***, ***dogfish***, and mullets too.' (AM7.2)

> **Gii-baatiinwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'they were many'; **giigoonyag** *na 3pProx* 'fish (pl)'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **goodaashiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'rock bass (pl)'; **shignag** *na 3pProx* 'black bass (pl)'; **nmebnenyag** *na 3pProx* 'suckers'; **gnoozheg** *na 3pProx* 'pike (pl)'; **zhigmegog** *na 3pProx* 'dogfish (pl)'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gwaabgeswag** *na 3pProx* 'mullet (pl).'

(137) Mii dash iw niibwa gii-nangdaaso, ***bezhig baashkzigan miinwaa bezhgwaatig wiishkii miinwaa dash iw bagoowyaan ngoding dbaakshkaag*** miinwaa ji-giiwewjigaazod neyaab odi Daawaa-mnising.

'And he charged a lot— ***one gun and one bottle of whisky and a bolt of cloth*** and he had to be taken back home to Manitoulin Island.' (AK11.21)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **niibwa** *av* 'lots'; **gii-nangdaaso** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg charged'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **baashkzigan** *ni 0s* 'rifle'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **bezhgwaatig** *nm* 'one bottle'; **wiishkii** *ni 0s* 'whiskey'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bagoowyaan** *ni 0s* 'cloth'; **ngoding** *av* 'once'; **dbaakshkaag** *vii conj 0* 'IN is rolled'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **ji-giiwewjigaazod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg will be taken home'; **neyaab** *av* 'back'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **Daawaa-mnising** *ni 0 loc* 'to Manitoulin Island.'

Conjunction of various grammatical constituents is also discussed in Chapter 18.

12.3.7 Demonstrative Presentationals (Asserting Immediate Location)

Demonstratives function prominently in a special construction used to present individuals and objects to another, roughly equivalent to the English expression, 'Here's a…,' used when presenting something to someone, such as 'Here's a plate to eat with,' or with a verb, to associate the subject to a specific and immediate location, such as in English, 'Here she is!' or 'Here she lies!' In Nishnaabemwin, a proximal (near-form) demonstrative is used, in association with either a noun or a verb. These presentationals have the form: Demonstrative + (Emphatic Particle) + Verb or Noun

(138) ***Maanda*** sa naagaans. | 'Here's a dish.' (AM39.852)

> **Maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **naagaans** *ni 0s* 'cup.'

(139) ***Maanda*** mkokbinaagan. Ni-zhaan maa gtigaaning gwyak, enaabiishing aw mdaamin. (AK6.2)

'Here's a basket. Go there into the garden where the corn lies in a straight row.'

> **Maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **mkokbinaagan** *ni 0s* 'basket'; **ni-zhaan** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) go there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gtigaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'to garden'; **gwyak** *av* 'straight'; **enaabiishing** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) where ANsg lies'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mdaamin** *na 3sProx* 'corn.'

(140) Oonh, ***maaba*** dash! | 'Oh, so here it is!' (upon finding a missing cat) (JF)

> **Oonh** *av* 'oh'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **dash** *av* 'then.'

If a verb is present, it is inflected for CHANGED CONJUNCT ORDER.

(141) Maaba go ***zhengishing***. | 'Here she is, lying down.' (AW16.32)

> **Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **zhengishing** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg is lying.'

(142) Maaba go ***ebid***. | 'But here she is, at rest.' (AW16.40)

> **Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **ebid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg is here.'

12.3.8 Quantificational Modifiers of Nouns

Nominals may also be quantified by specific numeral quantifiers.

(143) Wgii-wiindmaagoon dash niw zhaagnaashan gii-nsaawaad ***nswi dkonwewninwan***.

'They told him that those whites had killed ***three policemen***.' (AK2.11)

> **Wgii-wiindmaagoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv told ANsg'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhaagnaashan** *na 3obv* 'white(s)'; **gii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl killed ANobv'; **dkonwewninwan** *na 3obv* 'policeman/men.'

(144) ***Niizh*** nga-yaanan ***bwiin***. | 'I shall have ***two paddles***.' (AM39.411)

> **Niizh** *nm* 'two'; **nga-yaanan** *vti ind 1s»0p* 'I will have INpl'; **bwiin** *ni 0p* 'paddles.'

These two examples represent the most common orderings of quantifier and noun, in (143), the quantifier directly precedes the noun it is associated with and both occur after the verb; in (144), the quantifier has "floated" to a position before the verb, reflecting another very common pattern. Quantifier-float seems more common with verbs inflected for INDEPENDENT ORDER than those inflected for CONJUNCT.

Less commonly, other configurations occur in texts as well, such as the following, in which the nominal precedes the verb and the numeral quantifying it follows. Note that this sentence is introducing the characters referred to, *shkinweg*, 'young men,' and it is probably for this reason that the noun is fronted.

(145) Ngoding ***shkinweg*** gii-gkinoohmaagziwag ***niizh*** maa gkinoohmaadiiwgamgong, bezhig dash aw Gchi-mookmaani-shkinwe gye bezhig Nishnaabens.

'Once ***two young men*** studied there at the University, one young white American, and one young Indian.' (AM30.1)

> **Ngoding** *av* 'once'; **shkinweg** *na 3pProx* 'young men'; **gii-gkinoohmaagziwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were in school'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gkinoohmaadiiwgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'to/at the school'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Gchi-mookmaani-shkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young white American'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **Nishnaabens** *na 3sProx* 'young Indian.'

In the following example, both the number and noun appear before the verb.

(146) Mii ge eta ***bezhig nwi*** yaamwaad$_V$; gaa gegoo waa-miijwaad…

'And they have$_V$ only ***one shell***, and nothing for them to eat,…' (AK7.8)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **nwi** *ni 0s* 'bullet'; **yaamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl have IN'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **waa-miijwaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) what ANpl will eat N.'

In the following, both the number and a goal noun follow the verb as well as its actor, *aw gwiiwzens*, 'that boy.'

(147) Mii dash giiwenh gii-waabndang aw sa gwiiwzens ***niizh jiimaanan*** biidaasninig gchi-mookmaan-zhmaagnishag giw wii-miigaanaawaad niw Canadians.

'And then reportedly this boy saw ***two boats*** sailing toward them, they were American soldiers intending to fight the Canadians.' (AK15.10)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-waabndang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg saw IN'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **jiimaanan** *ni 0p* 'boats'; **biidaasninig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) INobv come sailing'; **gchi-mookmaan-zhmaagnishag** *na 3pProx* 'American soldiers'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **wii-miigaanaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl intend to fight ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those.'

CLASSIFIERS AND NUMERAL QUANTIFIERS. Traditionally, a system of CLASSIFIERS existed which was used with numbers describing objects of different shape and substance. The system is discussed at length in Baraga 1850. In example (137), above (p. 569), the classificatory number *bezhgwaatig*, 'one wooden-object,' is used to enumerate the noun *wishkii*, 'whiskey.' This usage recalls a time when liquor was stored in wooden containers.

GENERAL QUANTIFIERS. In addition to specific numeric quantifiers, non-numeric general quantifiers occur as well, including *bngii*, 'a few,' *aanind*, 'some, others' (also *aanin*, *aaning*), and *niibwa*, 'many,' (also *niibna*). The following examples illustrate such quantifiers, which can occur with or without a head noun. Examples (148) and (149) have no head noun associated with the quantifier, while (150) and (151) do.

(148) ***Bngii*** dash eta maanoo gii-ni-maajiibhiwewan maanoo.

'Only a ***few*** of them were able to run away.' (AM31.39)

> **Bngii** *av* 'a few'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **maanoo** *av* 'nevertheless'; **gii-ni-maajiibhiwewan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv ran away from there'; **maanoo** *av* 'nevertheless.'

(149) ***Aanind*** gndamoojgewag, gye go ***aanind*** kokbinaagnikewag, gye go ***aanind*** waagaakdaatgokewag, gye go souvenir wdoozhtoonaawaan, mtigwaabiinsan, waagaakdoonsan, bwiinsan.

'***Some*** catch fish and ***some*** make baskets and ***some*** make ax handles, and they make souvenirs: miniature bows, axes, and canoe paddles.' (AM15.2)

> **Aanind** *av* 'some'; **gndamoojgewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl fish with a line'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **aanind** *av* 'some'; **kokbinaagnikewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl make baskets'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **aanind** *av* 'some'; **waagaakdaatgokewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl make axehandles'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wdoozhtoonaawaan** *vti ind 3pProx»0p* 'ANpl make INpl'; **mtigwaabiinsan** *ni 0p dim* 'little bows'; **waagaakdoonsan** *ni 0p dim* 'little axes'; **bwiinsan** *ni 0p dim* 'little paddles.'

(150) Gegoo giiwenh gii-gwaaksinni ***bngii kiins*** wshkanzhiing, aapji go naa ***bngii***.

'Just ***a little bit of earth***, a very ***small amount***, was stuck to his claws.' (SO5.36)

> **Gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-gwaaksinni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv adhered'; **bngii** *av* 'a little'; **kiins** *ni 0s* 'bit of earth'; **wshkanzhiing** *nad 3sProx(3obv) loc* 'in ANsg's claw(s)'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **bngii** *av* 'a little.'

(151) Aapji dash ***aanind Nishnaabeg*** gii-gtaamgozwag, gye go wgii-gkendaanaawaa gegoo, gye go wgii-gkendaanaawaa sa waa-bi-dgoshnoomgadnig niigaan.

'***Some Indians*** were very formidable and knew much and knew what was to arrive in the future.' (AM23.23)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aanind** *av* 'some'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gii-gtaamgozwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were formidable'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-gkendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl knew INsg'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-gkendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl knew INsg'; **waa-bi-dgoshnoomgadnig** *vii ic conj part 0obv* '(CCNJ) that INobv which would arrive'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future.'

As with numeric quantifiers, general quantifiers can float to a position before the verb.

(152) Gnabaj ***niibna*** wgii-nsaadgenan ***ninwan***.

'He must have killed ***many men***.' (AM39.464)

> **Gnabaj** *av* 'perhaps'; **niibna** *av* 'many'; **wgii-nsaadgenan** *vta ind dub 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg evidently killed ANobv'; **ninwan** *na 3obv* 'man/men.'

DEMONSTRATIVES WITH QUANTIFIERS. Both explicit numeral quantifiers and non-numeric quantifiers can occur in noun phrases having demonstratives. The demonstrative and quantifier vary in their relative order. When the demonstrative follows the quantifier, as in the following examples, the meaning seems to most commonly be partitive, in which the quantifier specifies a part or portion of the group specified by the demonstrative + noun combination.

(153) Mii dash miinwaa gii-maawnjidoowaad gaa-bskaabiiwaad mii dash gaa-kidwaad, "Gaawiin nii-bgidnanziimin maanpii endnizyaang," ***aaning dash giw nishnaabeg***, "Gaawiin niinwind…

'And then they assembled again when they returned and they said, "We will not give up this place where we live," but ***some of the Indians***, "Not us… (AK15.6a)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **gii-maawnjidoowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl assembled'; **gaa-bskaabiiwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) when ANpl came back'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-kidwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl said'; **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **nii-bgidnanziimin** *vti ind 1p»0* 'we do not want to give IN up'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **endnizyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) where we live'; **aaning** *av* 'some'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **niinwind** *pr pers 1p* 'we/us/our.'

(154) Wgii-gnoonaan maanda niw ndoodooman, wgii-miinaan neyaab ***aaning iw bagoowyaan***, miinwaa ngodwewaan wgii-miinaan niw mkiznan.

'She talked to my mother about this, and she [my mother] gave her back ***some of that cloth*** and gave her one pair of shoes.' (AK3.14)

> **Wgii-gnoonaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg spoke to ANobv'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ndoodooman** *na 1s(3obv)* 'my mother'; **wgii-miinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg gave Y to ANobv'; **neyaab** *av* 'back'; **aaning** *av* 'some'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bagoowyaan** *ni 0s* 'cloth'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **ngodwewaan** *ni 0* 'one pair'; **wgii-miinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg gave Y to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **mkiznan** *ni 0p* 'shoes.'

However, when the demonstrative precedes the quantifier, the meaning is usually inclusive, rather than partitive.

(155) Pii dash begmibzod gii-bi-gwaashkni aw nini gye go ***giw aanind binoojiinyag*** waa-zhaajig widi gkinoohmaadiiwgamgong.

'When the train arrived, that man got off, and also ***(those) several children*** who were to go to that school.' (AM8.8)[1]

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **begmibzod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg arrived running'; **gii-bi-gwaashkni** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg jumped on'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **aanind** *av* 'some'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children'; **waa-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) would be going'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **gkinoohmaadiiwgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'to the school.'

(156) Aanii-sh gaa-zhi-yaad gshiimenywaa? wdinaan dash ***niw aanind***.

'"What has happened to your little brother?" she asked ***those (several) others***.' (AM35.12)

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **gaa-zhi-yaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg is so'; **gshiimenywaa** *na 2p(3sProx)* 'your (pl) younger sibling'; **wdinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg says to ANobv'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **aanind** *av* 'some.'

The quantifier *kina* (*gkina*), 'all,' merges the distinction between partitive and non-partitive senses, since it is universally inclusive. Perhaps for this reason, *kina* never occurs between the demonstrative and the noun.

(157) Giishpin naadmawyan mii go ji-giizhiitaayaan moonwagwaa ***kina giw piniig***.

'If you help me I will get done digging up ***all those potatoes***.' (AM39.489)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **naadmawyan** *vta conj 2s»1s* '(CONJ) you help me'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **ji-giizhiitaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I could finish'; **moonwagwaa** *vta conj 1s»3pProx* '(CONJ) I dig ANpl'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **piniig** *na 3pProx* 'potatoes.'

The difference between partitive and inclusive reference can be seen quite clearly in the following examples, which vary the order of the demonstrative and quantifier, showing a partitive reading in (158) and an inclusive in (159).

(158) ***Niizh*** dash eta wadi ***gonda*** gii-zhaawag. | 'Only ***two of these (people)*** went over there.'

> **Niizh** *nm* 'two'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **gii-zhaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl went there.' (SO6.15)

1. MC interprets *aanind* here partitively.

(159) ***Gonda niizh*** gii-ggiinwishkwag; gaawii gonda wedaaseg aawsiiwag.

'***These other two*** were lying; they were not really braves.' (SO6.117)

> **Gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **gii-ggiinwishkwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were liars'; **gaawii** *av* 'not'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **wedaaseg** *na 3pProx* 'warriors'; **aawsiiwag** *vai ind neg 3pProx* 'ANpl were not.'

The following example also clearly illustrates a partitive usage.

(160) Mii dash gii-booz'higod ***bezhig niw***. | '***One of them*** gave him a ride.' (AK13.19)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-booz'higod** *vta conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANobv gave ANsg a ride'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those.'

Without an explicit noun, the quantifier can evidently follow the demonstrative and still impart a partitive sense. The following two examples both represent contrastive contexts.

(161) Baawtigoong ngo-bboon dash gii-miinaawag ji-dgoshinowaad odi, gaawiin dash ***giw aaning*** gii-debwetnziiwag, gaawiin gii-nsidtanziiwag, gaa dash gii-zhaasiiwag.

'And they were given one year to arrive there at Sault Ste. Marie, but ***some of them*** didn't believe, they didn't understand, and they didn't go.' (AK9.9)

> **Baawtigoong** *ni loc* 'at Sault Ste. Marie'; **ngo-bboon** *av/ni* 'one year'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given Y'; **ji-dgoshinowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl should arrive'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **aaning** *av* 'some'; **gii-debwetnziiwag** *vai ind 3pProx neg* 'ANpl did not believe'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **gii-nsidtanziiwag** *vai ind neg 3pProx* 'ANpl did not understand; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gii-zhaasiiwag** *vai ind 3pProx neg* 'ANpl did not go there.'

(162) Mii ge eta bezhig nwi yaamwaad, gaa gegoo waa-miijwaad, gchi-gzheb dash gii-nishkaa aw bezhig wgii-nda-waabmaan niw bnewan mii-sh go gaa-piichi-boodwewaad ***giw aaning***.

'And they have only one shell, and nothing to eat, so this one got up very early and went looking for some partridges, while ***some of them*** started a fire.' (AK7.8)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **nwi** *ni 0s* 'bullet'; **yaamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl have IN'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **waa-miijwaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) what ANpl will eat IN'; **gchi-gzheb** *av* 'very early in morning'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-nishkaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg got up'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **wgii-nda-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg looked for ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **bnewan** *na 3obv* 'partridge(s)'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gaa-piichi-boodwewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were in process of making fire'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **aaning** *av* 'some.'

While general observations can be made, ordering patterns are subtle and subject to many factors. The follow two sentences, for example, represent equivalent sentences from two versions of a Nenabush story told by Andrew Medler. In the second sentence, (164), the quantifier follows the noun phrase it is associated with, evidently attracted by the subordinate verb, *bbaa-gomnid*, '(as) they (obv.) were swimming about.'

(163) Wgii-waabmaan ***niibna niw zhiishiiban***. | 'He saw ***many (of those) ducks***.'

> **Wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **niibna** *av* 'many'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhiishiiban** *na 3obv* 'duck(s).' (AM37.6)

(164) Wgii-waabmaan dash ***niw zhiishiiban niibna*** bbaa-gomnid.

'There he saw ***those ducks in great number*** swimming about.' (AM38.6)

> **Wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhiishiiban** *na 3obv* 'duck(s)'; **niibna** *av* 'many'; **bbaa-gomnid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv float about.'

In the following example, a similar attraction of the quantifier draws it to a position after the noun phrase it modifies, again to a position before an associated verb.

(165) Wewiib dash ngii-giiskon'yebnig gye dash ***iw e-gwid aanind*** ngii-wiiwjiinig wii-bwaa-dkajyaan.

'Quickly she pulled off my clothes and wrapped me up in ***some of her garments*** so that I might not catch cold.' (AM6.7)

> **Wewiib** *av* 'quickly'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ngii-giiskon'yebnig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg took my clothes off of me'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **e-gwid** *vaio ic conj part 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) which ANsg wore'; **aanind** *av* 'some'; **ngii-wiiwjiinig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg wrapped me up'; **wii-bwaa-dkajyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) lest I would catch a cold.'

In the following examples, from the same speaker, the order of elements varies.

(166) ***Bezhig*** dash ***aw nishnaabe*** wgii-nsidtawaan zhaagnaashan.

'And ***this one Indian*** understood white people.' (AK2.10)

> **Bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **wgii-nsidtawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg understood ANobv'; **zhaagnaashan** *na 3obv* 'white(s).'

(167) Mii dash ***aw bezhig nishnaabe*** gii-maajaad wii-nda-waabmaad niw, "Nga-aagwaashkwaag niin giw." (AK2.12) 'And ***this one Indian*** went away to look for them, "I'll intercept them myself."'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **gii-maajaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg left'; **wii-nda-waabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg will go look for ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those.'

QUANTIFIERS AND RELATIVE ROOTS. Quantifiers can be associated with elements other than nouns, which induce their own ordering patterns. In the following sentence, for example, the number *mdaaswi-shi-niizh*, 'twelve,' is not directly associated with a noun but with RELATIVE ROOTS /iN-/ in *nakdesin*, 'be placed in such a way,' and /akw-/ in *kooksin*, 'be arranged in rows to such depth.' In both cases the number precedes the verb containing the relative root, which both have as their subject, *nanda wiigwaaman*, 'those tents' (NI, plural), intervening between the number and the verb. In this construction, the number is only indirectly modifying the noun phrase, *nanda wiigwaaman*, by means of the verb's relative root.

(168) "Mii go wi ***mdaaswi-shi-niizh*** nanda wiigwaaman nakdesnoon miinwaa-sh ***mdaaswi-shi-niizh*** kooksinoon, mii ge go kina baashkzignan ***nengodwaaswi*** naksinoon," gii-kidwag gonda.

"'Those tents are ***twelve*** rows wide and ***twelve*** rows deep, and all ***six*** guns placed upright in a row in each tent," these (two) said.' (SO6.141)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mdaaswi-shi-niizh** *nm* 'twelve'; **nanda** *pr 0p* 'these'; **wiigwaaman** *ni 0p* 'wigwams'; **nakdesnoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl are standing'; **miinwaa-sh** *av* 'and then'; **mdaaswi-shi-niizh** *nm* 'twelve'; **kooksinoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl are arranged in rows to such extent'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **baashkzignan** *ni 0p* 'rifles'; **nengodwaaswi** *nm* 'six by six'; **naksinoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl are arranged so'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these.'

12.3.9 Relative Clauses

Verbs in relative clauses are usually marked with special participial verbal inflections that show CONJUNCT ORDER verb inflection, INITIAL CHANGE and in many forms making reference to third persons, distinctive noun-like inflections. For example, the simple conjunct third person plural form of the VAI verb *bmaadzi*, 'live, be alive,' is *bmaadziwaad*, '(when) they live,' with conjunct order inflectional suffix complex, /-waad/, consisting of an animate third person suffix /-d/ preceded by a verbal animate plural suffix /-waa/; the corresponding participle form is *bemaadzijig*, 'those who live,' which has a suffix complex /-jig/, consisting once more of the verbal animate third person suffix /-d/ (though palatalized to /j/) and a noun-like plural suffix /-ig/. At the same time, relative clauses have all of the inflectional possibilities of a verb, such as tense and verbal mode, and thus represent a very rich, hybrid form having properties of both nominals and verbs. For example, the following sentence contains a participle form making reference to fishermen of the future:

(169) Gchi-zaaghigan zhonda ge-dgog, mii zhonda ge-bi-zhaawaad ***ge-giigoonykejig***.

'There will be a big lake here; this is where ***those who will fish*** will come.' (SO3.35)

> **Gchi-zaaghigan** *ni 0s* 'big lake'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **ge-dgog** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) 0 will be there'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **ge-bi-zhaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl will come'; **ge-giigoonykejig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who will fish.'

Nishnaabemwin relative clauses have properties reminiscent of both relative clauses and to a small extent, GERUNDS (verbal nouns), in English. Relative clauses in Nishnaabemwin do not require association with (i.e., the presence of) an explicit (head) noun, as can be seen from the following examples.

(170) Mii dash ***bekaanak*** gii-wiiwjiinid.

'Then she wrapped me ***in something else***' (lit., wrapped me in 'which is different'). (AM5.8)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **bekaanak** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) IN which is something else'; **gii-wiiwjiinid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANsg wrapped me in IN.'

(171) Zhwenmishnaang dash ***debenminaang***.

'Have Thou pity on us now ***Who art Lord of us*** (lit., 'who own us') (AM12.8)

> **Zhwenmishnaang** *vta imp 2s»1p* 'have pity on us (excl)'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **debenminaang** *vta ic conj part 2s»1p* '(CCNJ) you who own us (excl).'

However, it is also quite common for relative clauses to modify a nominal such as a noun or a demonstrative pronoun, and typically the relative clause follows the nominal it modifies. The following examples illustrate.

(172) Mii dash *giw zhaagnaashag* ***bezhgoongzhiin gaa-aabjihaajig*** kina gaa-zhi-gmoodwaad niw bkwezhganan.

'But *those whites* ***who were using the horses*** stole all the bread.' (AK2.7)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **zhaagnaashag** *na 3pProx* 'whitemen'; **bezhgoongzhiin** *na 3obv* 'horse(s)'; **gaa-aabjihaajig** *vta ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) were using ANobv'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gaa-zhi-gmoodwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl thus stole (Y)'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **bkwezhganan** *na 3obv* 'bread.'

(173) Kina dash gii-goojgaazwag *giw* ***gaa-nsaajig niw dkonwewninwan***.

'But all of *those* ***who killed the policemen*** were hanged.' (AK2.17)

> **Kina** *av* 'all'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-goojgaazwag** *vai conj 3pProx* 'ANpl were hanged'; giw *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gaa-nsaajig** *vta ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANpl who killed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **dkonwewninwan** *na 3obv* 'policeman/men.'

(174) *Gaa waya* ***ekwaabid*** nwaabmaasii. | 'I do not see *anyone* ***keeping watch***.'

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **ekwaabid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) who ANsg was keeping watch'; **nwaabmaasii** *vta ind 1s»3sProx neg* 'I don't see ANsg.' (AM8.33)

However, other orders of elements are possible too. Occasionally, the relative clause precedes the nominal it modifies, with no apparent difference in meaning. Often in these cases, the relative clauses consists of a single word.

(175) Mii dash pii giiwewaad giw niizh nishnaabeg, mii dash ekdod aw bezhig, "Aanii-sh ge-zhichgeyamban giishpin waabmaawgibnen ***gechi-gnaajwid kwe***?"

'And when these two Indians were going home, one of them said, "What would you do if you should see ***a woman who is very beautiful***?"' (AK4.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **gii-jekaakhang** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went into the woods'; **gii-biidood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg brought IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wiigwaas** *ni 0s* 'birchbark'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-wzhitood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg made IN'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **wiigwaasnaagnan** *ni 0p* 'birchbark dishes'; **nooj** *av* 'various'; **eyaan'gokwaan'gin** *vii ic conj part 0p* '(CCNJ) which (INpl) are different sizes.'

Rhodes 1996:6 refers to such single-word constructions as "light term relative clauses," using "term" to designate a core grammatical role of a verb, such as subject, primary object, or secondary object. Rhodes suggests that this preverbal order reflects a general tendency for the order modifier-head in Nishnaabemwin. Keenen 1985:144 points out that post-nominal relative clauses are almost the only type found in verb-initial languages, though a few languages such as Tagalog sometimes allow relative clauses to occur prenominally, but only when they are structurally very simple, thus showing behaviour very similar to that of Nishnaabemwin, which is said to be verb-initial in its most pragmatically unmarked ordering.

A construction with the order demonstrative + relative clause + N, in which the relative clause is sandwiched between a demonstrative and the head noun, occurs several times in the texts of Alice King, though Mary Ann Corbiere considers such forms "most unusual and atypical" (p.c.) with regard to their use on Manitoulin Island.

(176) Bekish gii-bmi-giigoonyke, gii-ndawenjge ge, gii-shamaad *niw* ***bekden'jin*** *nishnaaben*.

'Besides he fished as he went along, he went hunting as well, giving food to *those Indians* ***who were hungry***.' (AK5.11)

> **Bekish** *av* 'at the same time'; **gii-bmi-giigoonyke** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went along fishing'; **gii-ndawenjge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg hunted'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **gii-shamaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg fed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **bekden'jin** *vai ic conj part 0obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv who are hungry'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s).'

(177) Mii dash noongo iw wenji-yaawaad *giw* ***ngoji debendaagzisgog*** *nishnaabeg*.

'And now that's why there are *those Indians* ***who don't belong anywhere***.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **noongo** *av* 'nowadays'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wenji-yaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) why there are ANpl'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ngoji** *av* 'anywhere'; **debendaagziSGog** *vai ic conj part 3pProx neg* '(CCNJ) who ANpl don't belong to a group'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians.' (AK9.10)

NON-CONTIGUOUS RELATIVE CLAUSES. The noun or pronoun associated with a relative clause need not be adjacent to it, as can be seen from the following examples. In the first,

the relative clause *waa-aabjitoowaad,* 'which they were going to use,' follows the noun it is associated with, *mshkikiwaaboo,* 'liquid medicine.' In the second sentence, containing the same words, the noun is fronted to the beginning of the sentence and the relative clause is at the end. In this way Nishnaabemwin behaves similarly to English.

(178) Mii dash gii-zhitoowaad iw ***mshkikwaaboo waa-aabjitoowaad***.

'They made the liquid medicine which they were going to use.' (AM19.4)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-zhitoowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl made IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mshkikwaaboo** *ni 0s* 'liquid medicine'; **waa-aabjitoowaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which ANpl will use IN.'

(179) ***Mshkikwaaboo*** gye wgii-wzhitoonaawaa ***waa-aabjitoowaad***.

'Liquid medicine they made which they were going to use.' (AM21.6)

> **Mshkikwaaboo** *ni 0s* 'liquid medicine'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-wzhitoonaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl made IN'; **waa-aabjitoowaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which ANpl will use IN.'

Relative clauses may contain arguments that are themselves relative clauses, as in the following examples.

(180) Ngoding megwaa wshkinwewyaan, gii-dgoshin ***bebaa-naanaad waa-gkinoohmaagzin'jin*** widi gaa-bi-wnjibaad Carlisle Indian School.

'At one time when I was a young boy, there arrived (a man) ***who went about fetching those who were to go to school*** at the place from which he came, the Carlisle Indian School.' (AM8.1)

> **Ngoding** *av* 'once'; **megwaa** *av* 'while'; **wshkinwewyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I was a young man'; **gii-dgoshin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg arrived'; **bebaa-naanaad** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg who was going around getting them'; **waa-gkinoohmaagzin'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv who were to be in school'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **gaa-bi-wnjibaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) where ANsg came from.'

(181) Ngoding megwaa wshkinwewyaan gii-bi-yaa aw Gchi-mookmaan ***bebaa-ndawaabmaad waa-gkinoohmaagzin'jin***.

'At one time, when I was a young boy, there came that (white) American ***who went about looking for those who wanted to attend school.***' (AM9.1)

> **Ngoding** *av* 'once'; **megwaa** *av* 'while'; **wshkinwewyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) when I was a young man'; **gii-bi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg came here'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Gchi-mookmaan** *na 3sProx* 'white American'; **bebaa-ndawaabmaad** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg who was looking for ANobv'; **waa-gkinoohmaagzin'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv who were to be in school.'

Multiple relative clauses can modify the same nominal.

(182) Mii-sh maajii-ndawaabmad ***wenzhishid e-gwyakwaakzid*** mdaamin, pii dash go ge-ni-zhaayan naangim go odi yekwaayan.

'Then you start looking for ***the good kind*** of corn ***standing straight***, and then you go on until you come to the end there.' (AK6.3)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **maajii-ndawaabmad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you SG start looking for ANsg'; **wenzhishid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg which is good'; **e-gwyakwaakzid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg which stands straight'; **mdaamin** *na 3sProx* 'corn'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ge-ni-zhaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG will go there'; **naangim** *av* 'until'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **yekwaayan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you SG are at the end.

Equational relative clauses referring to first and second persons are commonly cast in the third person, and may thus trigger obviation in the relative clause, as in the following:

(183) Niin aw gaa-waabmaad ***waawaashkeshwan.***

'I am the one who saw ***the deer (obv).***' (AM39.641)

> **Niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gaa-waabmaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg who saw ANobv'; **waawaashkeshwan** *na 3obv* 'deer.'

The following examples show the treatment of second persons, with the relative clause inflected for third person.

(184) Giin sa aw ***gaa-niimid***. | 'You are the one ***who danced***.' (AM39.636)

> **Giin** *pr 2s* 'you'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gaa-niimid** *vai ic conj part? 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg who danced.'

(185) Giinwaa go sha giwi ***gaa-niimjig***. | 'You are the ones ***who danced***.' (AM39.651)

> **Giinwaa** *pr pers 2p* 'you'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gaa-niimjig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who danced.'

GRAMMATICAL ROLES WHICH CAN RELATIVIZE. A prominent grammatical aspect of relative clauses cross-linguistically concerns which grammatical roles can relativize. For example, in the following sentence, the relative clause is *bebaa-wiijiiwag*, 'whom (ANsg) I was going with,' and the relativized grammatical role is that of the goal of the transitive verb *wiijiiw*, 'accompany AN' (VTA).

(186) Ngii-naadmaag *gwiiwzens* ***bebaa-wiijiiwag***.

'*A boy* ***I was going with*** helped me.' (AM7.5)

> **Ngii-naadmaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg helped me'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **bebaa-wiijiiwag** *vta ic conj part 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) whom (ANsg) I was going around with.'

There do not seem to be any restrictions on the grammatical relation of a nominal having a relative clause associated with it. Nominals filling the roles of grammatical actors (subjects), goals (objects), recipients (indirect objects), complements of relative roots, and other relations can all freely have relative clauses associated with them. Rhodes 1996:5 makes the same observation: "relative clauses can be formed on any nominal whose grammatical function is licensed by the verb of the clause." The following examples illustrate the relativization of other grammatical roles, including subject of transitive in (187), subject of intransitive in (188), object of possessor in (189), and relative root complement in (190).

(187) Kina dash gii-goojgaazwag ***giw gaa-nsaajig niw dkonwewninwan***.

'But all of those ***who killed the policemen*** were hanged.' (AK2.17)

> **Kina** *av* all'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **gii-goojgaazwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were hanged'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gaa-nsaajig** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) killed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those' ; **dkonweninwan** *na 3obv* 'police.'

(188) Mii naa gaa-zhichgewaad ***giw nishnaabeg gaa-niigaanzijig***.

'This is what ***those Indians who were leaders*** did.' (AK5.1)

> **Mii** *av* and'; **naa** *av* 'emphatic'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai conj ic part 3pProx* 'what ANpl did'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na* 'Indians'; **gaa-niigaanzijig** *vai conj ic part 3pProx* 'who (ANpl) were leaders.'

(189) Mii wa nini ***dakweman gaa-bkinaagen'jin mbingoo***.

'That's the man ***whose wife won at bingo***.' (MC)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **dakweman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's woman, wife'; **gaa-bkinaagen'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* 'who (ANobv) won'; **mbingoo** *ni? 0s* 'bingo.'

(190) Gye go mii gii-miin'gooyaang ***rooms waa-dnizyaang***.

'And we were then given rooms ***in which we would live***.' (AM8.14)

> **Gye go** *av* 'and so'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-miin'gooyaang** *vta conj X»1p* '(CONJ) we (excl.) were given'; **waa-dnizyaang** *vai ic conj part 1p* 'in which we (excl.) would live' (relative root /daN/, 'in a specific location').

Another aspect of relative clauses concerns what grammatical relations in the main clause can have relative clauses associated with them. Again, there do not appear to be restrictions in Nishnaabemwin, and the following examples illustrate a few of the possibilities: actor of transitive verb (186); goal of transitive animate verb (191); goal of transitive inanimate verb (192); subject of animate intransitive (193); and instrumental, (194).

(191) Baamaa pii go naa ngoding wgii-nkweshkwaan$_{VTA}$ *nishnaaben*$_{GOAL.VTA}$ ***gaa-wiindmaagjin***, "Mewnzha gii-nboban aw gookmis ggii-ngadmaag iw wiigwaam."

'It wasn't until later, he met *an Indian* ***who told him***, "Your grandmother died a long time ago, she left you that house.' (AK13.27)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **pii** *av* 'then'; **ngoding** *av* 'once'; **wgii-nkweshkwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg met ANobv'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s)'; **gaa-wiindmaagjin** *vta ic conj part 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) said to ANsg'; **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **gii-nboban** *vai ind pret 3sProx* 'ANsg died'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gookmis** *na 2s(3sProx)* 'your grandmother'; **ggii-ngadmaag** *vta ind 3sProx»2s* 'ANsg left Y for you (SG)'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wiigwaam** *ni 0s* 'house.'

(192) Aapji dash aanind Nishnaabeg gii-gtaamgozwag, gye go wgii-gkendaanaawaa gegoo, gye go wgii-gkendaanaawaa$_{VTI}$ sa *()* ***waa-bi-dgoshnoomgadnig*** niigaan.

'Some Indians were very formidable and knew much and knew ***what was to arrive*** in the future.' (AM23.23)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aanind** *av* 'some'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gii-gtaamgozwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were formidable'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-gkendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl knew INsg'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-gkendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl knew INsg'; **waa-bi-dgoshnoomgadnig** *vii ic conj part 0obv* '(CCNJ) that INobv which would arrive'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future.'

(193) Mii naa gaa-zhichgewaad$_{VAI}$ *giw nishnaabeg*$_{ACTOR.VAI}$ ***gaa-niigaanzijig***.

'This is what *the Indians* ***who were leaders*** did.' (AK5.1)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gaa-niigaanzijig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who were in charge.'

(194) Mii dash ***bekaanak***$_{INSTRUMENT}$ gii-wiiwjiinid.

'Then she wrapped me in ***something else.***' (lit., wrapped me in 'which is different') (AM5.8)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **bekaanak** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) IN which is different'; **gii-wiiwjiinid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANsg wrapped me in IN.'

RELATIVE ROOT COMPLEMENTS IN RELATIVE CLAUSES. Rhodes 1996 contains an extensive list of relative clauses formed around relative roots (or preverbs). The following examples, taken from Rhodes 1996:6, illustrate some of the possibilities, including a static locative relative (195), a locative goal relative (196), a manner relative (197), a source relative (198), a cause/instrumental relative (199), and a temporal relative (200).

(195) … zhiwi megwe endnokiiwaad bemaadzijig.

'… in the midst of where people were working.' (SO)

> **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **megwe** *av* 'in the midst'; **endnokiiwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl were working'; **bemaadzijig** *vai conj ic part 3pProx* 'who (ANpl) live (i.e., people).'

(196) … widi waa-ni-zhaayaan. | '… where I was intending to go…'

> **widi** *av* 'there'; **waa-ni-zhaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I was headed off to.'

(197) … dbiskoo go naa ezhi-zgakniged maaba jidmoonh ezhnikaazod.

'… just as the one called the squirrel gathers.' (AM9.3)

> **dbiskoo** *av* 'like'; **ezhi-zgakniged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) as ANsg gathers'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **jidmoonh** *na 3sProx* 'squirrel'; **ezhnikaazod** *vai conj ic 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg is so named.'

(198) … widi Walpole Island gaa-bi-njibaayaan.

'there at Walpole Island, where I come from.' (AM11.2)

> **widi** *av* 'there'; **gaa-bi-njibaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) 'where I hail from.'

(199) … iw zhoon'yaa waa-nji-mno-yaawaad.

'the money by means of which they live comfortably.' (AM15.1)

> **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni* 'money'; **waa-nji-mino-yaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) whereby ANpl live well.'

(200) … pane dash go endso-waabmag… | '… everytime I see her…' (AM9.39)

> **pane** *av* 'always'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **endso-waabmag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) 'each time I see ANsg.'

ADJUNCT RELATIVE CLAUSES. Rhodes 1996:9-10 also discusses relative clauses formed on adjuncts, such as locational and temporal expressions. Rhodes notes that 'relative clauses formed on locative adjuncts show a special construction that the corresponding non-relative form does not share. A locative relative root is present in the relative clause form which is absent from the non-relative from, and the nominal head appears in either the locative inflectional form or not, depending on its position in the syntax of the external clause.' The following examples, taken from Rhodes (pp. 9-10), illustrate a head inflected for locative (201), with *wiigwaam*, 'shelter,' inflected for locative, and a head in a non-locative, (202), in which *niimhidiiwgamig*, 'dancehall,' is not inflected for locative.

(201) … waa-dzhi-mkadekewaad wiigwaaming. | '… in the shelter where they would fast.'

> **waa-dzhi-mkadekewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl will fast'; **miigwaaming** *ni 0 loc* 'in the shelter.' (AM23.3)

(202) … iw niimhidiiwgamig waa-dzhi-niimwaad giw waa-bi-zhaajig.

'… in the dancehall where those who would be coming would dance.' (AM16.14)

> **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **niimhidiiwgamig** *ni 0s* 'dancehall'; **waa-dzhi-niimwaad** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl would dance'**giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **waa-bi-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (anpl) would come.'

Rhodes 1996:10 also discusses temporal adjunct relative clauses, pointing out that 'temporal adjuncts expressing a point in time are regularly expressed as relative clauses with a head *pii*, 'at the time.' The following example illustrates.

(203) Mii dash pii beskaabiiyaang, … | 'But when we got back…' (AK3.9)

> **mii** *av* 'then'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **pii** *av* 'time; when'; **beskaabiiyaang** *vai ic conj part 1p* '(CCNJ) we (excl) got back.'

WORD ORDER WITHIN A RELATIVE CLAUSE. As with other subordinate clauses, the nominals within a relative clause typically follow the verb.

(204) Mii dash gaa-zhichged aw ***gaa-nsaad niw bnewan*** …

'And what this one ***who killed the partridge*** did, …' (AK7.11)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-zhichged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg did'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gaa-nsaad** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg who killed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **bnewan** *na 3obv* 'partridge.'

(205) Mii ngoding bbaa-miinkeyaang mii gii-megwaashkwaangdwaa giw nishnaabeg ***gaa-wnikewaad iidog wdaabjichganwaan iw wii-wiisniwaad.***

'Once when we were out berrying we happened to meet these Indians ***who had apparently forgotten their utensils for eating.***' (AK17.1)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **ngoding** *av* 'once'; **bbaa-miinkeyaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we were going around gathering berries'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-megwaashkwaangdwaa** *vta conj 1p»3pProx* '(CONJ) we encountered ANpl'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gaa-wnikewaad** *vaio ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) when ANpl forgot (Y)'; **iidog** *av* 'it seems'; **wdaabjichganwaan** *ni 3pProx(0p)* 'their utensils'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wii-wiisniwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl will eat.'

However, nominals can precede the verb even in relative clauses, as in (172), above (p. 580). In the following example, both orders occur, in parallel constructions.

(206) Ntam go iw piniig wii-biwaad mii-sh miinwaa gookoosh mii-sh gii-ni-wzhitood *niw wiigwaas-naagaansan* ***niibiishaaboo waa-dzhi-mnikwewaad*** miinwaa gii-wzhitood *niw* ***waa-dzhi-miijwaad iw miini-baashkmin'sigan***.

'First [a container] for the potatoes to go into, then [for] the pork, and then he made some *small birchbark dishes* ***from which to drink tea***, and also he made ***some from which to eat the blueberry jam***.' (AK17.6)

> **Ntam** *av* 'first'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **piniig** *na 3pProx* 'potatoes'; **wii-biwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* 'ANpl will be present'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'also'; **gookoosh** *na 3sProx* 'pig'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-ni-wzhitood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg made IN'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **wiigwaas-naagaansan** *ni 0p* 'birchbark cups'; **niibiishaaboo** *ni 0s* 'tea'; **waa-dzhi-mnikwewaad** *vaio ic conj 3pProx»y* '(CCNJ) ANpl will drink Y there'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gii-wzhitood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg made IN'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **waa-dzhi-miijwaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANpl will eat IN there'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **miini-baashkmin'sigan** *ni 0s* 'blueberry preserves.'

VARIATION IN RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMS. Sometimes speakers do not use full participial inflection in relative clause constructions. For example, in the following, the regular changed conjunct form, *gaa-bi-waabmaad* occurs, rather than the participle form, *gaa-bi-waabmaajin*.

(207) Aapji go jina ngii-gnoonaa wa," gii-kido-sh giiwenh miinwaa bezhig zhmaagnishii-gimaa wa ***gaa-bi-waabmaad niwi.***

'I only spoke to him for a short while," said the other officer, who had come to see him.' (SO6.60)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **jina** *av* 'a short time'; **ngii-gnoonaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I spoke to ANsg'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **zhmaagnishii-gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'military leader'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gaa-bi-waabmaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg came and saw ANobv'; **niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'that/those.'

The following example, from the same speaker, shows the traditional participle form used in such contexts.

(208) Aanii-sh mii sa gmaapiich go miinwaa bezhig bmaadgaad go wesiinh, aanii-sh mii go nendmaad go ***yaabmaajin*** go bmaadgaanid.

'Well, a little later, another animal swims by; well, he calls out to ***the one he sees*** swimming by.' (SO5.10)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gmaapiich** *av* 'after awhile'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **bmaadgaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg swims along'; **wesiinh** *na 3sProx* 'animal'; **aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **go nendmaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg summoned ANobv'; **yaabmaajin** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv whom ANsg saw'; **bmaadgaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) as ANobv swims along.'

The same kind of variation occurred within the speech of Andrew Medler, as attested by the following examples, the first with a true participle, the second, not.

(209) Gye go wgii-dbaajmaan niw shkiniigkwen ***gaa-msawenmaajin*** niw shkinwen.

'He also told of a young woman ***who took a shine to*** a young man.' (AM29.3)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-dbaajmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg told about ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkiniigkwen** *na 3obv* 'young woman'; **gaa-msawenmaajin** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who ANsg longed for ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkinwen** *na 3obv* 'young man.'

(210) Niin aw ***gaa-waabmaad*** waawaashkeshwan.

'I am the one ***who saw*** the deer.' (AM39.641)

> **Niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gaa-waabmaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg who saw ANobv'; **waawaashkeshwan** *na 3obv* 'deer.'

Even more extreme variation can be seen in (205), above (p. 588), where a demonstrative pronoun *iw*, 'that' (inan.) is used, and a plain conjunct, future tense form of the verb *wiisni*, 'eat' (VAI), with a rough meaning 'when ANpl will eat.' This construction seems to serve a function similar to that of a relative clause. Andrew Medler also uses a form with a plain conjunct VII form, *yaanig*, 'INobv is/are there,' in a function rather like a relative clause, as a modifier of *niw siniin*, 'those stones' (NI).

(211) Pii dash gaa-wwenbid ***niw yaanig niw siniin*** wgii-ziignaanaawaa iw mshkikwaaboo maa mdoodoo-siniing.

'When he had seated himself in place, then on ***those stones which were there*** they poured that liquid medicine, on those stones for the steam bath.' (AM19.7)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-wwenbid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg had seated self'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'that/those'; **yaanig** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) INpl were there'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **siniin** *ni 0p* 'stones'; **wgii-ziignaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl poured IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mshkikwaaboo** *ni 0s* 'liquid medicine'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **mdoodoo-siniing** *ni 0 loc* 'on the sweatlodge stone(s).'

12.3.10 Compound Nominals

Compound nominals are common, consisting of two identically inflected nouns used in conjunction, and often modified by a single demonstrative which precedes both nouns. Note that in the examples below, both nouns are independently inflected for nominal features of plural or obviative.

(212) Wgii-ggwejmaan niw kiwenziinyan wii-giishpnadmawaad iw wiikwebjigan manj go maanda msawenmaad ***niw shkinwen mandaagninwan***.

'She asked that old man to let her buy that love medicine from him, since she was so very much in love with ***that young man-handsome one***.' (AM29.4)

> **Wgii-ggwejmaan** *vta 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg asked ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **kiwenziinyan** *na 3obv* 'old man/men'; **wii-giishpnadmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg buy Y from ANobv'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wiikwebjigan** *ni 0s* 'love medicine'; **manj** *av* 'however it may be'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **msawenmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg longed for ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkinwen** *na 3obv* 'young man/men'; **mandaagninwan** *na 3obv* 'gentleman/men.'

(213) Gii-yaawag-sh giiwenh go iidig wadi ***giwi Nishnaabeg Nimkiig***.

'Apparently, there did exist over there, those ***Thunder People***.' (SO4.22)

> **Gii-yaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were there'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **Nimkiig** *na 3pProx* 'Thunderers.'

12.3.11 Qualification of a Nominal with Prenouns

The concepts expressed in English by means of adjectives are often encoded in Nishnaabemwin in intransitive verbs, as in the following examples, with verb *gaachiinh*, 'be small' (VAI) in (214), and *waabshkizi*, 'be white' (VAI) in (215). See also Chapter 9.

(214) Aapji ***shkwaaj egaachiinynijin***, Aanii dash giin ezhnikaazyan? wgii-naan.

'To ***the smallest one***, in the end, he said, "And what is your name, you?"' (AM35.6)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **shkwaaj** *av* 'last'; **egaachiinynijin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who ANobv was small'; **Aanii** *av* 'how'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **ezhnikaazyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG are so named'; **wgii-naan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg said to ANobv.'

(215) Waaboozoonh gii-ggwejmaa wegdagwen ***wenji-waabshkizgwen***.

'Rabbit was asked why he was ***white of color***.' (AM34.2)

> **Waaboozoonh** *na 3sProx* 'rabbit'; **gii-ggwejmaa** *vta ind x»3sProx* 'ANsg was asked'; **wegdagwen** *pr dub 0* 'whatever'; **wenji-waabshkizgwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) why might ANsg be white in color.'

However, there are also many prenouns which serve to qualify a noun in some way, by far the most common being *gchi-*, 'great, large, big'. The following examples illustrate the use of adjectival prenouns.

(216) ***Gchi-dikmeg*** ngii-debnaa. | 'I caught a ***big whitefish***.' (MC5.4.)

> **Gchi-dikmeg** *na 3sProx* 'whitefish'; **ngii-debnaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I caught ANsg.'

(217) Ngii-wzhitmaag aw ngashi ***wshki-goodaas*** ge-biiskamaan go eta ji-wi-namhaayaan.

'My mother made me a ***new dress*** to wear only for going to church.' (AK3.2)

> **Ngii-wzhitmaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg made for me'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **wshki-goodaas** *ni 0s* 'new dress'; **ge-biiskamaan** *vti ic conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) that (IN) I will wear'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **ji-wi-namhaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) should I go to church.'

12.3.12 Dnawa, 'Kind of' Constructions

The pronominal element *dnawa* is used in expressions of kind or type, almost always in conjunction with an antecedent pronoun, as in the following examples:

(218) ***Maaba dnawa*** biindaakwaazh. | 'Smoke ***this kind of*** tobacco.' (AM39.784)

> **Maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **dnawa** *pr sim 3/0* 'kind'; **biindaakwaazh** *vta imp 2s»3* 'smoke AN.'

(219) Gaa dash ***iw dnawa*** nokiiwin ngii-ndawendnziin.

'But I did not want that ***kind of*** work.' (AM8.17)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **dnawa** *pr sim 3/0* 'kind'; **nokiiwin** *ni 0s* 'work'; **ngii-ndawendnziin** *vti ind 1s»0 neg* 'I did not want INsg.'

This pronoun is inflected for number and obviation by some speakers, as in the following

(220) Wegnesh ***dnawan*** daabaanan gaa-giishpnanaajin? | 'What ***kind of*** car did slhe buy?'

> **Wegnesh** *pr inter 3/0* 'what'; **dnawan** *pr sim 3obv* 'kind'; **daabaanan** *na 3obv* 'car'; **gaa-giishpnanaajin** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* 'that [ANobv] ANsg bought.' (MC)

In the stories of Angeline Williams, *dowa* is found instead of *dnawa*, in conjunction with the interrogative pronouns *wenesh* (animate) and *wegone* (inanimate).

(221) ***Wenesh dowa*** giigoonh waa-amwad izhi-giigoonh?

'***What kind of*** fish do you want to eat?' (AW14.48)

> **Wenesh** *pr inter 3/0* 'who'; **dowa** *per sim 3* 'kind'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish'; **waa-amwad** *vta ic conj 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) you want to eat ANsg'; **izhi-giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'such fish.'

Note too the following, in which the pronoun has the form, *anindowa*.

(222) Mii iw animoshishan wegitiziimimaad ***anindowa*** gaa-aawid.

'That one person was ***of the kind*** that have a dog as one parent.' (AW15.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **animoshishan** *na pej 3spej* 'worthless dog'; **wegitiziimimaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg who has ANobv for parent'; **anindowa** *pr sim* 'kind'; **gaa-aawid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) that ANsg was.'

12.3.13 Substitutionary Pronouns

Substitutionary, or general, pronouns are extremely common in conversation, peppering discourse at every turn. These pronouns deserve a monograph unto themselves, but only a couple of examples are provided here. A list of common forms can be found in Chapter 3, though there is undoubtedly more variation than I represent.

(223) «***Na'ii***, eshkam go niibna notes ndoo-ni-maawndoobiiyaanan nawach gegoo waa-kwejminaa, dictionary-ing nikeyiing.»

'Well, I'm gradually accumulating more notes of various things that I want to ask you about the dictionary.' (MC)

> **Na'ii** *pr ni 0s* 'uh'; **eshkam** *av* 'increasingly; **niibna** *av* 'many'; **ndoo-ni-maawndoobiiyaanan** *vti ind 1s>0p* 'I am accumulating INpl'; **nawach** *av* 'more'; **gegoo** *pr ni 0s* 'thing'; **waa-kwejminaa** *vta ic conj 1s>2s* '(CCNJ) which I want to ask you (sg); **dictionary-ing** *ni 0 loc* 'in the dictionary'; **nikeyiing** *av* 'pertaining to.'

(224) ***Nahii*** noongo gaa-ggwejmigoowaanh, Obatanga miinwaa Obakamiga edming. ***Nahiin*** giiwenh nanda, zaaghigaansan White River miinwaa Hornepayne nikeyiing etegin.

'***Uh***, today I was asked what Obatanga and Obakamiga mean (in Nishnaabemwin). ***Uh***, apparently these are small rivers located in the direction of White River and Hornepayne.' (MC)

> **Nahii** *pr paus 0s* 'uh'; **noongo** *av* 'today'; **gaa-ggwejmigoowaanh** *vta ic conj x»1s* '(CCNJ) I was asked'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **edming** *vti ic conj x»0* 'what X means of IN.' **Nahiin** *pr paus 0p* 'uh'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **nanda** *pr 0p* 'these'; **zaaghigaansan** *ni 0p* 'creeks'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **nikeyiing** *av* 'in that direction'; **etegin** *vii ic conj 0p* 'where INpl are.'

12.3.14 Indefinite, Universal, and Negative Pronouns

Indefinite (existential), universal and negative pronouns all use the basic pronominal *waya* (also *wiya* and *awiya*) for animates and *gegoo* (also *gegoon*) for inanimates. All three of these pronominals occur in the following sentence:

(225) ***Gaawiin waya*** gga-aanwenmaasii, ***kina waya*** gga-wiijkiweymaa miinwaa gga-wiidookwaa ***waya*** iw giishpin ndawendang ji-wiidookwind.

'You are not to look down on ***anyone***, you are to be friendly to ***everyone*** and help ***anyone*** if he wants people to help him.' (AK6.8)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **gga-aanwenmaasii** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you SG will look down on ANsg'; **kina** *av* 'every'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* '(some)one'; **gga-wiijkiweymaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you SG will be friendly to ANsg'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gga-wiidookwaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you SG will help ANsg'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **ndawendang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg wants IN'; **ji-wiidookwind** *vta conj x»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg should be helped.'

Many speakers do not inflect these pronouns for number or obviation, as can be seen from the following examples. In the first, *waya* modifies an obviated participle (*bemaadzin'jin*), and the second *gaa awiya* modifies a plural noun, *Anishinaabeg*.

(226) Mii-sh giiwenh gii-dbaajmod gaa-zhiwebzid, ***waya***[1] iidig gii-maajiiwnigod ***bemaadzin'jin***.

'Then he related what had happened to him, how ***some people*** had taken him off with them.' (SO4.56)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-dbaajmod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg told the news'; **gaa-zhiwebzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what happened to ANsg'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'someone'; **iidig** *av* 'perhaps'; **gii-maajiiwnigod** *vta conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANobv took ANsg away'; **bemaadzin'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv who live' (people).

(227) Mii dash gaa-igod: "Gaa na ***awiya Anishinaabeg*** ningwaji ji-danakiiwaad?"

'They said to him, "Aren't there ***any people*** living anywhere?"' (AW19.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-igod** *vta ic conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANobv said to ANsg'; **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **awiya** *pr indef 3* 'anyone'; **Anishinaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'people'; **ningwaji** *av* 'anywhere'; **ji-danakiiwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl might be living there.'

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS. The basic forms of these pronouns are used as simple indefinites, as in the following examples.

(228) ***Waya*** na maanda wwii-miijin? | '***Anyone*** want to eat this (inan.)?' (NS2.4)

> **Waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **wwii-miijin** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg wants to/will eat INsg.'

1 MC optionally obviates in contexts such as this, producing *wayan*.

(229) Megwaa giiwenh miikkamgak ***waya*** gii-mdwe-noondaagzid, "Gzakzomi!"

'One time in one of these hotels, everybody was having a good time, when ***somebody*** shouted in the distance, "We're on fire!"' (NS4.4)

Megwaa *av* 'while'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **miikkamgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN was a good time'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'someone'; **gii-mdwe-noondaagzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg shouted there'; **Gzakzomi** *vai ind 21* 'we are on fire.'

(230) ***Gegoo*** dash wii go wgii-gkendaanaawaa gaawiin miinwaa wiikaa ji-wenpanendnzigwaa iw ji-ndawenjgewaad.

'They really learned ***something***, never again to think it's easy for them to go hunting.' (AK7.16)

Gegoo *pr indef 0* 'something'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **wii** *av* 'indeed'; **wgii-gkendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl knew INsg'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **ji-wenpanendnzigwaa** *vti conj 3pProx»0 neg* '(CONJ) ANpl will not think IN easy'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ji-ndawenjgewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl should/could hunt.'

Waya and *gegoo* may also be used to modify nouns, in which case they usually directly precede the noun, though they may be fronted as well, as in sentence (287).

(231) ***Waya*** na ***giigoonh*** ggii-debnaa? | 'Did you catch ***any fish***?' (MC5.3.)

Waya *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish'; **ggii-debnaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you did catch ANsg.'

(232) Ngii-wiindmawaag, Gnabaj ***waya wesiinh*** yaadig maa ndahbaaning.

'I said to them, "It seems as if there may be ***some creature*** there in the spring (from which we get water)."' (AM10.11)

Ngii-wiindmawaag *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I told ANpl'; **Gnabaj** *av* 'perhaps'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'someone'; **wesiinh** *na 3sProx* 'animal'; **yaadig** *vai ind dub 3sProx* 'ANsg might be there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **ndahbaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'in the spring.'

(233) ***Gegoo*** na gdayaan ***"bmaaknigewaans"*** ge-miin'gaazpa eskoonwid wii-gkendang dnawa plural suffix waa-nakaazad?

"Do you have ***some rule*** that can be given to a student so that slhe will know what kind of plural suffix slhe should use?" (MC)

Gegoo *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gdayaan** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you have INsg'; **ge-miin'gaazpa** *vta/vai pret 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg might be given'; **eskoonwid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCONJ) ANsg who goes to school'; **wii-gkendang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg will know IN'; **dnawa** *pr sim 3/0* 'kind'; **waa-nakaazad** *vai ic conj 3sProx»y* '(CCNJ) ANsg will use (Y).'

GEGOO WITH DEMONSTRATIVE IW. The indefinite pronoun *gegoo* sometimes appears with the inanimate demonstrative *iw* in contexts of subordination.

(234) Nga-nsaa na, gnimaa ***gegoo iw*** gaawiin geyaabi gegoo ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig.

'Am I to kill him, or perhaps ***something so that*** he no longer has any power?"'

Nga-nsaa *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will kill ANsg'; **na** *av* 'QUES'; **gnimaa** *av* 'maybe'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **geyaabi** *av* 'still'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig** *vai conj 3sProx neg* '(CONJ) ANsg would not be powerful.' (AK11.19)

(235) Mii dash gaa-naad aw nmishoomis, "Gego nsaaken mii go eta go ***iw gegoo*** ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig," …

'And my grandfather said to him, "Don't kill him, but only ***something so*** he won't have power,"…' (AK11.20)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **mii** *av* 'but'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig** *vai conj 3sProx neg* '(CONJ) ANsg would not be powerful.'

NOOJ WITH GEGOO. The adverb *nooj*, 'various, sundry' (originally *anooj*) can be used with the indefinite pronoun to mean 'all sorts of things, various things, sundry things.'

(236) ***Nooj gegoo*** sa gii-zhichge maaba shkinwe sa ge-zhi-mdaagwenmigod nonda sa shkiniigkwen waakwebnigjin.

'This young man did ***all kinds of things*** to gain the affections of this young woman who had put him under the love spell.' (AM29.11)

Nooj *av* 'various'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **gii-zhichge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg did so'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **shkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man'; **ge-zhi-mdaagwenmigod** *vta ic conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) so that ANobv will thus like ANsg'; **nonda** *pr 3obv* 'this/these'; **shkiniigkwen** *na 3obv* 'young woman'; **waakwebnigjin** *vta ic conj part 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) put ANsg under a love spell.'

NEGATIVE PRONOUNS. The negative pronoun essentially defines an empty set, that is, specifies that no one or nothing meets some criterion. These pronouns have the negative word *gaawii(n)* (often written as two words, *gaa wii(n)*) or *gaa* in conjunction with the indefinite pronouns, producing *gaawii(n) waya* (or *awiya*) and *gaawii(n) gegoo(n)* for animates and inanimates respectively. *Gaawii(n)* is usually among the first words in its clause, and always precedes the pronoun, though it may be separated from it by intervening material. Often the pronoun follows the verb and the negative precedes, and the negative adverb seems associated with both the verb and the pronoun. All verbs having negative arguments are themselves inflected as negative. The following examples illustrate the basic usage of these pronouns.

(237) ***Gaa wii*** ndoo-giishkhanziin aapji ***gegoo***. | 'I do not cut down ***anything*** at all.'

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **wii** *av* 'not'; **ndoo-giishkhanziin** *vti ind 1s»0s neg* 'I do not cut IN down'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything.' (AM15.13)

(238) Gii-nshkaadzi dash aw mdimooyenh, "***Gaawiin*** niin ndaa-gkinoohmaagsii *waya* ge-zhi-gnawenmag aw nnooshenh."

'Then the old lady got mad, "***Noone*** can tell me how to raise my grandchild!"

> **Gii-nshkaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was angry'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'me'; **ndaa-gkinoohmaagsii** *vta ind 3sProx»1s neg* 'ANsg can not teach me'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **ge-zhi-gnawenmag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) how I will take care of ANsg'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nnooshenh** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandchild.' (AK13.4)

Negatives can be used with nominals to convey the meaning 'not any,' or 'no X.' The verb is inflected as negative.

(239) Gii-biinaad niw jiiskiiwninwan mii dash gaa-kidod aw, "***Gaawiin waya*** maa *kwe* besho ***da-yaasii***."

'He brought the shaking tent shaman, and this one said, "***No woman*** is to be nearby."' (AK11.7)

> **Gii-biinaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg brought ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **jiiskiiwninwan** *na 3obv* 'shaker'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-kidod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg said'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **maa** *av* 'here'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **besho** *av* 'nearby'; **da-yaasii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg will (not) be there.'

(240) Ge wiin dash zhaazhi go giw gaa-bi-nbojig ***gaa wii gegoo mzinhigan*** gii-yaasnoon.

'Only when they died in ancient time there was ***no book***.' (AM24.4)

> **Ge wiin** *av* 'also'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gaa-bi-nbojig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) died'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **mzinhigan** *ni 0s* 'book'; **gii-yaasnoon** *vii ind neg 0* 'there was no IN.'

NEGATIVE EXISTENTIALS. A striking feature of negatives in Nishnaabemwin is the fact that simple NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL assertions are often verbless.

(241) ***Gaawii wiya wiijkiwenywaan***; kina gii-gjibhiwengoba.

'***None of their allies*** were there; they had all run off, apparently.' (SO6.33)

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **wiya** *pr indef 3* 'anyone'; **wiijkiwenywaan** *na 3pProx(3obv)* 'ANpl's friend(s)'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-gjibhiwengoba** *vai ind pdub 3obv* 'ANobv evidently had fled.'

(242) Gkina ngii-bkinaag iw nzhoon'yaam, ***gaa*** dash ***gegoo*** noongwa ***zhoon'yaa***.

'He won all my money from me, and now (I have) ***no money*** (left).' (AM39.357)

> **Gkina** *av* 'all'; **ngii-bkinaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg beat me in contest'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nzhoon'yaam** *ni 1s(0s)* 'my money'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **noongwa** *av* 'now'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money.'

Gaa wii gegoo, literally, 'nothing,' can be used predicationally to mean 'it's nothing, it doesn't matter,' as in the following example:

(243) ***Gaa wii gegoo*** noonde-nboyan, gga-bmaajhin miinwaa, mookseyan.

'***It doesn't matter*** if you die in the attempt, for I will restore you to life again, when you surface.' (SO5.18)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **wii** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **noonde-nboyan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you die before the goal is reached'; **gga-bmaajhin** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'I will revive you'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **mookseyan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you surface.'

A relative clause associated with a verbless negative predication does not show negative inflection.

(244) ***Gaa*** dash ***gegoo waa-miijid***. | 'There was ***nothing*** now ***for him to eat***.' (AM35.45)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **waa-miijid** *vti ic conj part 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANsg could eat IN.'

(245) ***Gaa*** dash ***gegoo waa-zhichged*** sa ji-bmwaad.

'There was ***nothing that he could do*** to shoot it.' (AM36.24)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **waa-zhichged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) that ANsg will do so'; **ji-bmwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg could shoot ANobv.'

UNIVERSAL PRONOUNS. The universal quantifier is *kina* (or *gakina*), which may be combined with the pronouns *waya* (or *awiya*) and *gegoo*, to produce *kina waya* and *kina gegoo*, with the respective meanings 'everyone' and 'everything.' The following examples illustrate the use of these constructions.

(246) Gaawiin waya gga-aanwenmaasii, ***kina waya*** gga-wiijkiweymaa miinwaa gga-wiidookwaa waya iw giishpin ndawendang ji-wiidookwind.

'You are not to look down on anyone, you are to be friendly to ***everyone*** and help anyone if he wants people to help him.' (AK6.8)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **gga-aanwenmaasii** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you SG will look down on ANsg'; **kina** *av* 'every'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* '(any)one'; **gga-wiijkiweymaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you SG will be friendly to ANsg'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gga-wiidookwaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you SG will help ANsg'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **ndawendang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg wants IN'; **ji-wiidookwind** *vta conj x 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg should be helped.'

(247) Mii maa naa eta iw gaa-wndaadziwaad, niw miinan miinwaa mshkiigminan ***kina gegoo*** wgii-zgaknaanaawaa, wgii-gkendaanaawaa maa naa iw ezhi-znagdinig iw bboon. (AK17.11)

'And this is the only way they made a living, they harvested blueberries and cranberries and ***everything***, indeed they knew how hard it was for them in winter.'

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **maa** *av* 'indeed'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wndaadziwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl lived by means of'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **miinan** *ni 0p* 'blueberries'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **mshkiigminan** *ni 0p* 'cranberries'; **kina** *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **wgii-zgaknaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl harvested IN'; **wgii-gkendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl knew INsg'; **maa** *av* 'indeed'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ezhi-znagdinig** *vii ic conj 0obv* '(CONJ) how difficult INobv is'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bboon** *ni 0s* 'winter.'

ABSENCE OF PRONOMINALS. When universal quantification is applied to first and second persons, there is no pronominal (*wiya*), perhaps because the third person feature of the pronoun clashes with first or second person. Rather, *kina* (*gakina*) is used alone, as in the following.

(248) Baamaa-sh ggii-gkenminim zhaazhi ***kina gaa-bi-maajaayeg***.

'It was somewhat later that I realized that ***you all had already left***.' (SO6.82)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ggii-gkenminim** *vta ind 1s»2p* 'I knew of you (pl)'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gaa-bi-maajaayeg** *vai ic conj 2p* '(CCNJ) you (pl) had left.'

(249) ***Kina*** dash ***gnandmigoom*** da-bi-zhaayeg mnik ge-gshkitooyeg ji-bi-waabndameg ge wii ennokiid aw Nishnaabe maa wdankiiwning.

'***You are all invited***, as many of you as will be able, to come and see the ways of the Indian there on his reservation.' (AM18.6)

> **Kina** *av* 'all'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gnandmigoom** *vta ind x»2p* 'you (pl) are invited'; **da-bi-zhaayeg** *vai conj 2p* '(CONJ) you (pl) will come'; **mnik** *av* 'as many as'; **ge-gshkitooyeg** *vti conj 2p»0* '(CCNJ) you (pl) will be able to do IN'; **ji-bi-waabndameg** *vti conj 2p»0* '(CONJ) you (pl) could come and see IN'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **wii** *pr pers 3s* 's/he'; **ennokiid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) how ANsg works so'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wdankiiwning** *ni 3sProx(0) loc* 'at ANsg's place of residence.'

When third person objects being quantified are known from the linguistic or physical context, ***kina*** may occur without a noun or pronoun as well, apparently quantifying the pronominal argument of the verb as it must when it binds first and second persons. This might be considered equivalent to the English distinction between 'everyone/everything' and the use of 'all' as a pronominal form, though in English it is usually restricted to subjects, whereas in Nishnaabemwin it applies most commonly to absolutives (subjects of intransitive verbs and goals of transitive verbs), but occasionally to transitive actors as well. Forms

lacking the pronoun are particularly common in Nishnaabemwin when the referent is animate, in fact only one example of *kina waya* occurs in the combined texts of Andrew Medler, Sam Osawamick, and Alice King. The following examples illustrate the more commonly found construction in these materials.

(250) Mii go ***kina*** gii-nsaawaad. | 'They had killed them ***all***.' (SO6.163)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl killed ANobv.'

(251) Gii-biindged ***kina*** go. | 'In fact, they ***all*** went in.' [N.B. Note singular verb]

> **Gii-biindged** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg entered'; **kina** *av* 'all.' (SO6.179)

When *kina* modifies a noun, it usually precedes the noun, which frequently has no associated demonstrative, though the reference is definite and specific. This construction is perhaps more common with inanimate nouns.

(252) Mii-sh giiwenh zhiwi ***kina*** kosing ***kanan***, ***kanenyan***.

'So ***all the bones*** were piled up there, ***those old bones***.' (SO2.40)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **kosing** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is in a pile'; **kanan** *ni(d) 0p* 'bones'; **kanenyan** *ni(d) contemp 0p* 'old bones.'

(253) Mii giiwenh go ***kina baashkzignan*** zhiwi-sh teg. | '***All the guns*** were there.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **baashkzignan** *ni 0p* 'rifles'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **teg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN are there.' (SO6.130)

However, constructions with demonstratives are common too. In such cases, the quantifier always precedes the demonstrative, which in turn, always precedes the noun it modifies. It is customary, but not obligatory, for the quantifier to precede the verb, regardless of the position the noun phrase it is associated with.

(254) Mii go wadi gaazhiitaawaad, mii go ***kina*** giizhiitaawaad wadi ***nanda wiijkiwenywaan***.

'When they (one group) were finished over there, ***all those companions of theirs*** were finished also.' (SO6.162)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **gaazhiitaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) when ANpl finished'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **giizhiitaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl finished'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **nanda** *pr 3obv* 'this/these'; **wiijkiwenywaan** *na 3pProx(3obv)* 'ANpl's friend(s).'

(255) ***Kina*** dash ***niw*** wdadaawenaawaan. | '***All these*** (things) they sell,' (AM15.3)

> **Kina** *av* 'all'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **wdadaawenaawaan** *vaio ind 3p»0p* 'ANpl sell INpl.'

The variable presence of the demonstrative is made particularly clear by the examples of the following two sentences from two versions of the same story by Andrew Medler:

(256) Aapji dash gii-mno-bmaadzi, gye go ***kina*** gii-maajaamgadni ***wdakjiwin***.

'He felt very well and ***all his cold*** had gone away.' (AM19.15)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-mno-bmaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg felt well'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-maajaamgadni** *vii ind 0obvSg* 'INobvSg was gone'; **wdakjiwin** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsg's cold.'

(257) Aapji gii-mno-bmaadzi gye ***kina iw*** sa ***wdaakziwin*** gii-maajaamgadni.

'He felt very good, and ***his illness*** was ***entirely*** gone.' (AM21.19)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **gii-mno-bmaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg felt well'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wdaakziwin** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsg's illness'; **gii-maajaamgadni** *vii ind 0obvSg* 'INobvSg was gone.'

PARTITIVE USAGE OF KINA. *Kina* can also be used to mean 'the entirety of x.' In such usage, it seems particularly prone to occur before the verb it is associated with.

(258) ***Gakina*** waabanjigaade gichigami imaa epiitaamagak ogidaaki.

'One sees ***all of*** the great lake there, so high up is the place.' (AW6.36)

> **Gakina** *av* 'all'; **waabanjigaade** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is seen'; **gichigami** *ni 0s* 'great lake'; **imaa** *av* 'there'; **epiitaamagak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN of such height'; **ogidaaki** *av* 'on a hill.'

(259) Ogii-nooskwaadahogoon ***gakina*** gii-biinihigod.

'He licked her ***all over*** and cleaned her.' (AW14.76)

> **Ogii-nooskwaadahogoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv licked ANsg'; **gakina** *av* 'all'; **gii-biinihigod** *vta conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANobv cleaned ANsg.'

(260) ***Gakina*** gii-minozowan aniw oniijaanisan. | 'Her child had ***all*** boiled away.'

> **Miinawaa** *av* 'and'; **gakina** *av* 'all'; **ogii-zakahaanaawaa** *vti ind 3p»0s* 'ANpl set fire to INsg'; **owiigiwaamini** *ni 3obv(0)* 'ANobv's house(s).' (AW15.28)

Kina may also be used with mass nouns, with the meaning 'all of X,' as in the following examples.

(261) Gegzhebaawgak ***goon kina*** gii-nkaabaawe.

'By morning ***all of the snow*** had melted away.' (AM10.22)

> **Gegzhebaawgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was morning'; **goon** *na 3sProx* 'snow'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-nkaabaawe** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg melted away.'

(262) Mii dash miinwaa nbiish ngaabaawdood ***kina iw naapaanii***, miinwaa kina gii-giizhtaad nadnang.

'Then she moistens ***all that flour*** with water, and when she has done that she kneads it.' (AM25.4)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water'; **ngaabaawdood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg liquifies IN'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **naapaanii** *ni 0s* 'flour'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-giizhtaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is finished'; **nadnang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg kneads IN into shape.'

KINA WITH RELATIVE ROOTS AND SIMILAR EXPRESSIONS. With RELATIVE ROOTS and similar expressions expressing quantity or degree, *kina* indicates full quantity or complete extent. In attested examples it is always directly before the verb containing the relative root.

(263) Mii dash gii-bbaa-dkobnaad niw zhiishiiban wkaadning ***kina ekwaabiigak*** iw sabaab.

'Then he went about tying those ducks by their legs along ***the whole length of*** that cord.' (AM37.8)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bbaa-dkobnaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg went around tying ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhiishiiban** *na 3obv* 'duck(s)'; **wkaadning** *ni 3obv(0obv) loc* 'on ANobv's leg(s)'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **ekwaabiigak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) the extent of IN's length'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **sabaab** *ni 0s* 'cord.'

(264) Ogii-maawanzomaan binesiwan zhiishiiban ***gakina endaswewaanagizinid***.

'He called together ***all the kinds*** of birds— that is, ducks.' (AW1.2)

> **Ogii-maawanzomaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg gathered ANobv together'; **binesiwan** *na 3obv* 'large bird(s)'; **zhiishiiban** *na 3obv* 'duck(s)'; **gakina** *av* 'all'; **endaswewaanagizinid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv be of diverse kind.'

(265) Mii iw maamawi niizhwaaswi ***gakina gii-dachiwaad***.

'Taken together, they numbered seven ***in all***.' (AW7.15)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **maamawi** *av* 'together'; **niizhwaaswi** *nm* 'seven'; **gakina** *av* 'all'; **gii-dachiwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were so many.'

KINA WITH MEDIALS. *Kina* may also be used to quantify nouns that occur as MEDIAL components within VERBS.

(266) Ogii-giiza***kwanay***ehaan ***gakina***. | 'Slhe$_i$ took off ***all*** hislher$_j$ ***clothes***.' (AW15.18)

> **Ogii-giizakwanayehaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg removed clothes of ANobv'; **gakina** *av* 'all.'

(267) Iwidi gaa-izhaayaang ***gakina*** gii-giizhi***bag***aa apiich gaa-izhaayaang.

'At the place to which we went ***all*** the ***leaves*** were out at the time when we went there.' (AW20.7)

> **Iwidi** *av* 'there'; **gaa-izhaayaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) where we went'; **gakina** *av* 'all'; **gii-giizhibagaa** *vii ind 0s* 'leaves came out'; **apiich** *av* 'when'; **gaa-izhaayaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) we went there.'

KINA IN COMPOUND NOUN PHRASES. The quantifier may be repeated in compound noun phrases, particularly in contexts of emphasis.

(268) ***Gakina*** aanawi mashkikiiwininiwan gaye wii mekade'akwanayen odaano-gii-naadamaagoon ***gakina***.

'In vain ***all*** the doctors and ***all*** the priests tried to help him.' (AW7.7)

> **Gakina** *av* 'all'; **aanawi** *av* 'in spite of'; **mashkikiiwininiwan** *na 3obv* 'doctor(s)'; **gaye** *av* 'and'; **wii** *av* 'indeed'; **mekadehakwanayen** *na 3obv* 'priest(s)'; **odaano-gii-naadamaagoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv in vain tried to help ANsg'; **gakina** *av* 'all.'

ORDERING OF ELEMENTS. The ordering of quantifier, noun, and verb is somewhat variable. The quantifier often precedes the verb, as in (269), but may follow it as well, as in (270).

(269) Ngii-mkawaag ***kina mno-bmaadziwaad giw waajnokiimgig***.

'I found ***all my fellow workers*** in good health.' (AM11.6)

> **Ngii-mkawaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I found ANpl'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **mno-bmaadziwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl live well'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **waajnokiimgig** *vta ic conj part 1s»3pProx* '(CCNJ) whom (ANpl) I work with.'

(270) Aaniish mii sa go gii-dbaajmod wa shkiniigish, mii sa go maanda *gii-gkendmawaad* ***kina*** gaa-zhichged iidig wa mdimooyenh, wgwisan gii-daawed.

'That young fellow then told his story, and ***they all knew*** what the old woman did, that she had sold her sons.' (SO2.41)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-dbaajmod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg told the news'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **shkiniigish** *na 3sProx* 'youth'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **gii-gkendmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg knew of ANobv'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gaa-zhichged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg did'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **wgwisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's son(s)'; **gii-daawed** *vaio conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg sold (Y).'

In the following example, the quantifier appears to directly modify the verb, rather than the noun. This distinction calls to mind the difference in English between the expressions, 'all the snow had melted away,' and 'the snow had all melted away,' in which the quantifier can apply to either the totality of the snow or the achievement of its complete melting. Undoubtedly many subtleties of this sort exist in Nishnaabemwin as well, and my discussion once again only skims the surface of a very rich area of grammar.

(271) Gegzhebaawgak ***goon kina*** gii-nkaabaawe.

'By morning the ***snow*** had ***all*** melted away.' (AM10.22)

> **Gegzhebaawgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was morning'; **goon** *na 3sProx* 'snow'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-nkaabaawe** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg melted away.'

In one example, the quantifier appears within the preverb complex:

(272) Mii dash gaa-nendang iw sa go, "Gwyak go iidog gaa-zhichgeyaan gii-bi-nganag aw nookmis iw sa ***wenji- kina gegoo ni-mnasemgak*** iw ji-bmendzoyaan."

'He thought this, "It must be right what I did when I left my grandmother, that's ***why everything is going along well*** for me to support myself."' (AK13.24)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-nendang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg thought of IN so'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **Gwyak** *av* 'correct(ly)'; **iidog** *av* 'it seems'; **gaa-zhichgeyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) what I did'; **gii-bi-nganag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I left ANsg behind'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nookmis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **ni-mnasemgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN go well'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ji-bmendzoyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I should support myself.'

POSITION OF GAA WII AND KINA. When both the universal and negative quantifiers are present, when the universal quantifier precedes, the meaning is 'not one of them,' as in the following example, which states negative existence and lacks a verbal predicate.

(273) ***Gakina gaa wii awiya***. | '***All*** of them were gone (lit. ***no one***).' (AW1.41)

> **Gakina** *av* 'all'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **awiya** *pr indef 3* 'anyone.'

QUALIFICATION OF KINA WITH GEGAA. The universal quantifier *kina* may be qualified with the adverb *gegaa*, 'almost,' which generally precedes the quantifier, but variable orders are found.

(274) Aazhi dash ***gegaa kina*** wgii-nsaan pii giw ninwag degshinwaad.

'He had killed ***almost all*** of those others when those men arrived.' (AM31.41)

> **Aazhi** *av* 'already'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegaa** *av* 'almost'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **wgii-nsaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg killed ANobv'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ninwag** *na 3pProx* 'men'; **degshinwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) when ANpl arrived.'

RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH *KINA GEGOO*. Relative clauses may be used with *kina gegoo*. The ordering relationship between the relative clause and the quantificational expression is variable.

(275) Gye go ***netaawgitoowaad kina gegoo*** wii-temgad, jiisan, piniig, mdaamnag, mskodiisminag, gye go iw bkwezhgaans, gye go mnoomin, mnijiimin, bnagzignag, gye go gebaakhigaadeg kina gegoo.

'Also ***everything that they raise*** (in the way of crops) will be there: turnips, potatoes, Indian corn, beans, and wheat and oats, peas, hard-shell corn, and every kind of preserves.' (AM18.15)

Gye *av* 'and'; **go netaawgitoowaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx 0* '(CCNJ) which ANpl raise IN'; **kina** *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **wii-temgad** *vii ind 0s* 'IN will be there'; **jiisan** *ni 0p* 'turnips'; **piniig** *na 3pProx* 'potatoes'; **mdaamnag** *na 3pProx* 'corn PL'; **mskodiisminag** *na 3pProx* 'beans'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bkwezhgaans** *ni 0s* 'bread'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'rice'; **mnijiimin** *ni 0s* 'pea'; **bnagzignag** *na 3pProx* 'hard shell corn PL'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **gebaakhigaadeg** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which IN is canned'; **kina** *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing.'

(276) ***Kina gegoo*** da-temgad ***netaawging***, jiisan, eshoonyan, mskodiisminag, piniig, mdaamnag, bnagzignag, mnijiimin.

'There will be ***everything that is raised***: turnips, cabbages, beans, potatoes, Indian corn, hard-shell corn, peas.' (AM16.13)

Kina *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **da-temgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg will be there'; **netaawging** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) grows to maturity'; **jiisan** *ni 0p* 'turnips'; **eshoonyan** *ni 0p* 'cabbages'; **mskodiisminag** *na 3pProx* 'beans'; **piniig** *na 3pProx* 'potatoes'; **mdaamnag** *na 3pProx* 'corn (PL)'; **bnagzignag** *na 3pProx* 'hard shell corn (PL)'; **mnijiimin** *ni 0s* 'pea.'

As with *waya*, 'someone, anyone,' the expression *kina gegoo*, 'everything,' can be used in a CLAUSE having an explicit noun phrase filling the semantic role of the associated verb, demonstrating that *kina gegoo* is not strictly PRONOMINAL.

(277) ***Kina gegoo*** wii-yaamgadoon *niw games*, waa-ggwejkandijig bezhgoogzhiig.

'There will be ***everything in the way of games***, including racing of fast horses.'

Kina *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **wii-yaamgadoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl will be there'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **waa-ggwejkandijig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who ANpl race against each other'; **bezhgoogzhiig** *na 3pProx* 'horses.' (AM16.6)

12.3.15 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns identify participants on the basis of their roles in the communicative context as speakers, addressees, or topics of comment. They are closely related to the person and number affixes that occur on independent order verbs and on possessed nouns. There are personal pronouns for each combination of the three conversational roles (person) and two number categories. But OBVIATION (proximate and obviative), though inflectionally indexed on the verb, is more a NOMINAL than PRONOMINAL category, and can only be introduced in the context of nominals. There are no obviative personal pronouns, nor even are there third person personal pronouns that are distinctly animate or inanimate. In some dialects of Anishinaabemowin, all third person personal pronouns are animate, but in Nishnaabemwin it appears that at least for some speakers they can be inanimate as well. In all dialects of Anishinaabemowin, including Nishnaabemwin, first and second person pronouns are always animate, and verbs that take exclusively inanimate subjects (VII verbs) or inanimate goals (VTI verbs) have no first or second person forms for roles filled by inanimate referents. Pronominal person categories also pattern differently from nominals in their grammatical traits, e.g., second and third person pronominals share a plural, /-waa/, which is opposed to first person /-naany/.

In English, personal pronouns are used to signal primary grammatical relations, a function fulfilled in Nishnaabemwin by means of verbal affixes, as we have seen. Nishnaabemwin personal pronouns are used in two identifiable contexts: first, in syntactic contexts where verbs are not used, either because of the nature of the construction itself, or because of a contextual ellipsis of a verb; secondly, personal pronouns are commonly used in contexts of focus or emphasis. In such uses, they often have meanings corresponding to compound English pronominal expressions such as 'you yourself' or 'your own,' though English also expresses equivalent ideas by means of prosodic emphasis.

VERBLESS POSSESSION FORMULAS. Verbless statements and questions involving ownership, possession, or relationship commonly show pronouns, as in the following example:

(278) Aapii dash ***giin*** gwiiwkwaan? | 'And you, where is ***your*** hat?' (AM39.853)

Aapii *av* 'where'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **gwiiwkwaan** *ni 2s(0s)* 'your hat.'

Often, though, no pronoun occurs.

(279) Aaniipiish ***ndoopwaagan?*** | 'Where is ***my pipe***?' (AM39.855)

Aaniipiish *av* 'where'; **ndoopwaagan** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my pipe.'

DIRECT ADDRESS. Personal pronouns may be used in formal contexts of direct address, as in the following examples, which contain both vocative plural forms and second person plural pronouns. The first example occurs at the end of a long formal, historical account

given by a Manitoulin Island oral historian, and the last example is the opening sentence of a formal speech.

(280) Boozhoo nwiijkiwenydig ***giinwaa*** mnik bezndaageyeg.

'Good-day, my friends, as many of ***you*** (***pl.***) who are listening. '(SO6.189)

Boozhoo *av* 'hello'; **nwiijkiwenydig** *nad voc 1s(2p)* 'you my friends'; **giinwaa** *pr pers 2p* 'you'; **mnik** *av* 'as many as'; **bezndaageyeg** *vai ic conj 2p* 'you (pl) who are listening.'

(281) Mandaagkwedig gye ***giinwaa*** mandaagninwidog!

'Ladies and (***you***,) gentlemen!' (AM18.1)

Mandaagkwedig *na 2p voc* 'ladies'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **giinwaa** *pr pers 2p* 'you'; **mandaagninwidog** *na voc 2p* 'gentlemen.'

Sentence (280) shows a common focusing strategy, that of using a pronoun modified by a restrictive relative clause in order to delimit a particular subgroup, as does the following.

(282) Mii maanda sa ge-waabndameg ***giinwaa*** waa-bi-zhaayeg.

'Such are the things you will see, ***you*** who will come there.' (AM18.18)

Mii *av* 'it's'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **ge-waabndameg** *vti ic conj 2p»0* '(CCNJ) you (pl) will see IN'; **giinwaa** *pr pers 2p* 'you (pl)'; **waa-bi-zhaayeg** *vai ic conj part 2p* '(CCNJ) you (pl) who will come here.'

In commands, the use of pronouns seems to add force to the command.

(283) Aa, mii go ***ge giinwaa*** maajaag! | 'Come on! All of ***you***, leave!' (SO5.67)

Aa *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **giinwaa** *pr pers 2p* 'you (pl)'; **maajaag** *vai imp 2p* '(you pl) leave.'

SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS. Personal pronouns are also common in SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS, which, of course, also involve direct address. Such questions share an imperative feature with commands, since they are essentially commands to provide verbal information.

(284) Aapji shkwaaj egaachiinynijin, Aanii dash ***giin*** ezhnikaazyan? wgii-naan.

'To the smallest one, in the end, he said, "And what is your name, ***you***?"'

Aapji *av* 'really'; **shkwaaj** *av* 'last'; **egaachiinynijin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who ANobv was small'; **Aanii** *av* 'how'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **ezhnikaazyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG are so named'; **wgii-naan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg said to ANobv.' (AM35.6)

(285) Gomaapii "Wenesh ***giin*** ayaawiyan?" | 'After a bit, "Who are ***you***?" (AW19.154)

Gomaapii *av* 'after awhile'; **Wenesh** *pr inter 3/0* 'who'; **giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you.'

There are many other contexts where personal pronouns are used.

(286) Wgii-naan niw sa shkiniigkwen, Gego dash zhgadenmaaken maaba shkinwe. (b) ***Giin*** maa gdizhchigaanaa sa ji-mdaagwenmik.

'He said to the young woman, "And do not be too impatient to have that young man. (b) ***You*** (***yourself***) will bring it about that he will be the one to desire you."'

Wgii-naan *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg said to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkiniigkwen** *na 3obv* 'young woman'; **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **zhgadenmaaken** *vta imp 2s»3sProx neg* 'do not 2s be impatient with AN'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **shkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man.' (b) **Giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gdizhchigaanaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you SG work on ANsg'; **ji-mdaagwenmik** *vta conj 3sProx»2s* '(CONJ) ANsg would like you.' (AM29.7)

(287) Bngiishenh wgii-gaadaajmotwaan ***wiinwaa*** nishnaabewwaad wii-daapnigaazwaad, mii gchi-mookmaan gaa-kidod.

'He concealed a little in telling him that, since ***they*** were Indians, they would be seized according to what the American had said.' (SO6.13)

Bngiishenh *av* 'a little'; **wgii-gaadaajmotwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg made an incomplete report to ANobv'; **wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **nishnaabewwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were Indians'; **wii-daapnigaazwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl would be seized'; **mii** *av* 'that's'; **gchi-mookmaan** *na 3sProx* 'American'; **gaa-kidod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg said.'

PERSONAL PRONOUNS WITH OTHER NOUNS OR PRONOUNS (APPOSITION). Personal pronouns also occur in sentences with nouns and other pronouns making reference to the same characters that the personal pronouns do, creating a situation that is typically translated into English as an APPOSITIVE. In the first example below, the pronoun *wiinwaa*, 'they,' occurs with the animate noun *nishnaabeg*, 'Indians,' and in the second *wiinwaa* occurs with the demonstrative pronoun *giwi*, 'those (anim.).' These constructions commonly involve the conjunctive element *ge*, 'also, and,' or the disjunctive element, *eta*, 'only.'

(288) ***Wiinwaa*** go eta ***nishnaabeg*** zhiwi miigaazwag.

'Only ***they, the Indians,*** were left to fight.' (SO6.34)

> **Wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **miigaazwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl fight.'

(289) Mii go ***ge wiinwaa*** giizhiitaawaad ***giwi.*** | 'And ***those, they too*** were finished also.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **giizhiitaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl finish'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those.' (SO6.186)

PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND FOCUS/EMPHASIS. Personal pronouns are also used in contexts of particular emphasis, which is often implicitly or explicitly contrastive as well. In the following account by Sam Osawamick, a man is visited by friends who request his help in a dangerous task. In order to avoid his obligations, the man makes reference to his state of ill health, several times using the first person singular pronoun to draw attention to his particular state, and to contrast himself with those going:

(290) A: "Gwii-wiikjiwnigoo wii-bbaa-wiijiiwyaang. (b) Nbwaanwihaanaa wadi wii-nsangid bezhig mnidoo, mii sa gaa-zhi-mkwenmigooyan wii-bbaa-wiijiiwyaang, wii-wa-naadmawyaang."

A: "We will ask you to accompany us. (b) We have tried in vain to kill a monster over there, and we thought you would come along with us and help."

> **Gwii-wiikjiwnigoo** *vta ind 1p[x]»2s* 'we will invite you'; **wii-bbaa-wiijiiwyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* 'you will come along with us.' (b) **Nbwaanwihaanaa** *vta ind 1p»3sProx* 'we tried in vain to do to ANsg'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **wii-nsangid** *vta conj 1p»3sProx* 'we want to kill ANsg'; **bezhig** *nm* 'a certain'; **mnidoo** *na 3sProx* 'manitou'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gaa-zhi-mkwenmigooyan** *vta ic conj 1p»2s* 'we thought of you'; **wii-bbaa-wiijiiwyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* 'you will come along with us'; **wii-wa-naadmawyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* 'you will go and help us.'

B: (c) "Oonh, oonh, gaa ***nii***! (d) Ngoji ndaa-de-zhaasii. (e) Ndaakoz ***nii,*** gaawaanh ***nii*** go naa ndizhwebiz.

B: (c) "Oh, not ***me***! (d) I won't be able to go anywhere. (e) ***I*** am sick, ***I*** am hardly able to do anything." (SO4.10-14)

> (c) **Oonh** *av* 'oh'; **oonh** *av* 'oh'; **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I.' (d) **Ngoji** *av* 'anywhere'; **ndaa-de-zhaasii** *vai ind 1s neg* 'I won't be able to go.' (e) **Ndaakoz** *vai ind 1s* 'I am ill'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **gaawaanh** *av* 'barely'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **ndizhwebiz** *vai ind 1s* 'I do things.'

Pronouns are common when the speaker wishes to draw attention to himself or herself.

(291) Mii dash aw bezhig nishnaabe gii-maajaad wii-ndawaabmaad niw, "Nga-aagwaashkwaag ***niin*** giw."

'And this one Indian went away to look for them, "I'll intercept them ***myself***."' (AK2.12)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **gii-maajaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg left'; **wii-ndawaabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg will look for ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I myself'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those.'

(292) "***Niin*** giwi gdan'shinaabemag nwii-gnawenmaag," wgii-goon. "(b) Gaawiin! ***Niin*** go nwii-gnawenmaag."

'"***I*** am going to take charge of those Indians of yours," he said to him. "(b) Oh no (you're not)! ***I*** will look after them ***myself***."' (SO6.10-11)

> **Niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I myself'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gdan'shinaabemag** *na 2s(3pProx)* 'your Indians'; **nwii-gnawenmaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I will take charge of ANpl'; **wgii-goon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv said to ANsg.' (b) **Gaawiin** *av* 'no.' **Niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **go nwii-gnawenmaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I will take charge of ANpl.'

EMPHATIC PARTICLES WITH PRONOUNS. The assertive emphatic particle *sa* is very common with emphatic uses of pronouns, as we would expect.

(293) ***Giin sa*** ggii-mmaazhiiwii, gaa-nji-mzhkoozyaan.

'***You*** played your part very badly, and that's why I got wounded.' (SO6.79)

> **Giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **ggii-mmaazhiiwii** *vai ind 2s* 'you did poorly'; **gaa-nji-mzhikoozyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) why I was wounded.'

The EMPHATIC PARTICLE *go* is also very common in clauses with pronouns, as well as the particle combination *go naa*.

(294) ***Wiinwaa go*** eta nishnaabeg zhiwi miigaazwag.

'Only ***they***, the Indians, were left to fight.' (SO6.34)

> **Wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **miigaazwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl fight.'

See also (290), above, for an example with *nii*, 'I.'

FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS WITH MII. Personal pronouns are also used in focusing contexts with the predicative element *mii*, as in the following example.

(295) Giishpin eyaagin waa-nankiing widi Girls Quarters ***mii go niin*** widi ezhnaazhkaagooyaan ji-waabndamaan wegdagwen iidig nendwendaagdogwen.

'Whenever there was any work to be done over in the Girls' Quarters, ***I was the one*** to be sent there to see what it might be that was wanted.' (AM8.24)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **eyaagin** *vii conj 0 iter* '(CCNJ) there was ever'; **waa-nankiing** *vai ic conj x* '(CCNJ) one will do work'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **go niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **ezhnaazhkaagooyaan** *vta ic conj part 1s* '(CCNJ) I who was sent'; **ji-waabndamaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) I will see IN'; **wegdagwen** *pr dub 0* 'whatever'; **iidig** *av* 'perhaps'; **nendwendaagdogwen** *vii ic conj part dub 0* '(CCNJ) what IN might be wanted.'

GE CONSTRUCTIONS. A common construction in Nishnaabemwin is the combination *ge* plus a personal pronoun. *Ge* is probably related to the ADVERB *gye*, 'and, also' (also often written *ge*), though in combination with a pronoun it forms a single word, as can be seen from the fact that the combination *ge*+pronoun is followed by the yes/no question particle *na*, which is encliticized to the first *word* in a sentence.

(296) Ge giin ***na*** gwii-wiisin? | 'Do you too want to eat?' (AM39.35)

> **Ge** *av* 'also'; **giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **na** *av* 'yes/no ques.'; **gwii-wiisin** *vai ind 2s* 'you want to eat.'

The combination *ge+pronoun* has a variety of meanings linking the action or state of one participant to that of another, sometimes COORDINATELY, with a meaning something like 'too, also,' and sometimes CONTRASTIVELY, with meanings roughly equivalent to English 'as for..., on the other hand...' and similar notions. The following examples illustrate some of the uses of *ge* with personal pronouns.

In a COORDINATE FUNCTION, a single occurrence of ge + pronoun:

(297) Mii dash ***ge nii*** gii-boozyaan. | 'So then ***I, too,*** got on board the train.' (AM8.9)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **gii-boozyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I got on board.'

(298) ***Ge giinwaa*** wii-saanwezyeg ngii-shkonaag.

'I spared them so that ***you, too,*** might have some amusement."' (AM31.46)

> **Ge** *av* 'also'; **giinwaa** *pr pers 2p* 'you'; **wii-saanwezyeg** *vai conj 2p* '(CONJ) you pl will amuse yourselves'; **ngii-shkonaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I spared ANpl.'

Parallel coordinate expressions exist as well, such as the following:

(299) Wedi ***ge gii*** gga-miijin, maanda dash ***ge nii*** nga-miijin waawan.

'***You*** may eat that (one), and ***I*** shall eat this egg.' (AM39.174)

> **Wedi** *ni 0* 'that over there'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **gii** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **gga-miijin** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you will eat INsg'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **nga-miijin** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I will eat INsg'; **waawan** *ni 0s* 'egg.'

In a disjunctive, or contrastive function, often two occurrences of *ge + pronoun* occur, and it is common for the second member of the contrastive pair to be set off with the contrastive particle *dash* (or its partner *wiin*) as well, according to the following form:

(ge-)pronoun...(ge)-pronoun dash/wiin...

The particle *dash* is often reduced to an enclitic *-sh* attached to the word which precedes it.

(300) Nen'shike-sh go wadi ***ge gii*** gdooshkniigiimag bkaan, ***ge nii-sh*** wadi ndooshkniigiimag bkaan.

'Each group will be on its own, ***you*** and your men over there by yourselves, and ***me*** with my men over there by ourselves.' (SO6.100)

> **Nen'shike** *av* 'separately'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **gii** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **gdooshkniigiimag** *na 2s(3pProx)* 'your young men'; **bkaan** *av* 'different'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **ndooshkniigiimag** *na 1s(3pProx)* 'my young men'; **bkaan** *av* 'different.'

(301) Mii iw ezhitwaawaad ***gaye nii niniijaanisag***. (b) ***Niin wiin*** gaa wii nindizhitwaasii.

'***My*** children, ***too***, have that religion. (b) But ***I*** do not have it.' (AW20.24-25)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ezhitwaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) which ANpl practice religion'; **gaye** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **niniijaanisag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my children.' (b) **Niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **wiin** *av* 'however'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wii** *av* 'not'; **nindizhitwaasii** *vai ind neg 1s* 'I do not practice religion.'

When the pronoun is third person, it is very common for a noun or demonstrative pronoun with the same reference to occur in the clause with the pronoun. The pronoun almost invariably precedes the nominal it is associated with. In the following example, the nominal (participial) expression *niw waa-bi-taagwaajin*, 'those (obv.) coming whom they (prox.) will play against' is used in conjunction with the *ge-personal pronoun* construction, *ge wiinwaa*, 'they.' Although the participle is clearly obviative, the pronoun cannot show obviation, but does show plurality, which is not available to animate obviatives, since number (singular versus plural) is neutralized in such forms.

(302) Gye go giw sa waa-bkwaakdwejig ***ge wiinwaa*** sa wii-bi-dgoshnoon ***niw waa-bi-taagwaajin.***

'And as for those (prox.) looking forward to playing baseball, ***they*** will ***also*** arrive, ***those (obv.) whom they (prox.) will play.***' (AM18.9)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **waa-bkwaakdwejig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who ANpl will play baseball'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'they'; **wii-bi-dgoshnoon** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv will arrive here'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **waa-bi-taagwaajin** *vta ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who ANpl will play against ANobv.'

In the following example, the pronoun *ge wiinawaa* occurs with the nominal expression *giw shkinweg*, 'those young people,' and the associated transitive inanimate verb, *wii-gkendmowaad*, 'they will have knowledge of it,' is inflected for a third person plural actor as well, creating triple reference in the clause. Personal pronouns thus clearly do not merely substitute for nominals in these constructions. The emphatic particle *sa* is also common in such contexts, often following the demonstrative pronoun of the nominal phrase.

(303) Mii maanda gaa-zhiwebak sa shkweyaang ge-giizhgak ***ge wiinwaa giw sa shkinweg*** wii-gkendmowaad gegoo gye go iw waa-mno-aabjitoowaad.

'This happened so that in the days to come ***they also, those young men,*** also might have some knowledge and something of which they could make good use.'

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **gaa-zhiwebak** *vii conj 0* '(CCNJ) that (IN) happened'; **shkweyaang** *av* 'following'; **ge-giizhgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) will be day'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **shkinweg** *na 3pProx* 'young men'; **wii-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will know IN'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waa-mno-aabjitoowaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANpl will make good use of.' (AM23.9)

Additional examples:

(304) Mii go ***ge wiinwaa*** giizhiitaawaad ***giwi***. | '***Those*** over there were finished also.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **giizhiitaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl finish'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those.' (SO6.186)

(305) Gii-gdimaagzi ***ge wiin aw kwe.*** | 'She was very poor ***as for her***, the woman.'

> **Gii-gdimaagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was poor'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wiin** *pr pers 3s* 'she'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman.' (AK3.15)

GE WII AS A FIXED EXPRESSION. For some speakers the combination *ge wii* appears to be turning into a fixed expression that means 'also.' In such usage its form is invariant, and may also account for the use of *wii(n)* with reference to inanimate third persons.

(306) Naan'godnong ***ge wii*** ndoo-bbaa-bmakzhiwemi.

'Sometimes we ***also*** go paddling around.' (TN)

> **Naan'godnong** *av* 'sometimes'; **gewii** *av* 'also'; **ndoo-bbaa-bmakzhiwemi** *vai ind 1p* 'we paddle around.'

(307) Niwiitaawsensag ***ge wii*** ndoo-ni-nkawenaanaanig.

'We pick up my little cousins ***also***, along the way.' (TN)

> **Niwiitaawsensag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my cousins'; **gewii** *av* 'also'; **ndoo-ni-nkawenaanaanig** *vta ind 1p»3pProx* 'we stop and pick ANpl up.'

ONE'S OWN. *Ge* (or *gaye*) constructions can also be used to mean 'X's own,' or 'with respect to X's self,' as in the following examples.

(308) Ogii-maawandoonan gakina odagowaansini ***gaye wiinawaa*** odagowiniwaan.

'She gathered up all (the child's) little garments and also ***their own*** clothes.'

> **Ogii-maawandoonan** *vti ind 3sProx»0p* 'ANsg gathered up INpl'; **gakina** *av* 'all'; **odagowaansini** *ni 3obv(0)* 'ANobv's little clothing'; **gaye** *av* 'and'; **wiinawaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **odagowiniwaan** *ni 3pProx(0p)* 'ANpl's clothes.' (AW15.23)

(309) ***Wiinawaa*** ogii-gikendaanaawaa Anishinaabeg gegoo inaapinewaad.

'The Indians ***themselves*** knew what it was when they were in any way ill.'

> **Wiinawaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **ogii-gikendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl knew INsg'; **Anishinaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **inaapinewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were sick in such way.' (AW5.12)

FOR X'S PART. Personal pronouns are often used in an implicit or explicit context of contrast, translating in English as 'for X's part,' or 'as for X.'

(310) ***Gaye wiinawaa*** ogii-gikendaanaawaan waa-izhi-ozhitoowaad odashkodemiwaa ji-bwaa-ayaad wayaabishkiiwed.

'***They for their part*** knew how to make their fire before the white man was here.'

> **Gaye** *av* 'and'; **wiinawaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **ogii-gikendaanaawaan** *vti ind 3pProx»0p* 'ANpl knew INpl'; **waa-izhi-ozhitoowaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANpl will thus make IN'; **odashkodemiwaa** *ni 3pProx(0s)* 'ANpl's fire'; **ji-bwaa-ayaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) before ANsg was there'; **wayaabishkiiwed** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg who is white.' (AW4.37)

(311) Aw ***ge wiinwaa*** sa widi Waabow Island netaa-pagdang iw bkwaakod mii ezhnikaazod Zhaagnaash.

'The best pitcher ***among those (players)*** there on Walpole Island is named Shaganash [Englishman].' (AM18.10)

> **Aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **netaa-pagdang** *vti ic conj part 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) who ANsg is good at throwing IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bkwaakod** *ni 0s* 'ball'; **mii** *av* 'that's'; **ezhnikaazod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) as ANsg is called'; **Zhaagnaash** *na 3sProx* 'Zhaagnaash' (Englishman).

CONTRASTIVE USE OF GE CONSTRUCTION. Contrastive uses of *ge* + personal pronoun occur as well, as in the following example.

(312) Nen'shike-sh go wadi ***ge gii gdooshkniigiimag*** bkaan, ***ge nii-sh*** wadi ***ndooshkniigiimag*** bkaan.

'Each group will be on its own, ***you and your men*** over there by yourselves, and ***me with my men*** over there by ourselves.' (SO6.100)

> **Nen'shike** *av* 'separately'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **gii** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **gdooshkniigiimag** *na 2s(3pProx)* 'your young men'; **bkaan** *av* 'different'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **ndooshkniigiimag** *na 1s(3pProx)* 'my young men'; **bkaan** *av* 'different.'

Sometimes the contrast may be extra-sentential, functioning at a higher level of the discourse, but still be indexed within the clause and sentence. The following examples, which implicitly contrast the relative spiritual impotence of the bluejay compared to other manitou benefactors, are illustrative:

(313) Gaagge bmaandam go maa go naa ***ge wii*** aw jiindiisiinh.

'(But, ***as for him***,) he is always in want, that bluejay.' (AM23.14)

> **Gaagge** *av* 'all the time'; **bmaandam** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is in need'; **maa** *av* 'even'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **wii** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **jiindiisiinh** *na 3sProx* 'bluejay.'

(314) Mii go naa eta ***ge wii*** sa ezhi-gshkihewzid.

'That is the extent of his power. (lit. That's indeed the limit, ***as for him***, of his power)' (AM23.17)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **wii** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **ezhi-gshkihewzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg is thus powerful.'

CONTRASTIVE USE OF PRONOUNS IN CONTEXTS OF NEGATION. Personal pronouns are common in contexts of negation. Negation is contrastive in several ways. For one, a negative statement only has communicative potency to the extent that it is both unexpected and relevant to the development of the speaker's thesis. For example, in the following sentence, an expected outcome does not transpire.

(315) Aanii-sh mii sa giiwenh gii-nbaawaad, gaa ***dash*** giiwenh gii-nbaasii ***wiin***.

'They went to bed, ***but he*** did not sleep.' (SO2.24)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **gii-nbaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl slept'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **gii-nbaasii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg did not sleep'; **wiin** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg.'

Secondly, negatives are often used in explicitly disjunctive contrastive constructions, such as exemplified by the following, in which the positive verb of the first member of the contrastive pair is repeated in the second clause with contrasting negative inflection.

(316) Mii iw ezhitwaawaad gaye nii niniijaanisag. (b) ***Niin wiin gaa wii nindizhitwaasii***.
'My children, too, have that religion. (b) ***But I do not have it***.' (AW20.24-25)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ezhitwaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) which ANpl practice religion'; **gaye** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **niniijaanisag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my children.' (b) **Niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **wiin** *av* 'however'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **nindizhitwaasii** *vai ind neg 1s* 'I do not practice religion.'

(317) Gii-mnozwaan giiwenh go niwi wa giigoonyan, gii-mwaad.
(b) ***Wiin-sh*** giiwenh ***gaa wii wgii-mwaasiin***.

'That fellow cooked the fish, and ate it. (b) ***But he*** (the first fellow) ***didn't eat any***.' (SO3.15-16)

> **Gii-mnozwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg cooked ANobv'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **go niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'that/those'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **giigoonyan** *na 3obv* 'fish'; **gii-mwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg ate ANobv.' (b) **Wiin** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **wgii-mwaasiin** *vta ind neg 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg did not eat ANobv.'

Personal pronouns are common in these contrastive (negative) contexts. Local pronouns (first and second person) are particularly common in the context of negative assertions.

(318) Gaa wii ***giin*** gegoo gidizhi-onizhishisii.

'***You*** are not a suitable person for that.' (AW19.42)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **gidizhi-onizhishisii** *vai ind neg 2s* 'you are not thus nice for.'

(319) ***Gaye wii*** niwiidigemaagan mii naasaab gaa-izhitwaad; ***niin*** gaa wii.

'My husband, too, practised that rite, but not ***I***.' (AW20.33)

> **Gaye** *av* 'and'; **wii** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **niwiidigemaagan** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my spouse'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **naasaab** *av* 'equivalently'; **gaa-izhitwaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg practiced religion so'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not.'

(320) Gaa wii dash ningii-waabamaasiig ***niin*** igo.

'I did not see them ***myself***.' (AW20.41)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ningii-waabamaasiig** *vta ind neg 1s»3pProx* 'I did not see ANpl'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I myself'; **igo** *av* 'indeed.'

PRONOUNS OF PRECEDENCE. There are compound personal pronouns to express the idea of 'X first, X's turn' e.g., *niinitamawi*, 'our (excl.) turn, we're first,' and *giintamwaa*, 'your (pl.) turn, you're first.' The following examples illustrate the use of these pronouns:

(321) ***Niintamwi*** nga-wiisnimi. | '***We*** (excl.) will eat ***first*** (before others).' (MC)

> **Niintamwi** *pers pr 1p* 'we (excl.) first'; **nga-wiisnimi** *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl.) will eat.'

(322) Aaw ***niinitam*** niga-baashkizwaag. | 'Okay, I'll be ***first*** to shoot them.' (GM8.39)

> **Aaw** *av* 'okay'; **niinitam** *pr pers 1s* 'I first'; **niga-baashkizwaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I will shoot ANpl.'

However, many contemporary speakers also use regular personal pronouns in combination with the separate adverb, *ntam*, 'first.' The following examples show typical Odawa (Wikwemikong) usage.

(323) ***Wiinwaa ntam*** daa-ke-wiisniwag. | '***They*** should eat ***first***.' (MC)

> **Wiinwaa** *pers pr 3p* 'ANpl'; **ntam** *av* 'first'; **daa-ke-wiisniwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl should first eat.'

(324) ***Giinwaa ntam*** wiisnik! | '***You (all)*** eat ***first***.' (MC)

> **Giinwaa** *pers pr 2p* 'You (pl)'; **ntam** *av* 'first'; **wiisnik** *vai imp 2p* '(you pl) eat.'

PRONOUNS OF EXCLUSIVITY. Very similar to the pronouns in the preceding section is a set found in other dialects of Anishinaabemowin which are used to convey the idea of 'just X, only X' e.g., *niinetawind*, 'just us (excl.),' and *giinetawaa*, 'just you (pl.), only you (pl.).'

Such special pronominal forms are evidently not used in Nishnaabemwin, and the equivalent ideas are conveyed by using the regular personal pronoun in conjunction with adverb eta, 'only, just,' as in the following examples.

(325) ***Niinwi eta*** ngii-zhaami. | '***Just we/us (excl.)*** went.' (MC)

> **Niinwi** *pers pr 1p* 'we (excl)'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **ngii-zhaami** *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl.) went.'

(326) ***Giinwaa*** na ***eta*** gdayaam? | 'Is it ***just you guys*** that are here?' (MC)

> **Giinwaa** *pers pr 2p* 'you (pl)'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **gdayaam** *vai ind 2p* 'you (pl) are here.'

PRONOUNS OF CONTRASTIVE EMPHASIS. In some varieties of Nishnaabemwin there exist first and second pronoun forms that provide contrastive emphasis. These pronouns appear to be formed by reduplicating the first syllable of the corresponding personal pronoun. The following table lists attested forms.

1s	niinii	'as for me'
2s	giigii	'as for you (sg.)'
1p	niiniinwi	'as for us (excl.)'
21	giigiinwi	'as for us (incl.)'
2p	giigiinwaa	'as for you (pl.)'

(327) Gaa wii ***niinii*** wi ndaa-zhichgesii. | '***I*** wouldn't do that (if I were you).' (MC)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **niinii** *pers pr 1s* 'as for me'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ndaa-zhichgesii** *vai ind neg 1s* 'I would not do so.'

(328) Gaa wii ***giigii*** maamdaa wii-bi-zhaayin. | '***You (sg.)*** can't come (with us).' (MC)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **giigii** *pers pr 2s* 'as for you (sg)'; **maamdaa** *av* 'necessarily' **wii-bi-zhaayin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (sg) will come.'

(329) Gaa wii maamdaa ***niiniinwi*** wii-naadmaageyaang, ndoo-ndamtaami ***niiniinwi***.

'***We (excl.)*** can't help out, ***we***'re busy.' (MC)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **maamdaa** *av* 'necessarily'; **niiniinwi** *pers pr 1p* 'as for us (excl)'; **wii-naadmaageyaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we (excl) will help out'; **ndoo-ndamtaami** *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl) are busy'; **niiniinwi** *pers pr 1p* 'as for us (excl).'

The following example shows how equivalent expressions with third person focus, using third person plural pronoun *wiinwaa* in combination with the demonstrative *giwi*.

(330) 'Gaawii ***wiinwaa giwi*** maamdaa wii-bi-zhaawaad.

'***Those guys, they*** can't come.' (MC)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **wiinwaa** *pers pr 3p* 'ANpl'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **maamdaa** *av* 'necessarily'; **wii-bi-zhaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl will come.'

12.4 Proximate and Obviative: Foregrounding and Backgrounding

OBVIATION is one of the most interesting discourse phenomena in Nishnaabemwin. Its workings are relatively simple: within a given clause, only one third person animate referent can be in the foreground at a time; all other third person referents are backgrounded by making them obviative, which is marked by suffixes on animate nouns and by inflection on verbs. The foregrounded referent is said to be PROXIMATE. A referent can only be backgrounded (OBVIATED) in the presence of a foregrounded (proximate) referent, so a story, for example, can't begin with an obviated referent representing a character that the storyteller wishes to keep in the background. Only an animate third person can trigger obviation, inanimates cannot, though they themselves can be obviated by an animate. Obviation has been called a system of disjoint reference, a way of grammatically distinguishing the animate third person arguments of a predicate or a possessed noun phrase.

Animate nouns all have obviative forms, which can readily be derived from their plurals by changing the last consonant of the plural to /n/, e.g., the plural form of *kik*, 'kettle,' is *kikoog*, and the obviative is *kikoon*. The following sentence shows a typical example of an obviated animate noun.

(331) Giw dash kwewag wgii-gnawenmaawaan ***niw binoojiinyan***.

'The women took care of ***the children***.' (AK2.3)

> **Giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **dash** *av* 'and'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **wgii-gnawenmaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl took care of ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren).'

The inflection of obviative forms is covered in detail in Chapter 4. Here, though, note that the noun *binoojiinyan*, 'child/children,' carries an obviative suffix, and has an obviative demonstrative pronoun associated with it, *niw*.

Inanimate nouns are not inflected for obviation, but verbs associated with them can be inflected to show obviation. The following examples illustrate this, from two tellings of the same story by Andrew Medler. In both examples, the inanimate intransitive verb (VII) *maajaamgad*, 'leave,' is inflected for obviation; in the first it is inflected with INDEPENDENT

ORDER inflection (spelled «ni»), and in the second, with inflection for the CONJUNCT order (spelled «nig»).

(332) Aapji dash gii-mno-bmaadzi, gye go kina ***gii-maajaamgadni***$_{\text{OBV}}$ ***wdakjiwin***.

'He felt very well and all ***his cold had gone away***.' (AM19.15)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-mno-bmaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg felt well'; gye *av* 'and'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-maajaamgadni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv was gone'; **wdakjiwin** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANSG'S cold.'

(333) Gegzhebaawgak gii-wnishkaa, gye go mii iw gii-mno-bmaadzid, ***gii-maajaamgadnig***$_{\text{OBV}}$ ***wdaakziwin***.

'When morning came he got up, and now he felt well and ***his illness had gone***.' (AM20.12)

> **Gegzhebaawgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was morning'; **gii-wnishkaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg got up'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-mno-bmaadzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg felt well'; **gii-maajaamgadnig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) INobv left'; **wdaakziwin** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANSG'S illness.'

Unspecified actors do not obviate the subjects of third person passive verbs.

(334) Gchi-gnawaabmaa wa Aanmaa Nishnaabemod.

'People looked with some surprise at the German speaking Indian.' (FF04.25)

> **Gchi-gnawaabmaa** *vta ind x»3sProx* 'ANsg was looked at with surprise'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Aanmaa** *na* 'German'; **Nishnaabemod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg speaks Ojibwe.'

Obviation can be used to disambiguate the participants in subordinate clauses in relation to those in a main clause. In the following sentence, for example, it is clear that it is the ducks that are floating around, and not Nenabush (the actor), since the verb in the subordinate clause is obviative, in agreement with the ducks in the main clause.

(335) Wgii-waabmaan dash niw zhiishiiban$_{\text{OBV}}$ niibna ***bbaa-gomnid***$_{\text{OBV}}$.

'He (Nenabush) saw many ducks (obv.) ***as they (obv.) floated about***.' (AM38.6)

> **Wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhiishiiban** *na 3obv* 'duck(s)'; **niibna** *av* 'many'; **bbaa-gomnid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv float about.' / **bbaa-gomod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg floats about.'

To change the reference in the subordinate clause to that of Nenabush, one need only change the verb of the subordinate clause to proximate:

(336) Wgii-waabmaan dash niw zhiishiiban niibna ***bbaa-gomod***.

'He (Nenabush) saw many ducks (obv.) ***as he (prox.) floated about***.' (AM38.6 (modified))

> **Wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhiishiiban** *na 3obv* 'duck(s)'; **niibna** *av* 'many'; **bbaa-gomnid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv float about.' / **bbaa-gomod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg floats about.'

OBLIGATORY OBVIATION. Obviation is obligatory in two contexts. First, any third person possessed by another third person must be obviative. For many speakers, only animate nouns can be possessors. Animate nouns, of course, show their obviation status with an obviative suffix, but as mentioned, inanimate nouns may indirectly show their obviative status through verb inflection. In the following sentence, for example, an (animate) possessor triggers obviative inflectional marking on an inanimate intransitive verb (VII) of which the inanimate possessed noun is subject:

(337) Pii dash go naawkweg gaawaanh ***beshaabiigmoni***$_{\text{OBV}}$ ***iw wmakdewshkiinzhgwaan***.

'But when it is noon, ***his pupil*** (NB of eye) ***is only a very narrow line***.' (AM27.4)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **naawkweg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) it is noon'; **gaawaanh** *av* 'barely'; **beshaabiigmoni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv be a narrow stringlike object'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wmakdewshkiinzhgwaan** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANSG'S pupil of eye.'

The following example illustrates obviation of animate possessed nouns, both kinship terms, /daan/, 'daughter,' and /gwis/, 'son.'

(338) Mii dash gii-maajii-yaawaad binoojiinyan aw nookmis, gii-nsiwan ***niw wdaanwaan*** gii-bezhgowan dash ***wgwiswaan***.

'And then my grandmother started having children, their ***daughters*** were three and their ***son*** was one.' (AK11.22)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-maajii-yaawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg began to have ANobv'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren)'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nookmis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **gii-nsiwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv were three in number'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdaanwaan** *na 3pProx(3obv)* 'ANpl's daughter(s)'; **gii-bezhgowan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv was one in number'; **dash** *av* 'on the other hand'; **wgwiswaan** *na 3pProx(3obv)* 'ANpl's son(s).'

Richard Rhodes (1991:104) points out that possessor obviatives behave distinctly from non-possessor obviatives in often showing proximate APPOSITIVES, as in (339), below, and in triggering verb agreement only when they are the subjects of verbs, almost always intransitive verbs in contemporary usage, as opposed to objects. Example (340) illustrates an object (goal) possessed noun, *wgwiiwzensmiwaan*, 'their son(s),' which fails to trigger verb agreement, and (341), the object, *wmiignan*, 'ANsg's feather(s),' which also functions as an object (goal).

(339) Mdimooyenh go naa gii-naanwan niwi$_{OBV}$ wgwisan$_{OBV}$, shkinwensag$_{PROX}$, shkinweg$_{PROX}$.

'There was an old woman with five sons, boys and teenagers.' (SO)

> **Mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **go naa** *pc* 'emphatic'; **gii-naanwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv were five in number'; **niwi** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wgwisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's son(s)'; **shkinwensag** *na 3pProx* 'boys'; **shkinweg** *na 3pProx* 'young men.'

(340) Nwaabmaa$_{PROX.SG.GOAL}$ wgwiiwzensimiwaan$_{OBV}$. | 'I see their son.' (AM39.288)

> **Nwaabmaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* ''I see ANsg'; **wgwiiwzensmiwaan** *nad 3pProx(3obv)* *'ANpl's son(s).'*

(341) Ngii-bshkobnaag$_{PROX.PL.GOAL}$ wmiignan$_{OBV}$ aw zhiishiibenh.

'I plucked that duck's feathers.'(AM39.288)

> **Ngii-bshkobnaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* ''I plucked ANpl'; **wmiignan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* *'ANsg's feather(s)'*; **aw** pr 3sProx 'that'; **zhiishiibenh** na 3sProx 'duck.'

The other context in which obviation is obligatory is that of the third person participants filling the semantic roles associated with a single verb: only one can be the proximate, and the rest must be obviative. This restriction is most obviously seen at work in transitive animate verbs (VTA), which by definition have at least two semantic roles, both an animate actor and goal, and when both roles are filled by third persons, one of them must be obviative. The following example illustrates.

(342) Bezhig dash aw nishnaabe wgii-nsidtawaan ***zhaagnaashan***.

'And this one Indian understood ***white people***.' (AK2.10)

> **Bezhig** *nm* 'a certain'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **wgii-nsidtawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg understood ANobv'; **zhaagnaashan** *na 3obv* 'white(s).'

The verb *nsidtawaad*, 'understand AN,' has two semantic roles associated with it, an actor, the one(s) who understand(s), and a goal, the one(s) who is/are understood. Here, there are two noun phrases associated with the verb *wgii-nsidtawaan*, an actor, *bezhig aw nishnaabe*, 'one of the Indians,' which is proximate, and *zhaagnaashan*, 'white person/people,' which is obviative, clearly marked as such by the obviative suffix /-an/.

The same rule applies for ditransitive verbs, that is, those that have two objects, such as *miinaad*, 'give something to AN.' Only one nominal associated with the verb can be proximate, and the others must be obviative. When there is a third person giver (ACTOR) or receiver (GOAL), mention of the object transferred (THEME) requires that it be obviative. The following example illustrates.

(343) ***Semaan*** gii-miinaawag giw kiwenziinyag gaa-bi-zhaajig.

'The old men who had come were given ***tobacco***.' (AK10.6)

> **Semaan** *na 3obv* 'tobacco'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given Y'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **kiwenziinyag** *na 3pProx* 'old men'; **gaa-bi-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* 'who (ANpl) came.'

Here the old men, *giw kiwenziinyag*, is a proximate nominal; the object transferred, *semaan*, 'tobacco' NA, is marked as obviative.

Rhodes (1991:103) points out that subjects (actors) control obviation of objects (goals) and that objects control obviation in obliques (non-goal objects), i.e., that the control of obviation follows the conventional hierarchy of grammatical relations.

It is important to realize that it is not the presence of overt nominals in association with a verb that trigger the requirements of obviation. The role-fillers associated with a verb need not have overt expression in order to trigger obviation. Consider the following:

(344) Mii dash gii-bkonaad ***niw waawaashkeshwan***. | 'Then he skinned ***that deer***.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bkonaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg skinned ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **waawaashkeshwan** *na 3obv* 'deer.' (AM35.30)

The verb *bkonaad*, 'skin AN,' is transitive animate (VTA), and thus has two semantic roles associated with it, a skinner, filling the role of actor, and whatever is skinned, filling the role of goal. If both roles are filled by a third person, one of them must be obviative, and indeed, in this case, there is an obviative nominal, *niw waawaashkeshwan*, 'that/those deer (obv.).' There is only one explicit nominal, *niw waawaashkeshwan*, and the actor is expressed only by inflections on the verb, namely the suffix complex /-aad/, which indicates that a third-person proximate actor is acting on a third-person animate obviative goal. Obviation is checked in the role structure of the verb itself, in the inflection, and the explicit nominals are then marked in accordance with the inflection. Consider also the following sentence.

(345) Mii dash maaba nishnaabe gii-giisaadenmaad [mii dash gii-biidmawaad ***niw waabgan-pwaagnan*** miinwaa ***semaan***].

'And this Indian felt sorry for her and he brought her a ***clay pipe*** and also ***tobacco***.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **gii-giisaadenmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg felt sad for ANobv'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-biidmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg brought Y for ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **waabgan-pwaagnan** *na 3obv* 'clay pipe(s)'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **semaan** *na 3obv* 'tobacco.' (AK12.4)

This sentence has two transitive verbs, *gii-giisaadenmaad*, 'feel sorry for AN,' and *gii-biidmawaad*, 'bring something to AN.' For our purposes, we are interested in the latter, which has two object roles associated with it, one, representing the object(s) brought, and a second, representing the one(s) to whom the object is brought. In addition there is an actor role, that of the bringer. We can summarize these roles as follows, using a chart that lists the SEMANTIC ROLES associated with the verb:

biidmawaad	Actor	Goal	Theme
	bringer	one(s) brought to	thing(s) brought

Now if we examine (345), above, we see that it is only the theme that is expressed with an overt nominal, namely, *niw waabgan-pwaagnan miinwaa semaan*, 'that clay pipe and tobacco.' But both nouns, *waabgan-pwaagan* and *semaa* are marked with obviative suffixes, and the inflectional marking on the verb clearly shows that there are other third persons filling this verb's semantic roles. The actor is filled by a third person animate singular proximate, and the goal is filled by a third person animate obviative. This is all communicated by means of the suffix /-aad/, and if it is understood from context who is being talked about, there is no need for overt nominals in such sentences. So, to summarize, using a semantic role chart:

biidmawaad	Actor	Goal	Theme
	animate third person singular proximate	animate third person obviative	niw waabgan-pwaagnan miinwaa semaan (obviative)
	/-aad/		

So the nouns in *niw waabgan-pwaagan miinwaa semaan*, 'that clay pipe and tobacco,' must be marked as obviative because they are animate nouns filling a theme (thing transferred) semantic role of a verb that has another role, in this case an actor role, filled by a proximate. This fact is signalled solely by the inflection on the verb, /-aad/.

OPTIONAL OBVIATION. The subject of a matrix clause can optionally obviate the subject of an adjunct (clause of time, location, manner, etc.) or complement subordinate clause. For example, in example (335), above (p. 624), the subordinate verb, *bbaa-gomnid*, 'as ANobv floated about,' is obviative, made so by the subject of the main verb, *wgii-waabmaan*, 'ANsg saw ANobv.' Richard Rhodes (1991:107) suggests that the application of obviation in these seemingly optional contexts is guided by the relative discourse-level topicality of both the trigger and target of obviation, in that more topical elements tend to induce more obviation and be more resistant to obviation, while less topical elements have the opposite behaviour. Rhodes also observes the following contrasts:

(346) Ngii-mbwaachhig gaa-bi-gsinaa(*ni)g. | 'He visited me when it got cold.' (RV)

> **Ngii-mbwaachhig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg visited me'; **gaa-bi-gsinaa(*ni)g** *vii ic conj 0* 'when IN(obv) came to be cold.'

(347) Miish gii-mbwaachhid gaa-bi-gsinaa(ni)g. | 'He visited me when it got cold.' (RV)

> **Miish** *av* 'and so'; **gii-mbwaachhid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg visited me'; **gaa-bi-gsinaa(*ni)g** *vii ic conj 0* 'when IN(obv) came to be cold.'

In the first sentence optional obviation of the verb in the temporal adjunct clause, *gaa-bi-gsinaag*, 'when IN got cold,' signalled by the suffix /-ini/, is not allowed, while in the second it is. The main verb in (346), *ngii-mbwaachhig*, has an inverse form, signalled by the inverse theme sign, /-igw/. The conjunct equivalent in sentence (347), *gii-mbwaachhid*, does not have an inverse, but a first person object theme sign, /-i/, followed by a third person subject suffix /-d/. These two sentences also illustrate how the inverse patterns somewhat

differently in the independent and conjunct orders. Rhodes argues that inverse forms actually reverse grammatical relations, so the third person argument in (346), even though it is an agent, is not a subject, and thus cannot control obviation in the adjunct clause. However, for some speakers, optional obviation can occur with either independent or conjunct in these cases, as in the following:

(348) Ngii-baabiitookdamaag gaa-mnadenig. | 'S/he sliced it for me once it$_{OBV}$ was done.'

> **Ngii-baabiitookdamaag** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg sliced Y for me'; **gaa-mnadenig** *vii ic conj 0obv* 'when INobv was done cooking.' (MC)

(349) Mii-sh gii-baabiitookdamwid gaa-mnadenig.

'So s/he sliced it for me once it$_{OBV}$ was done.' (MC)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **gii-baabiitookdamwid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg sliced Y for me'; **gaa-mnadenig** *vii ic conj 0 obv* 'when INobv was done cooking.'

OBVIATION AND FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS. Obviation only occurs in the context of two third persons. If the actor or goal of a simple transitive verb is first or second person, and there is a single unpossessed third person filling the other role, then that third person need not be obviative, though it can be if it happens to be obviative due to its being possessed by a third person possessor, or if it represents a perpetuation of obviation assigned in the preceding discourse.

The same is true of possessed nouns— if the possessor is first or second person, singular or plural, the noun referring to the person or thing possessed is not required to be obviative. There are thus possessed forms such as *noos*, 'my father' (proximate), but *oosan*, 'her/his father,' (obviative); *ngwis*, 'my son' (proximate) but *wgwisan*, 'her/his son' (obviative). Nouns possessed by first and second persons can be obviative, just like any other noun, in the proper context in which a different third person is proximate, as in the following sentence:

(350) Wgii-gnoonaan ***niw ndoodooman*** aw kwe, ...

'That woman talked to my mother....' (AK3.14a)

> **Wgii-gnoonaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg spoke to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ndoodooman** *na 1s(3obv)* 'my mother'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman.'

Here there are two third person nominals, *aw kwe*, 'that woman,' which is proximate, and *niw ndoodooman*, 'that mother of mine,' which is obviative— this can be seen by virtue of the obviative suffix it carries, /-an/. But the expression *ndoodooman* is not obviative because it is possessed, but because it is in a grammatical context where another third person, *aw kwe*, has been given proximate status, and so must be obviative.

DETERMINING WHICH CHARACTERS ARE PROXIMATE AND WHICH ARE OBVIATIVE. With regard to possessive constructions with third person possessors, there is no choice as to which of the possessor or possessum is obviative—it is obligatorily the possessum. So, in expressions such as *maaba nini wgwisan*, 'this man's son(s),' the term for son, /gwis/ must be marked as obviative, because it is "possessed" by a grammatical third person the man, *maaba nini*.

In transitive verbs, however, there is more freedom as to what is proximate and what is obviative. In the most typical case, it is the actor that is proximate, and the goal that is obviative, as in the following:

(351) ***Giw*** dash ***kwewag*** wgii-gnawenmaawaan niw binoojiinyan.

'***Th(os)e women*** took care of the children.' (AK2.3)

> **Giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **wgii-gnawenmaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl took care of ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren).'

Here, *giw kwewag*, 'those women,' fills the actor role, and *niw binoojiinyan*, 'that/those child/ren,' fills the role of goal. However, it is possible to reverse the obviation roles by making the following changes:

(352) ***Niw*** dash ***kwewan*** wgii-gnawenmigwaan giw binoojiinyag.

'***The woman/women (obv.)*** took care of the children (prox.).' (AK2.3)

> **Niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **kwewan** *na 3obv* 'woman/women'; **wgii-gnawenmigwaan** *vta ind 3obv»3pProx* 'ANobv took care of ANpl'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children.'

To bring about this reversal of obviation, three sets of changes had to be made:

- the suffixes on the nouns are changed, changing *binoojiinyan* (obviative) to *binoojiinyag* (proximate, plural), and *kwewag* (proximate, plural) to *kwewan* (obviative).
- the demonstrative pronouns are changed to match the obviation status of their associated nominals, changing *niw* (obviative) to *giw* (proximate plural) and vice versa.
- the verbal inflection is changed from *gnawenmaawaan* to *gnawenmigwaan*.

The last change, the change in the verb's inflection, deserves further comment. Analyzing the verbal suffix complexes of the two verb forms into their component parts, we find the following elements:

	Suffixes		
Stem	Theme Suffix	Plural Suffix	Obviative Suffix
gnawenim	-aa	-waa	-an
	-ig	-waa	-an

By breaking down the inflectional suffix complex, it is clear that just the theme suffix has changed: when the actor is proximate, the theme suffix is /-aa/, and when the goal is proximate, the theme suffix is /-ig/. The traditional terms for these theme suffixes are direct for /-aa/ and inverse for /-igw/.[1] We can now summarize, as follows:

Obviation and Theme Suffixes for Third Persons in TA Verbs
• If the ACTOR is PROXIMATE…
then the GOAL must then OBVIATIVE…
and the THEME SUFFIX is DIRECT, /-aa/
• If the GOAL is PROXIMATE…
then the ACTOR must then be OBVIATIVE…
and the THEME SUFFIX is INVERSE, /-igw/

So a speaker always has a choice as to which of the actor or goal is made proximate, but there is a grammatical requirement that whichever of them isn't is then made obviative, and the verb bears a theme suffix that indicates whether it is the actor or the goal that is proximate.

THE POSSESSOR CONSTRAINT (RHODES 1992). Rhodes 1992 examines restrictions on possessor relations within a single clause. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

(353) John wgii-waabmaan wgwisan. | 'John saw his son.' (RV)

> **wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **wgwisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S son(s).'

In this sentence John is both the actor (subject) of the transitive verb *wgii-waabmaan*, and the possessor of the goal (object), *wgwisan*, 'his son.' It is also possible to use an inverse theme suffix and give the son the actor (subject) role.

(354) John wgii-waabmigoon wgwisan. | 'John$_a$'s son (obv.) saw him$_a$.' (RV)

> **wgii-waabmigoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv saw ANsg'; **wgwisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S son(s).'

1. The suffix actually has the form /-igw/, with a final /w/ that is often deleted or fuses with a following /i/ to produce /o/.

However, we cannot make John's son the subject and John the object, and use a direct theme suffix:

(355) *Wgwisan wgii-waabmaan Johnan. | 'His$_a$ son saw John$_a$.' (RV)

> ***Wgwisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S son(s)'; **wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **Johnan** *na 3obv* 'John (obv).'

Because the son, the subject, is possessed by the object, John, the sentence is ungrammatical. The following sentence is also disallowed, when the father is John.

(356) *John wgwisan wgii-waabmaan oosan. | 'John$_a$'s son$_b$ saw his$_b$ father$_a$.' (RV)

> ***John** *na 3sProx* 'John'; **wgwisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S son(s)'; **wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **oosan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's father.'

Here the problem is once again that the subject is possessed by the object. Now consider the following two sentences.

(357) John wgii-waabmaan noosan. | 'John (prox.) saw my father (obv.)'

> **John** *na 3sProx* 'John'; **wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **noosan** *nad 1s(3obv)* 'my father.'

(358) John wgii-waabmigoon noosan. | 'My father (obv.) saw John (prox.).'

> **John** *na 3sProx* 'John'; **wgii-waabmigoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv saw ANsg'; **noosan** *nad 1s(3obv)* 'my father.'

Here, even though the goal, *noosan*, 'my father (obv.),' is possessed and obviative, both sentences are grammatical, because *noosan* is not possessed by John. Richard Rhodes (1993:4) has formulated the restrictions on possessor relations within a clause in his Possessor (Clausemate) Constraint, which he states as follows:

> No clause (in Ottawa) is grammatical which contains a nominal, n_1, possessed by a third person, p, and a nominal coreferential with p, n_2, unless the grammatical relation borne by n_2 outranks that borne by n_1 on th relational hierarchy in final relations.

While this constraint is cast in the theoretical trappings of relational grammar, Rhodes clarifies by stating that "in the simplest cases this means that if the subject is possessed by the object, the clause is ungrammatical … or if the primary object is possessed by the secondary object, then the clause is ungrammatical" (p. 4). Discussion of grammatical relations can be found in Chapter 18.6, beginning on page 957.

OBVIATION AND VAIO VERBS. In transitive animate (VTA) verbs with third persons filling both the actor and goal roles, which of the actor or goal is filled by a proximate can be determined by inspecting the inflectional theme suffix and the obviation status of any associated nominals. The following example illustrates this:

(359) Wgii-ggwejmaan dash niw ngitziiman maaba Gchi-mookmaan.

'Then this American asked my parents.' (AM8.4)

Wgii-ggwejmaan *vta 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg asked ANobv'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ngitziiman** *nad 1s(3obv)* 'my parents'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **Gchi-mookmaan** *na 3sProx* 'white American.'

The verb form *wgii-ggwejmaan*, has a direct theme suffix, /-aa/, indicating that the actor is proximate and the goal is obviative. The nominal *maaba Gchi-mookmaan*, 'this American,' is proximate, and *niw ngitziiman*, 'that/those parent(s) of mine,' is marked as obviative. So it is the American who is the actor and the parents who are the goal. The transitive animate theme suffix is thus very important in these determinations. Now consider the following sentence, which does not have a transitive animate verb:

(360) Gii-bootaagewag giw kwewag niw mdaamnan iw wii-bkwezhgankewaad.

'The women ground up the corn when they were going to make bread.' (AK2.4)

Gii-bootaagewag *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl ground (Y)'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **mdaamnan** *na 3obv* 'corn'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wii-bkwezhgankewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl will make bread.'

Here the verb is *bootaage*, 'grind (something) up,' which is an animate intransitive verb that takes an optional object (VAIO).[1] There are two nominals associated with this verb, *giw kwewag*, 'those women,' which is animate and proximate (we know from the plural suffix on the noun and the form of the demonstrative pronoun, *giw*), and *niw mdaamnan*, 'that corn,' which is proximate and obviative (we know from the obviative suffix and the form of the demonstrative pronoun, *niw*). Here, however, the verb lacks a theme suffix, and a question arises as to how we can know which of these nominals is the actor and which is the goal. The answer is rather obvious: we know from the circumstances of life, that women customarily grind up corn, but corn does not grind up women. This is a pragmatic determination, that is, one based on our knowledge of the state of the world. But the fact that the actors and goals of VAIO verbs cannot be determined by strictly grammatical means, such as with a theme suffix, has imposed interesting restrictions on what kinds of things can play a goal role in these verbs. For one, the goal-like role cannot be filled by a first or second person, singular or plural. One reason for this is that first and second persons, the participants in conversation, are usually human, and since humans tend to be both agents, active doers in the world, and goals, the recipients of the actions of others, there is much more ambiguity about their status in a given verbal event than say that of corn, which is rarely if ever an active doer, but in transitive contexts almost always functions as the object of actions carried out by others. So disallowing first and second persons as the goals in VAIO verbs helps to limit potential ambiguity. Most such verbs indeed do have non-living things as their goals, which allows one to easily determine actor and goal relationships on the basis of PRAGMATICS.

1. The dialect represented here does not show inflection of VAIO's for goals in the independent order.

PROXIMATE AND OBVIATIVE MARKING. Three very important parts of speech are commonly marked to show proximate and obviative status. These are animate nouns, animate demonstrative pronouns, and all classes of verbs. The following sentence illustrates how important such marking is. All bolded words show obviative inflectional marking.

(361) ***Gii-nbowan wgitziiman*** maaba gwiiwzens, ntam ***gii-nbowan oosan*** mii dash giiwenh egod ***niw wdoodooman***, ***gchi-aakziwan*** giiwenh, "Maawndoopdoon niw gdayhiiman maajaan odi ji-wi-wiij-yaawad aw gookmis."

'This boy's ***parents died***, first ***his father*** and then ***his mother*** reportedly said to him (***she was*** reportedly ***very sick***), "Bundle up your things and go and stay over there with your grandmother."' (AK14.1)

Gii-nbowan *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv died'; **wgitziiman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's parents'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **ntam** *av* 'first'; **gii-nbowan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv died'; **oosan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's father'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **egod** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANobv said to ANsg'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdoodooman** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S mother'; **gchi-aakziwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANsg was very ill'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **gdayhiiman** *ni 2s(0p)* 'your SG possessions'; **maajaan** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) go there'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **ji-wi-wiij-yaawad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you SG will go stay with ANsg'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gookmis** *na 2s(3sProx)* 'your SG grandmother.'

The storyteller has elected to give proximal status to a nominal referring to a boy, which is indicated by the form, *maaba gwiiwzens*, 'this boy.' The nominal *wgitziiman*, 'his parent(s)' carries an obviative suffix, and the animate intransitive verb (vai) of which it is a subject, *gii-nbowan*, is also marked as obviative, by means of the suffix complex spelled «wan». In the next clause, the expression *gii-nbowan oosan*, 'his father died,' once again has an obviative possessed noun, which is the subject of a verb that is also inflected for obviative. Next is *niw odoodooman, gchi-aakziwan*, 'that mother (obv.) of his, she (obv.) is very sick,' which has an obviative demonstrative pronoun, *niw*, as well as an obviative possessed noun and corresponding verb. There is also a transitive verb of speaking, *egod*, which has an inverse theme suffix, and inflection to indicate that the action of the verb involves a

third person obviative (actor) acting on an animate third person singular proximate (goal). So, since we know that *maaba gwiiwzens*, 'this boy,' is the proximate third person, and *wdoodooman*, 'his mother,' is obviative, we can readily determine from the inflection on the verb spelled «god» that it is the mother speaking to the boy. And because of all of this rich inflectional action going on, clearly determining actors, goals, and the subjects of intransitive verbs, the order of words in the sentence is relatively free, much freer than in English, which lacks the inflectional resources of Nishnaabemwin.

Inanimate intransitive verbs (VII) are also sometimes marked for obviation. Such obviation can apply to both possessed and unpossessed inanimates, the latter of which must acquire obviative status by serving as goals of transitive (VTI) verbs. However, even impersonal verbs can be obviated if they are subordinated to a verb containing an animate third person actor or goal. The following example illustrates such obviation of impersonal verbs, in its having an obviative (conjunct order inflection) form of the verb *dbikad*, 'be dark, be night.'

(362) Mii dash gii-bi-giiwewaad ***debkadnig*** dash gii-dgoshnoog.

'And they came home and arrived just at ***dark*** (***obv.***).' (AK7.14)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bi-giiwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl came back home'; **debkadnig** *vii ic conj 0obv* '(CCNJ) when INobv was dark'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-dgoshnoog** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl arrived.'

The impersonal verb is marked obviative because it is being used in the context of a proximate third person, the animate plural subject of *gii-bi-giiwewaad*, 'ANpl came back home,' and *gii-dgoshnoog*, 'ANpl arrived.' Explicit marking of obviation on inanimate verbs such as this tends to be optional. Once a participant has been obviated, its obvious status can persist in following sentences, even in those verbs of which it is the sole argument, i.e., in intransitive (VII) verbs. An interesting example is found in the sequence of sentences below, from a short procedural text told by Mr. Medler, on how a young woman makes bread. The narration is in simple third person, in which the woman serves as actor for many transitive inanimate verbs (VTI) of which *naapaanii*, 'flour' NI and the dough that results from it serve as objects (goals). The only grammatical context in which an inanimate can show obviation is as a subject of an intransitive verb, as in sentences (363.6) and (363.8), where indeed the verb *teni*, 'it (inan. obv.) is there,' is an independent order obviative form. Subsequently, when *iw bkwezhigan*, 'that bread' (NI), is modified by a (VII) participle, the participle does not show obviation. However, later reference to another inanimate object, *iw nembiiwegdinig bbagwayaanenh*, 'that dampened cloth,' which serves as the goal of a VTI verb, shows an obviated participle.

(363) 5 Miinwaa dash wgii-toon ***iw bkwezhgan*** gye go wgii-ngwahaan.
6 Jina dash eta ***gii-teni***$_{\text{VII-IND-OBV}}$ maa shkodeng miinwaa gii-gweksidood.
7 Miinwaa go wgii-ngwahaan.
8 Jina dash ***gii-teni***$_{\text{VII-IND-OBV}}$.
9 Mii dash gii-gwaawebhang. 10 Miinwaa mtigoons wgii-nokaazon gii-bshanzhehang ***iw bkwezhgan menpogok***$_{\text{VII-PARTICIPLE-PROX}}$, gye go gii-gaagaashkjiihang. 11 Miinwaa wgii-bshanzhehaan gye go miinwaa wgii-wiiwkwejiinaan ***iw nembiiwegdinig***$_{\text{VII-PARTICIPLE-OBV}}$ ***bbagwayaanenh***, mii dash gii-giizhtood.

'5 Then she put the bread there and covered it with ashes. 6 ***It was there*** only a little while when she turned it over. 7 Again she covered it with ashes. 8 ***It was there*** a little while. 9 Then she took it out of the fire. 10 Then she charred a switch and whipped ***that tasty bread*** and scraped it clean. 11 She whipped it again and wrapped it in ***a damp piece of cotton cloth***, then she had finished it.' (AM26.5-11)

(5) **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wgii-toon** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg put INsg'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bkwezhgan** *ni 0s* 'bread'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-ngwahaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg buried IN.' (6) **Jina** *av* 'a short time'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **gii-teni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv was there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **shkodeng** *ni 0 loc* 'in the fire'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gii-gweksidood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg turned IN over.' (7) **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **wgii-ngwahaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg buried IN.' (8) **Jina** *av* 'a short time'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-teni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv was there.' (9) **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-gwaawebhang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg flipped IN out of the fire.' (10) **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **mtigoons** *ni 0s* 'stick'; **wgii-nokaazon** *vaio ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg used INsg'; **gii-bshanzhehang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg whipped IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bkwezhgan** *ni 0s* 'bread'; **menpogok** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which IN tastes good'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **gii-gaagaashkjiihang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg scraped IN.' (11) **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **wgii-bshanzhehaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg whipped INsg'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **wgii-wiiwkwejiinaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg wrapped INsg up'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nembiiwegdinig** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which INobv is wet cloth'; **bbagwayaanenh** *ni 0s* 'thin cloth'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-giizhtood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg finished IN.'

Mr. Medler tells this story twice. In the other version, the verb *te*, 'be in a place' (VII) shows an independent order obviative just as in sentences 6 and 8 above. The same participle as in sentence 11 also occurs, though in the second version it is not obviated. Still, the consistency of usage with verbs such as *te* suggests that there are grammatical and discourse principles at work that must await a more adequate accounting.

DISCOURSE USES OF OBVIATION. In many dialects of Anishinaabemowin, obviation is used as a powerful foregrounding and backgrounding device, allowing storytellers to align their perspective and empathy with particular characters in a narrative. As a small taste of

how this is done, we will briefly examine a story told by Andrew Medler, about a young man who fasts and receives the blessing of a mirror being. Later, when the young man's community is attacked, the assistance of the mirror manitou enables him to vanquish the enemy. The story is told from the perspective of the young man, and when the enemy comes, they are represented with obviative forms. The following sentence is used to announce the arrival of the enemy:

(364) Mii dash gaa-aazhoo-ggizhebaawgak maaba nini gii-noondwaad aazhi go bi-yaanid niw waa-nsigjin.

'When the next morning came, this man heard them come who were coming to kill him.' (AM31.27)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-aazhoo-ggizhebaawgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when the next morning came'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **gii-noondwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg heard ANobv'; **aazhi** *av* 'now'; **bi-yaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv (was) coming'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **waa-nsigjin** *vta ic conj part 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) wanted to kill ANsg.'

First, note that the young man is identified with the proximate nominal phrase, *maaba nini*, 'this man,' which is the actor of a transitive verb *gii-noondwaad*. This verb carries the inflectional suffix complex /-aad/, which indicates an animate singular proximate actor acting upon an animate obviative goal (in a subordinate clause, since the inflection is conjunct order). The next verb is *bi-ayaanid*, a VAI, which has inflection /-nid/ indicating an animate obviative subject, and then there is the nominal expression *niw waa-nsigjin*, which consists of an animate obviative demonstrative pronoun, *niw*, and a transitive animate participle, *nsigjin*. This participle has an inverse theme suffix, here spelled «ig», indicating that it has an obviative actor and a proximate goal. The proximate goal is the man, and the obviative actor are his attackers. The point here is that Mr. Medler continues to keep the man proximate even as he puts the attackers into a very active role, coming to kill him. There is no grammatical requirement that he do this, rather it represents a storytelling strategy of perspective and empathy, in which his allegiance and sympathies are aligned with the man. He keeps the man in the foreground, when several sentences later, the attackers arrive:

(365) Mii dash aazhi go ***gii-bi-dgoshninid niw waa-miigaan'gojin***.

'Now ***they (obv) arrived who were going to fight him (prox)***.' (AM31.29)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aazhi** *av* 'now'; **gii-bi-dgoshninid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv arrived here'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **waa-miigaan'gojin** *vta ic conj part 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who ANobv will fight ANsg.'

Here, the first verb, *gii-bi-dgoshninid*, is an animate intransitive (VAI), referring to the arrival of the enemy, and it is inflected for an obviative subject. There are no obviation requirements on this verb, however, so Mr. Medler has the grammatical liberty to shift the enemy to proximate if he wishes, but instead he elects to keep them obviative, that is, to background them, even though they are rather obviously the active aggressors at this point in the story. The subject of this verb is the nominal *niw waa-miigaan'gojin*, 'those (obv.) who (obv.) intended to fight him (prox.),' clearly casting the enemy in the obviative while at the same time making them the actors, by using an inverse verb form. This is classic discourse-based use of obviation.

OBVIATION IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES. Proximates in main clauses sometimes obviate the subjects of subordinate clauses. This is true of both complement and adjunct clauses. In the following sentence, for example, an inanimate intransitive (VII) verb in a complement clause is obviated by a third person plural actor in the main verb, *wgii-gkendaanaawaa*, 'they (anim. prox.) knew it.'

(366) Aapji dash aanind Nishnaabeg gii-gtaamgozwag, gye go wgii-gkendaanaawaa gegoo, gye go ***wgii-gkendaanaawaa***$_{\text{MAIN}}$ sa [***waa-bi-dgoshnoomgadnig niigaan***]$_{\text{SUB}}$.

'Some Indians were very formidable and they knew things, and ***they knew [what (obv) was to arrive in the future]***.' (AM23.23)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aanind** *av* 'some'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gii-gtaamgozwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were formidable'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-gkendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl knew INsg'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-gkendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl knew INsg'; **waa-bi-dgoshnoomgadnig** *vii ic conj part 0obv* '(CCNJ) that INobv which would arrive'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future.'

In the following example, two VII impersonal verbs in subordinate clauses are obviated in the context of animate third persons in super-ordinate clauses.

(367) Mii dash gii-nsaabaawdood wewiib iw moozhwegaans iw mshkiki, gye mii gii-gnoonaad, pii nekweshkwaad, gii-wnjigaabwid ***wendaanmadnig***$_{\text{OBV}}$, gye go niw shkinwen ***e-bgandaanmadnig***$_{\text{OBV}}$.

'Then she quickly moistened her handkerchief with that medicine and spoke to him, when she had met him, standing on the side ***from which the wind was blowing***, with the young man at the side ***toward which the wind blew***.' (AM30.26)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-nsaabaawdood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg made IN wet'; **wewiib** *av* 'quickly'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **moozhwegaans** *ni 0s* 'handkerchief'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mshkiki** *ni 0s* 'medicine'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-gnoonaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg spoke to ANobv'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **nekweshkwaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg had met ANobv'; **gii-wnjigaabwid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg stood back from there'; **wendaanmadnig** *vii ic conj 0obv* '(CCNJ) the wind (INobv) blows from'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkinwen** *na 3obv* 'young man'; **e-bgandaanmadnig** *vii ic conj 0obv* '(CCNJ) where the wind (INobv) strikes from.'

The following example shows the obviative status of an inanimate noun, which functions as the subject of a subordinate purpose clause, in which the verb is obviated.

(368) Mii dash gii-wzhitood iw baagndibehgan, ge go gii-goodood ***iw*** [***ji-baatenig***$_{\text{OBV}}$ ***weweni***].

'So then he made that war club and hung ***it***$_1$ up [***to (it***$_1$***) dry properly***].' (AM31.21)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-wzhitood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg made IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **baagndibehgan** *ni 0s* 'war club'; **gii-goodood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg hung up IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ji-baatenig** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN would dry'; **weweni** *av* 'properly.'

Obviation of inanimate verbs in subordinate clauses is optional for speakers of Nishnaabemwin. In the following sentences, for example, the VII verb *nbiiwegad*, 'be wet (of cloth),' is used in parallel passages as a participle, in one showing obviation and in the other, not.

(369) Mii dash wiiwkwejiinang bbagwayaanenying ***nembiiwegak***$_{\text{PROX}}$ wenbik.

'Then she wraps it up for a while in a wet piece of cotton cloth.' (AM25.14)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wiiwkwejiinang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg wraps IN up'; **bbagwayaanenying** *ni 0 loc* 'in thin cloth'; **nembiiwegak** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which IN is wet'; **wenbik** *av* 'for a little while.'

(370) Miinwaa wgii-bshanzhehaan gye go miinwaa wgii-wiiwkwejiinaan iw ***nembiiwegdinig***$_{\text{OBV}}$ bbagwayaanenh, mii dash gii-giizhtood.

'She whipped it again and wrapped it in a damp piece of cotton cloth, then she had finished it.' (AM26.11)

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **wgii-bshanzhehaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg whipped INsg'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **wgii-wiiwkwejiinaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg wrapped INsg up'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nembiiwegdinig** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which INobv is wet cloth'; **bbagwayaanenh** *ni 0s* 'thin cloth'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-giizhtood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg finished IN.'

The following represents another example where optional obviation of subordinated VII verbs does not occur.

(371) Mii dash aanwi gii-nda-waankaanaawaad baamaa pii dash ***eni-naagshig***$_{\text{PROX}}$.

'And doggedly they tried to dig him out right up ***until evening***.' (AK7.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aanwi** *av* 'doggedly'; **gii-nda-waankaanaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl sought to dig ANobv out'; **baamaa** *av* 'later'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **eni-naagshig** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when in time evening came on.'

In the next example, the actor of a verb of speaking causes the obviation of the actor in the report clause associated with the verb.

(372) (a) Bezhig dash aw nishnaabe wgii-nsidtawaan zhaagnaashan. (b) Wgii-wiindmaagoon dash niw zhaagnaashan gii-nsaawaad nswi dkonwewninwan.

'(a) And this one Indian understood white people. (b) They told him that those whites had killed three policemen.' (AK2.10-11)

> **Bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **wgii-nsidtawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg understood ANobv'; **zhaagnaashan** *na 3obv* 'white person(s).' (b) **Wgii-wiindmaagoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv told ANsg'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhaagnaashan** *na 3obv* 'white person(s)'; **gii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl killed ANobv'; **dkonwewninwan** *na 3obv* 'policeman/men.'

PROXIMATE SHIFTS. Contemporary speakers sometimes show rapid shifts in the proximate and obviative status of verbal participants, freely changing status across clauses. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

(373) Mii-sh giiwenh gii-dbaajmowaad [gaa-zhichged wa mdimooyenh].

'Then they reported what the old lady did.' (SO2.33)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-dbaajmowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl told the news'; **gaa-zhichged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg did'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman.'

Here, the subject of the verb of speaking, *gii-dbaajmowaad* are an old woman's sons, and the verb is proximate. In the associated subordinate clause, the subject shifts to the old woman, who is also proximate. So obviation shifts within this sentence.

In the following sentence, a mermaid is introduced (as a woman), and is obviative in the first clause (*niw kwewan...zhngishninid*), obviative in the second clause (by virtue of verb *gaa-zhi-baaphigwaad*, 'ANobv smiled at ANpl (always proximate),' but shifting to proximate in the third clause (by virtue of verb *gii-ni-zhooshkboozod*, 'ANsg (always prox.) slid off'), without explanation.

(374) Mii dash iw gaa-zhi-waabmaawaad niw kwewan maa ddibew zhngishninid, mii dash iw gaa-zhi-baaphigwaad, mii ge go gii-ni-zhooshkboozod maa nbiing.

'And when they saw this woman lying there on the shore, she smiled at them and she slid there into the water.' (AK4.4)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-zhi-waabmaawaad** *vta ic conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) when ANpl thus saw ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **kwewan** *na 3obv* 'woman/women'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **ddibew** *av* 'on the shore'; **zhngishninid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv lie'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-zhi-baaphigwaad** *vta ic conj 3obv»3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANobv smiled at ANpl'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **gii-ni-zhooshkboozod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg slid off away'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **nbiing** *ni 0 loc* 'into the water.'

In the following sentence, the focal character (a young woman) starts out obviative in a when-clause (and there is no proximate), flips to proximate in the next clause when another person tells her something, and then there is a flip to a proximate animate noun in the indirect discourse, *giw mskomnag*, 'those raspberries,' though here there is no obviative. So every verb shows different obviation status.

(375) Wewiib ji-bi-giiwenid$_{OBV}$ wgii-wiindmaagoon [niw nishnaaben]$_{OBV}$ [*odi* ***baatiinwaad***$_{PROX}$ ***giw mskomnag***].

'Just when she was on her way home this Indian told her that there were many raspberries there (at some other place).' (AK3.4)

Wewiib *av* 'quickly'; **ji-bi-giiwenid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv will come back home'; **wgii-wiindmaagoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv told ANsg'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s)'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **baatiinwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl are abundant'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **mskomnag** *na 3pProx* 'raspberries.'

ji-bi-giiwenid	young woman starts out OBVIATIVE (status inherited from previous sentence)
wgii-wiindmaagoon niw nishnaaben	young woman becomes PROXIMATE niw nishnaaben is OBVIATIVE
baatiinwaad giw mskomnag	raspberries are PROXIMATE

So obviation seems generally not used in Nishnaabemwin as a rhetorical device in narrative in the way that it commonly is in other dialects of Anishinaabemowin.

12.5 Examining a Short Narrative

As a summary, we will examine a short narrative text in order to illustrate and discuss Nishnaabemwin referring expressions. The text, which appears on the following page, was told by Andrew Medler, and is about a man who catches a cold while traveling, and is then cured by undergoing treatment in a sweat lodge.[1] The following characters and props appear in this story:

nini	na	'man'
Nishnaabeg	na	'Indians'
mshkikwaaboo	ni	'medicine'
mdoodoo-siniin	ni	'sweat rocks'
gwiwnan	ni	'cloths'
dkajwin	ni	'cold' (illness)

The story opens with the identification of a man by means of the expression *bezhig nini*, 'a certain man,' employing the discourse-specialized use of the numeral term *bezhig*, 'one.' This is the only nominal reference to this character in the whole story— throughout the remainder, in fourteen references, reference is solely by means of verbal inflections. In the third sentence, some Indians who doctor the man are introduced, by means of the expression *giw Nishnaabeg*, 'those Indians,' in a common pattern of using a distal demonstrative modifier, *giw*, 'those,' when introducing plural characters. As with the man, this is the only

1.Space does not permit word-by-word analysis of this material, which can be found in Valentine, ed., 1998, p.141, p. 243.

overt noun expression used with these characters, though they figure in five predications, in all cases after their introduction indicated by means of verbal inflections.

(1) Ngoding bezhig nini gii-bbaamaadzi giiwednong. (2) Mii dash gii-bmi-dkajid. (3) Giw dash Nishnaabeg wgii-nnaandwi= haawaan. (4) Mii dash gii-wzhitoowaad iw mshkikwaaboo waa-aabjitoowaad. (5) Mii dash gii-biindgeyooded maa mdoodoowgamgong, gye go gii-tamwaa mdoodoo-siniin maa biinjiiyhiing, gye go iw mshkikwaaboo gaa-aabjitoowaad.	(1) Once a certain man was travelling in the North. (2) Then he caught a cold. (3) And so the Indians doctored him. (4) They made the liquid medicine which they were going to use. (5) Then he crawled into the sweating lodge, and the stones for the steam bath were placed inside there for him, and the liquid medicine which they used.
(6) Mii dash gaa-naawaad, "Biindig go maanoo da-yaayan eko-gshkihewziyan."	(6) Then they told him, "Be sure to stay in there as long as you can stand it."
(7) Pii dash gaa-wwenbid, niw yaanig niw siniin wgii-ziignaanaawaa iw mshkik= waaboo maa mdoodoo-siniing. (8) Mii dash gii-wmbaabteg iw mshkikwaaboo. (9) Aapji dash gii-gchi-bwezo.	(7) When he had seated himself in place, then on those stones which were there they poured that liquid medicine, on those stones for the steam bath. (8) Then that liquid medicine went up in steam. (9) He really sweated.
(10) Mii dash gaa-naawaad, "Maanoo go yaan maa biinjiiyhii eko-gshkihewziyan."	(10) And then they said to him, "Stay inside there just the same, as long as you can stand it."
(11) Mii dash gii-zaagdooded gmaapii. (12) Gye go mii gii-bengzhehod. (13) Mii dash gii-biiskang nyaangnin'gin gwiwnan. (14) Gegzhebaawgak mii gii-wnishkaad. (15) Aapji dash gii-mno-bmaadzi, gye go kina gii-maajaamgadni wdakjiwin.	(11) Finally he crawled out. (12) Then he dried himself. (13) Then he put on light garments. (14) The next morning he got up. (15) He felt very well and all his cold had gone away.

Two inanimate, instrument props also occur in the story. The first is medicine made by the Indians to assist in the man's cure, introduced with the expression *iw mshkikwaaboo waa-aabjitoowaad*, 'that medicine which they were planning to use,' in sentence 4, having the structure demonstrative pronoun + noun + relative clause, the standard form for this construction. Unlike the man and the Indians, though, all clauses making reference to the medicine contain an overt nominal expression of it, in sentences 5, 7, and 8, in the first case with an expression almost identical to the introductory, *iw mshkikwaaboo gaa-aabjitoowaad*, 'that medicine which they used.' In sentences 7 and 8, *iw mshkikwaaboo*, 'that medicine' is used.

Another prop in this narrative are sweat-rocks, *mdoodoo-siniin*, mentioned in sentences 5 and 7. In sentence 7, the stones are referred to by means of a locational existential form

which resembles a participle, *niw yaanig niw siniin*, 'those stones being there,' but which is not strictly speaking a participle because it shows neither initial change nor plurality.

The last nominal in this text, *wdakjiwin*, 'his cold,' a nominalized possessed form, occurs in the last sentence. This word represents a nominalization of a verb occurring in sentence 2, *dkaji*, 'have a cold (illness). The verb associated with it, *maajaamgadni*, 'it (had) left,' an inanimate intransitive verb (vii), is inflected for obviation (backgrounding).

Several aspects of the means of making reference used in this text are worth comment. First, although there are seven transitive verbs, in none of them are both actor and goal expressed with overt nominals. In particular, in two sentences involving the verb of speaking *zhi*, 'say to AN' (6, 10), neither the actor nor goal are overtly expressed, and it is only from context, and by the fact that the verbs are inflected for third person plural actors, as opposed to a singular actor, that we know that it is the Indians and not the man speaking. There are no obviative animate nouns in this text, all are proximate.

Three relative clauses occur, in each case applying to an inanimate noun, for example, *iw mshkikwaaboo waa-aabjitoowaad*, 'that medicine which they would use' (sentence 4).

12.6 Additional Reading

Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to delve into Nishnaabemwin discourse to any depth in this grammar. A richly annotated collection of texts told by Andrew Medler of Walpole Island is available in Valentine 1998, ed., and the many other textual resources cited in Chapter 1. Rhodes 1993, 1996 and many other papers cited in the references lay out valuable foundations for the study of the areas of grammar treated in this chapter, as well as providing a rich array of insights into particulars. Tomlin and Rhodes 1979 provides many wonderful insights into Ojibwe discourse, republished in Payne 1992. Spielmann 1998 provides an accessible introduction to many approaches to discourse study, using Nishnaabemwin and Algonquin examples. Nichols and Ogg, eds., 1996 contains many papers treating discourse structure, including R. Valentine 1996, L. Valentine 1996, Russell 1996, and Dahlstrom 1996. Many aspects of the discourse of Fox, a sister language of Nishnaabemwin, have been treated by Ives Goddard in a series of papers, e.g., Goddard 1984, 1988, and 1990b.

12.7 Language Samples

The following brief texts were kindly provided by Mary Ann Corbiere, who composed them for a language instructional course she has been teaching. I have retained her spelling and provide only sentence level glosses as space is limited.

A. 2000 SUMMER OLYMPICS. (1) Aaniish naa enenmegwaa Canada gaa-oo-maanenjgejik? (2) Wegnesh naa gaa-gnawaabmegok? (3) Wegnesh gaa-dnenmek wii-bkinaaget gymnastics? (4) Russians aabdek da-gchi-paknaagewak, ngii-nendam. (5) Gaa dash go aanwi. (6) Ni'aa swii go aapji gaa-maamiikwaabmak Cathy Freeman, Australian "Nishnaabe-kwe" go naa ndi-zhnikaanaa. (7) Gaawii gegoo mshi tesnoo Nishnaabemang kidwin, aborigine maage aboriginal wii-kidang. (8) Gegeti ngii-naanmis yeshkat, bmi-n'gan'got niwin niish aanin kwewan. (9) Gegeti dash ngii-maamiikwendam gii-bmi-zhiibiigaashit, gii-bmi-dimnewaat niwin zhgo go oodi ekwaayiing. (10) Wegnesh gegii gaa-maamiikwaabmat? (11) Mii mnik Olympics ge-dbaadamaanh.

(1) What do you guys think of those who went and competed for Canada? (2) Who did you guys watch? (3) Who did you expect to win in gymnastics? (4) The Russians will have to win lots [in the various events], I thought. (5) Fortunately, it was not so. (6) But who I was really thrilled to see was Cathy Freeman, the Australian "Indian woman" I just call her [for want of a Nishnaabe term]. (7) (There's no word yet in speaking Indian, [for one] to say 'aborigine' or 'aboriginal.') (8) I was so nervous at first, [at] those two women leaving her behind. (9) Then I was so thrilled when she streaked ahead and passed those [women] right near the end there. (10) Who were you thrilled by [seeing the person]? (11) That's the extent to which I'll talk about the Olympics.

B. PIERRE TRUDEAU'S FUNERAL. (1) Pierre Trudeau gii-nbot miinwaa nga-dbaaddaan bangii. (2) Aaniish maaba enji-dbaajmaat niwin, gdi-nendaam na? (3) Megwaa sa gchi-dbaajmaawaat nanda "telvizhnong" ndoo-zhibiiyaan maanda script. (4) Gshkonwezwak news debaaddangik ezhi-gshkwewendmawaat niibna bemaadzijik. (5) Aaniish gegiinwaa enenmek maaba? (6) Gii-dnenmaawak na wi mnik wii-mjiskawaawaat? (7) Wiya naa geknemek gii-zhaa Ottawa? (8) Aaniish naa gaa-nitwek gwisan gii-giigdanit? (9) Aaniish endendmek gaa-mzinaateshmaawaat niwin gii-mwinit zhiwi oosan binit? (10) Geget sa naa znagdadik mkwendming mzinaateshmigoong maanda pii gegoo nikeyiing bmi-zhiwebak.

(1) Next I'll talk a bit about [the event of] Pierre Trudeau having died. (2)Are you guys thinking, "Why is this person talking about that person?" (3) Well, right as they're talking about this person lots on television, I'm writing this script. (4) The newscasters are caught by surprise as to how deeply affected many people are. (5) What do you guys think of him? (6) Did you expect that many to see him off? (7) Did anyone that you know go to Ottawa? (8) What did you think of how he sounded, his son, when he spoke? (9) What do you think of them [the media] televising him when he cried there where his dad rested? (10) It must be so difficult [one] thinking of being televised when something like this is going on.

13

Verbs and Their Semantic Roles

This chapter introduces concepts associated with the meaning structures of verbs, particularly with regard to a small number of universal semantic (meaning) relationships that exist between verbs and the noun phrases and other elements associated with them. I begin with a detailed discussion of the various semantic roles pertinent to Nishnaabemwin verbs, and conclude with an account of the strategies that exist in the language for altering the number of semantic roles associated with a verb.

13.1 Semantic Roles

In simple terms, when considering the kinds of meaning associated with different parts of speech, NOMINALS are used to represent people and things, and verbs to express states, attributes, events, and actions that pertain to the people and things represented by nominals. I will use the term PREDICATION to refer to the basic meaning relationships which a verb shows with associated nominals. Depending on what aspects of an action or event that a speaker wishes to focus on, verbs with different SEMANTIC ROLE relationships can be used. A verb such as *wiisni*, 'eat' (VAI) has only one semantic role associated with it; in the case of *mwaad* and *miijid*, there are two semantic roles, that of the eater, and also, whatever is eaten. The verbs *mwaad* and *miijid* are thus TRANSITIVE, because there is a "transfer" of action from the eater to the eaten; the verb *wiisni* is INTRANSITIVE, because there is only a single SEMANTIC ROLE, and therefore there cannot be any transfer of action.

INTRANSITIVE Verb	A single semantic role	wiisni
TRANSITIVE Verb	Two (or more) semantic roles	mwaad, miijid

The differences between transitive and intransitive verbs are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.4.1, page 130 and following. The nominal roles integral to the meaning of a verb (predicate) are called its SEMANTIC ROLES. The following chart summarizes the semantic roles associated with the verbs of eating discussed here. An 'x' in a box means that a given

semantic role (eater or eaten) is part of the meaning of the designated verb. Those verbs that have two roles, *mwaad* and *miijid*, are transitive, while those that have one, *wiisni* and *wiisniimgad*, are intransitive.

		Eater Role	Eaten Role
mwaad	vta	x	x [animate]
miijid	vti	x	x [inanimate]
wiisni	vai	x [animate]	—
wiisniimgad	vii	x [inanimate]	—

SEMANTIC ROLES, INFLECTION, NOUNS, PRONOUNS, AND NOUN PHRASES. In English, the semantic roles of verbs are usually filled by means of independent words such as PRONOUNS and NOUNS. Consider, for example, the following sentence, where the English gloss contains the pronoun 'I' to represent the role of the eater.

(1) ***Aankonaanyan*** pane ***ngii-miijnan***.

'I always ate crackers.' (AM33.10)

> **Aankonaanyan** *ni 0p* 'crackers'; **pane** *av* 'always'; **ngii-miijnan** vti *ind 1s»0p* 'I ate INpl.'

In Nishnaabemwin, however, semantic roles are typically expressed by means of INFLECTIONS on verbs. For example, in (1), the filler of the role of eater is signalled only by the prefix on the verb *ngii-miijnan*, 'I ate them (inanimate),' which is «n». And in this sentence, the role of the thing eaten is indicated by two distinct elements, the inflection on the verb as well as an independent noun, *aankonaanyan*, 'crackers.' When independent nouns related to a verb's semantic roles occur, they do not replace the inflections on the verb— the inflections are present regardless of whether or not there are separate nominals associated with the semantic roles. In Nishnaabemwin there are no uninflected verbs, and no infinitive verbs.

13.1.1 Macroroles (Actor and Goal), Agent and Patient

Verbs, whether transitive or intransitive, take a particular perspective on the event they represent. For example, each of the following verbs has two semantic roles associated with it, one that is more actively involved in initiating the verbal event, and one that is less actively involved.

Verb	Gloss	More Active Role	Less Active Role
nsaad	'kill AN'	one(s) killing	thing(s) killed
mwaad	'eat AN'	one(s) eating	thing(s) eaten
aabjihaad	'use AN'	one(s) using	thing(s) used
niisnaad	'put AN down'	one(s) putting	thing(s) put
waabmaad	'see AN'	one(s) seeing	thing(s) seen
mnopwaad	'like the taste of AN'	one(s) tasting	thing(s) tasted

In the case of *mwaad*, 'eat AN,' it is the eater that represents the more active role, and the thing eaten that is the less active. When the more active role represents a willful initiator of action, usually controlling the action in some way, the role is that of AGENT, and the less active role, representing the entity changed or affected by the agent, is that of PATIENT. In the situation of eating, for example, the patient no longer exists in its previous form. The most straightforward cases of verbs having agents and patients involve meanings entailing a violent and metamorphic effect on the patient, such as eating, breaking, tearing, shredding, assaulting, killing, or destroying.

In other cases, though, the role relationships are not so readily cast in terms of agency. For example, in the case of *mnopwaad*, 'like the taste of AN,' there is less of a deliberate choice on the part of the one tasting— one either likes the taste of something or not, and the preference is more of a *re*action than a deliberate *action*. Such verbs are often analyzed as having a semantic role of EXPERIENCER, distinct from that of agent, and involve less agency and control in their application. But volition may be involved in tasting, if one actively chooses to commit the *act* of tasting something. And the role associated with the taster is certainly more active than that of whatever is being tasted. The important grammatical point is that Nishnaabemwin aligns the taster in *mnopwaad* with the eater in the case of *mwaad*, 'eat AN,' and the thing tasted with the thing eaten. That is, in the case of transitive verbs, there are two primary role slots, and Nishnaabemwin, like other languages, linguistically casts the events, actions, and states that make up experience into a very limited system involving only a few categories. Traditionally in Algonquian studies, the two primary role slots of a transitive verb's PREDICATE are called ACTORS, for the more active, controlling role, and GOALS, for the less active. I call these role slots MACROROLES, because they subsume more specific roles. Agents and experiencers, for example, are both usually cast in the macrorole of actor. The goal role, too, subsumes several more specific roles, including for example, the BENEFICIARY of a verbal action such as *zhitmawaad*, 'make something for AN,' and the RECIPIENT of a verbal action such as *miinaad*, 'give something to AN.' What is particularly important about the actor and goal macroroles in Nishnaabemwin is that the status of a verb as VTA or VTI is based on the animacy of whatever is filling the goal macrorole. So, for example, the animacy of the object exchanged is irrelevant to the verbal subclassification of *miinaad*, 'give Y to AN,' because the recipient semantic role is filling the goal macrorole, and the receiver must be animate, and the verb is therefore VTA. This can easily be seen by examining a couple of examples, sentences (2) and (3), below. In the first, the word for the thing given, *mskomnag*, 'raspberries,' is grammatically animate, and in the sec-

ond it is grammatically inanimate, *dehminan*, 'strawberries.' Yet in both cases, the verb is VTA, because the recipient fills the goal macrorole, and the recipient must be animate. In fact, there is no inflectional marking (or indexing) of any grammatical features of the object that is given, such as whether it is singular or plural (its number), or proximate or obviative.

(2) Ggii-miinin mskomnag. | 'I gave you raspberries.' (mskomin 'raspberry' NA)

| **Ggii-miinin** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'I gave Y to you'; **mskomnag** *na 3pProx* 'raspberries.'

(3) Ggii-miinin dehminan. | 'I gave you strawberries.' (dehmin, 'strawberry' NI)

| **Ggii-miinin** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'I gave Y to you'; **dehminan** *ni 0p* 'strawberries.'

There are many other areas of grammar where Nishnaabemwin organizes patterns around the semantic properties of entities. For example, in the choice of a person prefix for transitive verbs inflected in the independent order, a strict topicality hierarchy applies, in which second person outranks first, which, in turn, outranks third. Another context where semantic properties interact with grammar involves the grammatical gender of the fillers of the roles of transitive predications, where, in Nishnaabemwin, one of the roles *must* be filled by a grammatically animate entity, commonly a human. So, for example, there are no VTI forms to specify an inanimate actor acting upon an inanimate goal, as in English expressions such as 'the wind blew the leaf along.' Where such concepts exist in Nishnaabemwin, they are expressed by intransitive verbs, in which the agent, or more properly, the FORCE (see below), is encoded in an INTRANSITIVE INSTRUMENTAL FINAL, as in *bmaasin*, 'be blown along by the wind' VII, which has a final /-aasin/, 'be acted upon by the wind.' This organization of grammar around semantic properties is a striking feature of Nishnaabemwin, a primary principle of the language, and a key to understanding much of its grammatical patterning. For this reason, we will examine how semantic roles are expressed in Nishnaabemwin in some detail in the sections which follow.

Macroroles		
Actor	More active role	Agent, Experiencer
Goal	Less active role	Patient, Beneficiary

13.1.2 The Semantic Roles and Macrorole of Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs are those that prototypically have only a single semantic role in their predicates, such as *wiisni*, 'eat' (VAI), and *bmose*, 'walk along' (VAI). However, intransitive verbs show an immense variety in the nature of the single semantic role associated with them, which may be an agent, a patient, or almost any other role. For example, in the case of *wiisni*, 'eat' (VAI) the semantic role is that of an agent. For *mnopgozi*, 'taste good' (VAI), however, the sole role is that of a patient. Since agents typically map to the actor role of

transitive verbs and patients to the goal role, intransitive verbs cut across the distinction between actor and goal roles that apply to transitive verbs. This suggests that there is motivation for introducing a third macrorole to refer to the supercategory comprised of semantic roles associated with intransitive verbs. I will call this macrorole the S-ROLE to distinguish it from the macroroles associated with transitive verbs (ACTOR and GOAL). We thus have three macroroles, as outlined in the following table.

Macrorole	Specifying…
Actor	More active role in a transitive predication
Goal	Less active role in a transitive predication
S-Role	Single role in an intransitive predication

13.1.3 Semantic Role Charts

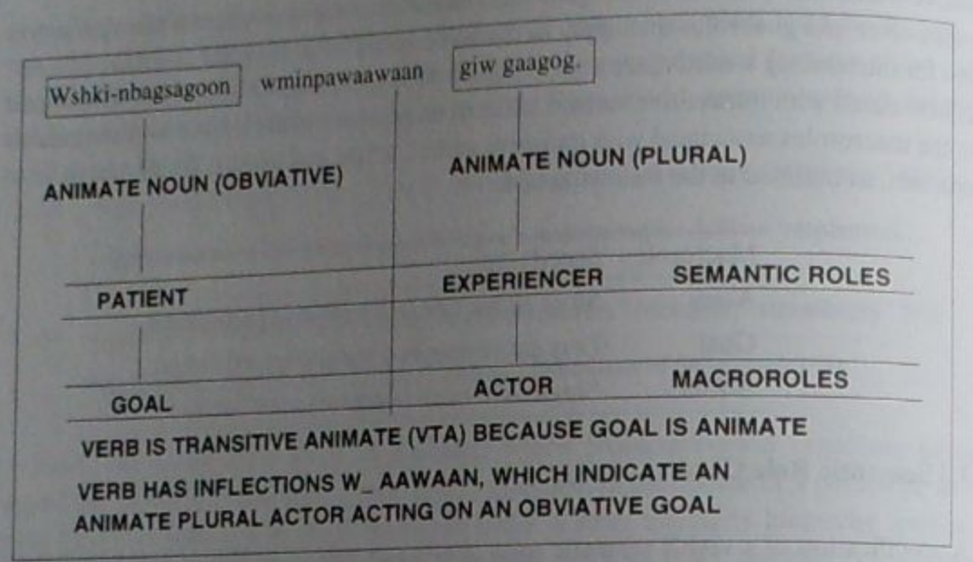
A specification of a verb's semantic roles constitutes part of its PREDICATE STRUCTURE. To introduce predicate structures, consider the following sentence.

(4) Wshki-nbagsagoon wminpawaawaan giw gaagog.

'The porcupines like to eat new lumber.' (AK1.9)

| **Wshki-nbagsagoon** *na 3obv* 'new lumber'; **wminpawaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl like the taste of ANobv'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gaagog** *na 3pProx* 'porcupines.'

The chart on the following page lays out the grammatical features of the elements of this sentence. It shows that there are two noun phrases, *wshki-nbagsagoon*, 'new board(s),' which is the obviative (backgrounded) form of *wshki-nbagsag*, an animate noun; the second noun phrase is proximate (foregrounded), *giw gaagog*, 'those porcupines,' which has as its head the plural form of the animate noun *gaag*, 'porcupine.' The verb in the sentence is *wminpawaawaan*, which is listed in the dictionary as *mnopwaad*, 'have AN taste good to one, like the taste of AN.' There are two semantic roles associated with this verb, an experiencer (taster) and a patient (or theme) (the thing(s) tasted). As to macroroles, the experiencer is the actor and the patient is the goal. Because there are two roles associated with the verb, it is transitive, and, more specifically, it is transitive animate (VTA) because the goal is animate (*wshki-nbagsag*). There are inflections on the verb, signalled by the prefix-suffix combination *w_aawaan*, which indicate that a third person proximate plural actor is acting upon an animate obviative goal. The inflections indicate only these bare grammatical categories, "proximate third person plural actor," but the associated noun phrase, *giw gaagog*, 'those porcupines,' more specifically identifies who (or what) the third person plural inflection refers to.



The same is true of the goal—the inflections simply identify an animate obviative goal—the noun *wshki-nbagsagoon* identifies this goal more specifically as newly cut lumber. The inflections on the verb and the associated noun phrases work together, and they must AGREE in their grammatical features. The following semantic role chart summarizes the predicate relations at work:

PREDICATE	ACTOR	GOAL
VTA wminpawaawaan	EXPERIENCER	PATIENT
'like the taste of AN'	INFL w_aawaan	
	NPa[prox]	NPa[obv]
(4)	giw gaagog	wshki-nbagsagoon

The leftmost column contains the predicate, in this case, the verb form, along with its verbal subclass, here VTA. Additional columns are provided for each semantic role associated with the predicate. The semantic roles are also classified according to their macrorole status, as either actors or goals. Here the experiencer fills the macrorole of actor, and the patient, that of goal. For each semantic role, there is a specification of the grammatical form of the item filling it, which always includes an inflection (abbreviated as INFL), but may have associated pronouns or NOUN PHRASES (abbreviated as NPi or NPa, depending on their grammatical gender) as well. The box containing INFL is spread across the columns for actor and goal because inflections (INFL) code actors and goal properties relationally, that is, they often encode both macroroles compositionally, as they do here, with the independent order inflection combination, *w_aawaan*. The nominals associated with a particular (macro)role are given in the lowest box in each role column. Here, for example, the actor role has associated with it the NP, *giw gaagog*, 'those porcupines,' and the goal role, *wshki-nbagsagoon*, 'new lumber.' A reference number in the lower left corner indexes the associated example sentence.

The following sentence provides another example.

(5) Mii sa giiwenh gaa-god maaba nmishoomis, "***Mshi-gnebig*** sa aw ***emwaad niw gniijaansan***."

'And, reportedly, the other said to my grandfather, "The great snake is the one who is eating your children.' (AK11.14)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gaa-god** *vta ic conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANobv said to ANsg'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **Mshi-gnebig** *na 3sProx* 'great snake'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **emwaad** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) is eating ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **gniijaansan** *na 2s(3obv)* 'your SG child(ren).'

We are interested in the predicate, "Mshi-gnebig sa aw emwaad niw gniijaansan."

PREDICATE	ACTOR	GOAL
VTA emwaad	AGENT	PATIENT
'eat AN'	INFL _aad	
	NPa[prox]	NPa[obv]
(5)	mshi-gnebig	niw gniijaan'san

The verb is VTA, and its agent role is filled by an animate noun (NPa), *mshi-gnebig*, 'great serpent, mythic serpent'; its patient role is filled by the animate noun phrase, *niw gniijaan'san*, 'those children of yours.' In this sentence, then, both roles are explicitly realized by independent nouns, but both are also indicated by means of inflections on the verb, the conjunct order suffix complex, *_aad*.

13.1.4 Incorporation of Patients

Nishnaabemwin has many verbs which have patients INCORPORATED inside of them, such as *naajmiijme*, 'go get food' (VAI) [with the incorporated noun /miijim/, 'food'], and *mnise*, 'cut firewood' (VAI) [with the medial element /-is-/ 'domestically useful wood']. These verbs are both intransitive, meaning that, for purposes of inflection, they have a single semantic role, that of an agent, because the patient role has, in a sense, been absorbed inside the verb. Most incorporating verbs have meanings associated with the acquisition or transfer or goods, such as the two illustrated here, and they reflect a general tendency in Nishnaabemwin to grammatically background inert objects.

13.1.5 The Semantic Role of Force

A semantic role related to agent is that of FORCE. A force is something that brings about results similar to those of an agent, but without willful agency, without volition. Forces are often represented by nouns that are grammatically inanimate, though they may be animate as well. The important feature of a force is that it is usually not considered an active, conscious initiator of the effect it has on the patient. As examples of prototypical forces, there is a small set of verbs that are used to make reference to ingested substances that produce particular effects, for example, *aakshkadegshkaagod*, 'give AN a stomach ache,' and *gbisgishaagod*, 'make AN constipated.' The semantic role of force maps into the macrorole of actor, and the semantic role of patient, into that of goal. An example of such a verb follows.

Force	Patient
Actor	Goal

(6) Abinoojiinyag niibiwa miijiwaad aniw miinan ***ozhaabozogonaawaan***.

'If children eat lots of those blueberries ***they get diarrhoea***.' (AW13.1)

Abinoojiinyag *na 3pProx* 'children'; **niibiwa** *av* 'many'; **miijiwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) (if) ANpl eat IN'; **aniw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **miinan** *ni 0p* 'blueberries'; **ozhaabozogonaawaan** *vtai ind 0p»3pProx* 'INpl gives ANpl diarrhea.'

PREDICATE	ACTOR	GOAL
VTAI ozhaabozogonaawaan	FORCE	PATIENT
'give AN diarrhoea'	INFL o_aawaan	
	NPi	NPa
(6)	aniw miinan	abinoojiinyag

The distinction between agents and forces is important in Nishnaabemwin grammar because verbs with forces as actors are always inflected for INVERSE inflection. The distinction between direct and inverse is discussed in Chapter 7.2.2, beginning on page 270.

Force is also closely related to INSTRUMENTALITY, which is very explicitly represented in Nishnaabemwin, and there are many verb finals that specify common forces and instruments, such as /-aashi/ (VAI) and /-aasin/ (VII), 'by wind action,' as in GWAASHI and GWAASIN, 'blow down, blow over, be blown down, be blown over.' These instrumental finals are discussed in Chapters 9 (section 9.10.4, page 349ff.) and 10 (section 10.4, page 438ff.).

Since forces are usually inanimate, and there is a requirement that at least one argument of a transitive verb be animate, there are no transitive inanimate (VTI) verbs that have a force filling a macrorole.

13.1.6 The Semantic Role of Experiencer

The semantic role of EXPERIENCER refers to a participant in the verbal action which neither controls the action nor is changed by it, but in some way experiences or senses something. The most typical experiencer role is that of a living creature, perceiving something by means of the senses or mental process. The object perceived is given the semantic role of PATIENT (or alternatively, THEME). So verbs of sensation, such as those of tasting, smelling, seeing, hearing all have experiencers as one semantic role. In Nishnaabemwin the experiencer role maps into the macrorole of actor, and the theme, that of goal.

Experiencer	Patient (or Theme)
Actor	Goal

(7) Mii dash wi Niibaakhom zhngishing, mii ***gii-noondwaad*** bezhgoogzhiin biidwewebtoonid— dog! dog! dog! dog!

'So it was that (the war chief) Nibakom was lying there; ***he heard*** the sound of a horse approaching— clip! clop! clip! clop!' (SO6.45)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **zhngishing** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg lies prone'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-noondwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg heard ANobv'; **bezhgoogzhiin** *na 3obv* 'horse(s)'; **biidwewebtoonid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv come(s) making noise.'

The semantic role chart of *gii-noondwaad*, in (7), is given below.

PREDICATE	ACTOR	GOAL
vta noondwaad	EXPERIENCER	THEME
'hear AN'	INFL _aad	
	—	NPa
(7)		bezhgoogzhiin

Both transitive and intransitive verbs of mental activity sometimes have a whole predication closely associated with them, as COMPLEMENT CLAUSES. This phenomenon is discussed more generally in Section 13.3.7, page 681, below.

13.1.7 The Semantic Roles of Recipient and Theme

The semantic roles of RECIPIENT and THEME are involved in predications that refer to the transfer of something. The recipient role specifies the receiver of the transfer, and the theme, what is transferred. The source of the transfer fills the semantic role of agent, and the macrorole of actor. The recipient fills the macrorole of goal, and the theme, being neither actor

nor goal, is not marked inflectionally on the verb. Verbs with both recipient and theme roles are sometimes called DITRANSITIVES, as they have two objects, and are thus doubly-transitive. The recipient role in English is customarily expressed by means of PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES having prepositions such as *from* or *to*.

Agent	Theme	Recipient
Actor	—	Goal

Examples of verbs having AGENT, RECIPIENT and THEME roles are *miinaad*, 'give [something] to AN,' and *bgidnamaad*, 'let AN have something'

(8) Wgii-gnoonaan maanda niw ndoodooman, [***wgii-miinaan*** neyaab aaning iw bagoowyaan, miinwaa ngodwewaan wgii-miinaan niw mkiznan].

'She talked to my mother about this, [and ***she*** [my mother] ***gave her*** back some of the cloth and gave her one pair of shoes].' (AK3.14)

Wgii-gnoonaan *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg spoke to ANobv'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ndoodooman** *na 1s(3obv)* 'my mother'; **wgii-miinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg gave Y to ANobv'; **neyaab** *av* 'back'; **aaning** *av* 'some'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bagoowyaan** *ni 0s* 'cloth'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **ngodwewaan** *ni 0* 'one pair'; **wgii-miinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg gave Y to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **mkiznan** *ni 0p* 'shoes.'

PREDICATE	ACTOR		GOAL
vta wgii-miinaan	AGENT	THEME	RECIPIENT
'give something	INFL w_aan		
to AN'	—	NPi + NPi	NPa
(8)		iw bagoowyaan miinwaa ngodwewaan niw mkiznan	ndoodooman

(9) ***Ngii-bgidnamaag*** aw nini wbaashkzigan. | 'That man ***let me have*** his gun.'

Ngii-bgidnamaag *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg let me have'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **wbaashkzigan** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsg's rifle.' (AM39.350)

PREDICATE	ACTOR		GOAL
vta ngii-bgidnamaag	AGENT	THEME	RECIPIENT
'let AN have (something)'	INFL n_aag		
(9)	NPa	NPi	—
	aw nini	wbaashkizgan	

13.1.8 VAIO Objects and Their Relationship to Ditransitive Secondary Objects

Some dialects of Nishnaabemwin inflect VAIO verbs in the independent for features of their goals, whether animate or inanimate, according to a pattern reminiscent of VTI (transitive inanimate) goal inflection. Rhodes (1991a, 1991b) asserts that the goals of VAIO verbs function similarly to the secondary objects (themes) of ditransitive verbs. At first glance, this seems unlikely, since secondary objects are not inflectionally marked on ditransitive verbs except in certain participles. However, Rhodes provides good evidence for the alignment of the two types of objects, and his arguments are discussed in more detail in Chapter 18.6, beginning on page 957.

(10) Ngii-daawenan ndoodaabaan. | 'I sold my car.' (RR)

Ngii-daawenan *vaio ind 1s»3sProx* 'I sold ANsg'; **ndoodaabaan** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my car.'

PREDICATE	ACTOR	GOAL
vai daawed	AGENT	PATIENT
'sell Y'	INFL n_nan	
	—	NPa
(10)		ndoodaabaan

13.1.9 The Semantic Role of Beneficiary (Benefactive)

The semantic role of BENEFICIARY, also called BENEFACTIVE, specifies the role of the one or ones benefitting from some action, that is, the one(s) for whose benefit the action is undertaken. The semantic role of the one(s) undertaking the beneficial action is that of agent, which maps into the macrorole of actor, and the beneficiary maps into the macrorole of goal.

Agent	Patient	Beneficiary
Actor	—	Goal

Verbs having beneficiaries filling the goal role are called BENEFACTIVE VERBS. There is almost always a patient semantic role associated with benefactive verbs, but this role receives no inflectional marking on the verb. For example, in the following sentence, *nbabgiwyaan*, 'my shirt,' fills the role of patient, but there is no marking on the verb to index an inanimate patient.

(11) Aw kwe ***ndazhtamaag*** nbabgiwyaan. | 'That woman ***is making*** a shirt ***for me***.'

Aw *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **ndazhtamaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg makes for me'; **nbabgiwyaan** *ni 1s(0s)* 'my shirt.' (AM39.356)

PREDICATE	ACTOR		GOAL
vta ndazhtamaag	AGENT	PATIENT	BENEFICIARY
'make Y for AN'	INFL nd_ig		
	NPa	NPi	—
(11)	aw kwe	nbabgiwyaan	

(12) ***Ngii-noojmotmawaa*** wniijaansan. | '***I cured*** his child ***for him.***' (AM39.271)

Ngii-noojmotmawaa *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I cured Y for ANsg'; **wniijaansan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's child(ren).'

PREDICATE	ACTOR		GOAL
vta ngii-noojmotmawaa	AGENT	PATIENT	BENEFICIARY
'cure someone for AN'	INFL n_aa		
	—	NPa	—
(12)		wniijaansan	

Benefactive verbs represent another definable sub-group of DITRANSITIVES. Benefactive relationships are expressed in English primarily by means of the preposition *for* to identify the beneficiary, as in the examples above.

13.1.10 The Semantic Role of Instrument

The semantic role of instrument specifies an instrument used in carrying out an action. In specific verbs of using, such as *aabjihaad*, 'use AN' and *aabjitood*, 'use IN,' the instrument fills the goal macrorole, as in (13) below. But in cases where a patient role is present, the patient fills the goal macrorole and the instrument is not indexed at all inflectionally on the verb, as in (14).

Agent	Instrument	Patient
Actor	—	Goal

(13) ***Niw*** dash ***mdaamnashkoon*** wgii-aabjihaawaan gii-wzhitoowaad niw gziizdeshmonan.

'And they used ***corn husks*** when they made mats.' (AK16.10)

Niw *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **mdaamnashkoon** *na 3obv* 'cornhusk(s)'; **wgii-aabjihaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl used ANobv'; **gii-wzhitoowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl made IN'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **gziizdeshmonan** *ni 0p* 'doormats.'

PREDICATE	ACTOR	GOAL
vta wgii-aabjihaawaan	AGENT	INSTRUMENT
'use s.t. (anim.)'	INFL w_aawaan	
	—	NPa
(13)		niw mdaamnashkoon

(14) Mii sa giiwenh gii-biindge-gwaashknid wa nini, mookiitwaad giiwenh niwi ninwan, ***mookmaan wii-bjibwaad.***

'So the man (the intruder) jumped into the house and attacked the other man, intending to ***stab him with a knife***.' (SO1.19)

Mii *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-biindge-gwaashknid** *vai conj 3sProx* 'ANsg jumped inside'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **mookiitwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg assaulted ANobv'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'nao'; **ninwan** *na 3obv* 'man/men'; **mookmaan** *ni 0s* 'knife'; **wii-bjibwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg intend to stab ANobv.'

PREDICATE	ACTOR	GOAL	
vta wii-bjibwaad	AGENT	PATIENT	INSTRUMENT
'stab AN (with	INFL _aad		
something)'	—	—	NPi
(14)			mookmaan

(15) ***Wezhho*** gye gkizhe. | '***He paints himself with charcoal***, also.' (AM22.3)

Wezhho *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg adorns self'; **gye** *av* 'also'; **gkizhe** *ni 0s* 'charcoal.'

PREDICATE	S-Role	
vai wezhho	AGENT	INSTRUMENT
'paint oneself'	INFL _	
	—	NPi
(15)		gkizhe

It seems that it is most commonly verbs with INSTRUMENTAL FINALS that allow the specification of an INSTRUMENT in their PREDICATES, such as in the examples above. Some contemporary speakers do not allow specification of instruments in the pragmatic manner illustrated by the examples above, i.e., on the basis of situational and discourse context.

13.1.10.1 Instrumental Finals

Transitive finals allow specification of a variety of instrumental means by which an action is brought about. The following examples illustrate some of these finals.

VTA Final	VTI Final	Meaning
-shkaw	-shk	'cause (using foot or body)'
-kaw	-k	'cause (in the body)
-m	-nd	'cause using speech'
-am	-and	'cause using mouth/teeth'
-aganaam	-aganaand	'cause using great force'

For example, the instrumentality in the following sentence is provided by the VTA final /-ga(h)w/, 'use an axe as instrument.'

(16) ***Wgii-daashkgawaan*** mtigoon. | '***He split*** the tree ***with his axe***.' (AM39.324)

> **Wgii-daashkgawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg split ANobv using axe'; **mtigoon** *na 3obv* 'tree(s).'

In the following the instrumentality of the hand is indicated by the VTI final /-bid+oo/:

(17) Aabta ***bookbidoon***. | 'Break it in half ***with your hand***.' (AM39.746)

> **Aabta** *av* 'in half'; **bookbidoon** *vti imp 2s»0* 'break IN using hand.'

In the following, the instrumentality of talk is provided by the VTA final /-m/, 'cause by means of speech, speaking, oral sound' in VTA verb *boonim*, 'stop talking about AN':

(18) Aambe ***wii-boonmishnaang***. | 'Please ***stop bothering us with talk***!' (AM39.805)

> **Aambe** *av* 'hey'; **wii-boonmishnaang** *vta imp 2»1p* 'stop bothering us (excl.) by talking.'

In the following, the instrumentality of a knife is provided both by explicit mention, in *mookmaanens*, as well as by the VTI final /-kod+am/, 'cause using a cutting action,' on vti verb *giishkkodan*, 'sever with a blade.' Note that there is no cross-referencing (inflection) on the verb of any grammatical features of the instrument.

(19) ***Mookmaanens*** wgii-giishkkodaan mtigoons.

'***With his pocketknife*** he whittled through the stick.' (AM39.407)

> **Mookmaanens** *ni 0s* 'small knife'; **wgii-giishkkodaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg cut INsg off cleanly'; **mtigoons** *ni 0s* 'stick.'

Instrumental finals are treated in Chapter 10.4, beginning on page 438.

13.1.11 Other Semantic Roles

Many other minor semantic roles exist that find expression in Nishnaabemwin as nominals showing no inflectional representation on the verb. The following examples are representative. Some of these examples may fall under categories already discussed, for example, in sentence (20), *miignan*, 'feathers,' can be considered a THEME, with my apologies to the *zhiishiibenh*.

(20) Ngii-bshkobnaag ***miignan*** aw zhiishiibenh.

'I have plucked ***the feathers*** from that duck.' (AM39.288)

> **Ngii-bshkobnaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I plucked ANpl'; **miignan** *na 3obv* 'feather(s)'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **zhiishiibenh** *na 3sProx* 'duck.'

(21) Taadwag ***mzinhigaansan***, bezhig dash gii-bkinwaa.

'They played ***cards***, and one of them lost.' (AM39.332)

> **Taadwag** *vaip ind 3pProx* 'ANpl gamble with one another'; **mzinhigaansan** *ni 0p* 'playing cards'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **dash** *av* 'and'; **gii-bkinwaa** *vta ind x»3sProx* 'ANsg was beaten.'

(22) Ngii-giishkzhamaag ***nshkanzhiin***. | 'He cut ***my nails*** for me.' (AM39.354)

> **Ngii-giishkzhamaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg cut Y for me'; **nshkanzhiin** *nad 1s(3obv)* 'my fingernail(s).'

(23) ***Gkina*** ngii-bkinaag ***iw nzhoon'yaam***, gaa dash gegoo noongwa zhoon'yaa.

'He won ***all my money*** from me, and now I have no money left.' (AM39.357)

> **Gkina** *av* 'all'; **ngii-bkinaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg beat me in contest'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nzhoon'yaam** *ni 1s(0s)* 'my money'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **noongwa** *av* 'now'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money.'

(24) Gaa-shkwaa-gganoongod, mii go zhaazhi go eta geyaabi ***ndib*** wii-giigoonywid.

'By the time he had finished speaking to him, it was only ***with respect to his head*** that remained for him to be changed into a fish.' (SO3.39)

> **Gaa-shkwaa-gganoon'god** *vta ic redup conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) after ANobv had talked with ANsg'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **geyaabi** *av* 'still'; **ndib** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsg's head'; **wii-giigoonywid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg will be(come) a fish.'

13.1.12 Summary of Semantic Role Relationships

The following chart provides a summary of the semantic roles introduced so far.

Agent	The willful initiator of an action, the "doer"
Force	An inanimate force which brings about an action
Patient	The recipient of the action of an agent, the "done-to"
Theme	The role of one(s) undergoing transfer or movement
Recipient	The role of one(s) receiving a theme
Benefactive	The role of the one(s) benefitting from the action of an agent
Instrument	An object used by an agent in an action to bring about the result

DEFAULT SEMANTIC ROLE-TO-MACROROLE ASSOCIATIONS. The semantic roles discussed to this point can also be summarized in terms of their default associations with the macroroles of actor and goal. Agents and experiencers are always actors in transitive predications; patients are goals unless there is a recipient or beneficiary, in which case these always fill the goal role and the patient is not inflectionally indexed. Themes function as goals only when there is no recipient. If a semantic role is cast in neither macrorole, then it is usually not inflectionally indexed on the verb at all.

	Actor	Goal	Unindexed
Agent	•		
Force	•		
Experiencer	•		
Recipient		•	
Beneficiary		•	
Patient		•	•
Theme		•	•
Instrument		•	•

Nishnaabemwin verbal inflection rather strikingly privileges those semantic roles that are customarily filled by humans, such as recipient and beneficiary, over those that are not, particularly the roles of patient and instrument. As a result, benefactive verbs and transfer verbs are always VTA's, because the goal macrorole, which determines the verbal subclass (VTA or VTI), is filled by the semantic role of recipient or beneficiary. Typological studies of many languages show that the system of "object" marking found in Nishnaabemwin is not uncommon. In this system, the "direct object" of a simple transitive verb and the "indirect object" of a ditransitive verb are together called the PRIMARY OBJECT, as opposed to the direct object of a ditransitive, which is called the SECONDARY OBJECT (Croft 1990:103). Rhodes, too, in many papers on Ojibwe grammar (e.g., 1991a, 1991b, 1998), makes a fundamental distinction between primary and secondary objects. In Nishnaabemwin, instrumental notions also tend to be backgrounded by semantic incorporation into verbal finals, where they lose all inflectional salience. Patients too, especially those nominals associated with traditional cultural activities of everyday subsistence, are often incorporated within the verb, a form of rhetorical backgrounding.

With regard to intransitive verbs, I have suggested that many different semantic roles can be associated with its one inflectional macro-role, which I call the S-Role.

13.2 Semantic Relations of Relative Roots and Relative Preverbs

Nishnaabemwin has a set of ROOTS, which may also appear as PREVERBS, that have the property of associating a semantic relation with a predicate. These roots are called RELATIVE ROOTS because they *relate* the verbal predicate to something else, either a way (manner) of doing something, a degree to which something is done, the number of times something is done, or a specification of a source, place, or destination relating to the predicate. For example, the verb *zhichge,* do something,' is a VAI verb, meaning it takes an animate S-Role (subject) and that it is intransitive—that is, is not inflectionally specified for a goal (unless it is a VAIO, which this isn't). However, the presence of the relative root /iN/ (here spelled «zh») in this word allows for the specification of an additional goal-like (complement) relation, namely, whatever is done (or the "way" of doing). This can be seen from the following two examples.

(25) Mii sa ***[maanda] gaa-zhichgewaad*** giw Nishnaabeg zhaazhi go.

'[This] is what those Indians did of old.' (AM21.20)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago.'

(26) ***Ggii-zhichge*** na dash ***[iw] gaa-zhi-gkinoohmoonaan***?

'Did you do [the way] that I taught you?' (AM30.32)

> **Ggii-zhichge** *vai ind 2s* 'did you (SG.) do so'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-zhi-gkinoohmoonaan** *vta ic conj 1s»2s* '(CCNJ) how I taught you (SG) to do.'

Relative elements function similarly to prepositions and their objects in English. Rhodes (1990) makes the general observation that they function like verbal constructions found in Siouan languages, Chibchan and Maku, as discussed in Craig and Hale 1988. The following semantic role-chart includes a slot for the object (complement) of a relative element.

PREDICATE	S-Role	OBJECT OF RELATIVE
vai zhichge	AGENT	
'do something so'	INFL _	
	NPa	NPi
(25)	giw Nishnaabeg	maanda

Here the immediate object is the inanimate demonstrative pronoun, *maanda*, 'this.' But *maanda* is here representing the entire discourse that has preceded this summary sentence, in which the narrator has recounted how the Indians of old practiced sweating cures.

PREDICATE	S-Role	OBJECT OF RELATIVE
vai zhichge	AGENT	
'do something'	INFL _	
	—	NPi
(26)		iw gaa-zhi-gkinoohmoonaan

In example (26), a young woman has been instructed to prepare a love medicine, and her teacher asks her if she has acted in the way that he has specified.

When a noun (as opposed to a clause) is the complemnt of a relative root or preverb, it typically immediately precedes the associated verb, and shows LOCATIVE CASE marking.

(27) ***Mhiingning*** zhinaagzi gday. | 'Your (sg.) dog looks like ***a wolf.***' (MC)

> **Mhiingning** *na loc 3* '(like) a wolf'; **zhinaagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg looks like'; **gday** *nad 2s(3sProx)* 'your dog.'

(28) ***Mhiingning*** zhinaagziwag gonda nimookaajiinyig. | 'Those dogs look like ***wolves.***'

> **Mhiingning** *na loc 3* '(like) a wolf'; **zhinaagziwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl look so'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **nimookaajiinyig** *na 3pProx* 'dogs.' (MC)

The following table lays out the core Nishnaabemwin relative roots and their corresponding relative preverbs. See the index for additional details for each root.

Roots	Preverbs	Meaning
/akw/	ako-, ko-	'since; so far; for a long time'
/apiit/ /apiich/ /apiis/	apiichi-, piichi-	'to the extent that…, in the process of…'
/in/, /izh/ /ih/[1]	izhi-, zhi-	'like a certain thing; towards a certain place; in a certain direction; in a certain way; in spite of a certain obstacle'
/ond/, /onj/	onji-, nji-, wnji-	'from a certain direction, for a certain reason'
/dan/, /dazh/	dazhi-, dzhi-	'at a certain place; there'
/daswl, /das/ /dash/	daso-, dso-	'so many times, every time'

1. Here /h/ indicates that the initial consonant of the root is made fortis, e.g., *patoo*, /ipatoo/, 'run there,' from /iN+batoo/; kido, /ikido/, 'say something' from /iN+gido/.

Note that several common morphologically simple verbs specifying locations also act as if they contained relative roots. These include *yaa* (VAI) and *yaa(mgad)* (VII), 'be (in a certain place),' *daa*, 'live (in a certain place) (VAI),' *bi* (VAI) and *te* (VII), 'be in a certain place,' *shi(n)*, 'put AN (in a certain place) and *toon*, 'put IN in a certain place,' among others.

13.3 Sentential Complements

Many verbs take whole CLAUSES as ARGUMENTS (COMPLEMENTS) in their predicate structure. Such clauses can fill the goal roles of transitive verbs, though verbs that semantically include human recipients of acts of communication typically yield the goal macrorole to the recipient. For example, the following sentence contains a VERB OF SPEAKING, *wiindmaw*, 'tell AN something,' and includes a complement clause expressing what is to be told, in the form of an indirect statement. The inflectional goal of the main verb, *ji-wiindmawdwaa*, is *giw Nishnaabeg widi gaa-bi-njibaayang*, 'those people where we (incl.) come from,' that is, those who are the recipients of the communication.

(29) Ggizheb waabang gga-maajaa *ji-wiindmawdwaa* giw Nishnaabeg widi gaa-bi-njibaayang [***ji-bi-naadmawwaad ji-miigaan'gidwaa giw myagi-nishnaabeg***].

'Tomorrow morning you must go and tell those people where we came from [***to come and help me fight those men of a foreign tribe***].' (AM31.24)

> **Ggizheb** *av* 'in the morning'; **waabang** *av* 'tomorrow'; **gga-maajaa** *vai ind 2s* 'you (SG) will leave'; **ji-wiindmawdwaa** *vta conj 2s»3pProx* '(CONJ) you (SG) will tell ANpl'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **gaa-bi-njibaayang** *vai ic conj 21* '(CCNJ) where we (incl.) come from'; **ji-bi-naadmawwaad** *vta conj 3pProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANpl will come and help me'; **ji-miigaan'gidwaa** *vta conj 21»3p* '(CONJ) we (incl.) will fight ANpl'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **myagi-nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'alien Indians.'

In the following example, the thought associated with a MENTAL ACTIVITY VERB is expressed by means of a clause, which is interrupted by the verb of thinking.

(30) ***Gnimaa niiwgon*** wgii-gkendaan ***wii-bi-dgoshninid***.

'He knew [***that they were probably going to come in four days***].' (AM31.20)

> **Gnimaa** *av* 'probably'; **niiwgon** *av* 'four days'; **wgii-gkendaan** *vti 3sProx»0* 'ANsg knew IN'; **wii-bi-dgoshninid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv would arrive here.'

These sentence-like elements that are closely associated with the fundamental meaning of a verb are called SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS. In Nishnaabemwin they are usually related by means of clauses containing verbs inflected for the conjunct inflectional order, and they typically occur after the main verb they are associated with, though as can be seen from sentence (30), above, portions of them sometimes appear before the verb. It is also not uncommon with verbs of speaking or thinking for the entire clause to precede the verb, which is almost always inflected in the independent order, as in this example.

(31) [***Wii-boontaad giishpin washme niibna bwaa-dbahmawind***] gii-kida Maanii.

'Mary said [***she'd quit if she didn't get paid more***].' (MC)

> **Wii-boontaad** *vai conj 3sProx* 'ANsg will quit'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **washme** *av* 'more'; **niibna** *av* 'a lot'; **bwaa-dbahmawind** *vta conj x»3sProx* 'ANsg is not paid'; **gii-kida** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg said'; **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary.'

There are several notional classes of verbs which take sentential complements, a representative sampling of which are listed in the following section. In all cases, the COMPLEMENT-TAKING VERBS are in italics, and their corresponding sentential-complements within square brackets.

13.3.1 Intransitive Verbs that Take Sentential Complements

In Nishnaabemwin, many verbs that are INTRANSITIVE in their basic structure allow SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS. These include verbs of speaking, verbs expressing thought processes, orientational/evaluative verbs such as *znagad*, 'be difficult' (vii), and many others. The following examples illustrate, with the verbs identified with subscripted CTV, for "complement-taking verb."

(32) Noongo giizhgak *nwii-dbaajim*$_{CTV}$ [***iw Nishnaabeg maa Waabow Island fair wii-yaamwaad***].

'Today I am going to *tell* [***of the fact that the Indians on Walpole Island are going to have a fair***].' (AM18.2)

> **Noongo** *av* 'now'; **giizhgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) it is day'; **nwii-dbaajim** *vai ind 1s* 'I will tell the news'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wii-yaamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will have IN.'

(33) Maanii *gii-dbaajma*$_{CTV}$ [***Rogeran gii-ni-boontaad***].

'Mary gave the news [***that Roger had quit***].' (MC)

> **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary'; **gii-dbaajma** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg told the news'; **Rogeran** *na 3obv* 'Roger'; **gii-ni-boontaad** *vai conj 3sProx* 'ANsg had quit.'

(34) *Nzegiz*$_{CTV}$ [***wii-niibwiyaanh***]. | 'I'm afraid [***to get married***].' (DP)

> **Nzegiz** *vai ind 1s* 'I am afraid'; **wii-niibwiyaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will marry.'

(35) Bngii zhiwi go ngii-znagiz$_{CTV}$ [***wii-naaghadoowaanh aanin gchi-zhi-giizhwewnan***].

'I had a little trouble [***following some of the jargon***].' (MC)

> **Bngii** *av* 'a little'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **go ngii-znagiz** *vai ind 1s* 'I had difficulty'; **wii-naaghadoowaanh** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I follow IN'; **aanin** *av* 'some'; **gchi-zhigiizhwewnan** *ni 0p* 'jargon (PL).'

PSEUDO-INTRANSITIVES. There is a large group of animate intransitive verbs that have the form of a transitive inanimate verb in having a VTI THEME SUFFIX, /-am/. These verbs

were called PSEUDO-INTRANSITIVES in early linguistic studies. They commonly take sentential complements.

(36) *Gii-giiwsaadendam* Maanii [***gaa-naad Rogeran***].

'Mary regretted [***what she had said to Roger***].' (MC)

Gii-giiwsaadendam *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg regretted'; **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) what ANsg said to ANobv'; **Rogeran** *na 3obv* 'Roger.'

13.3.2 Direct and Indirect (Reported) Quotation

Just as with English, Nishnaabemwin has two distinct ways to report speech, one DIRECT, in which the actual words spoken are given, and one INDIRECT, in which the words of the speaker are adjusted to the situation of the report, by changing person categories and tense, as well as other features. The following examples represent DIRECT QUOTATION, quoting the actual words of the speaker.

(37) Mii dash gaa-naad aw mshkikiiwnini, ***[Gego nendangen]***.

'The doctor told her, ***"Do not feel that way about it."***' (AM30.21)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mshkikiiwnini** *na 3sProx* 'doctor'; **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **nendangen** *vai2 imp 2s neg* 'do not (you sg) feel so.'

(38) Wgii-naan niw sa shkiniigkwen, ***[Gego dash zhgadenmaaken maaba shkinwe.]*** 'He said to the young woman, ***"And do not be too impatient to have that young man."***' (AM29.6)

Wgii-naan *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg said to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkiniigkwen** *na 3obv* 'young woman'; **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **zhgadenmaaken** *vta neg imp 2s»3sProx* 'do not 2s be impatient with AN'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **shkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man.'

The following examples involve INDIRECT QUOTATION, in the first case converting the speaker's personal reference (first person) to third person, and in the second, involving shifts such as the main verb (*nsitawaad*) changing from independent to conjunct order.

(39) Ngii-wiindmaag [***wiidgemaagnan aakzinid***]. | 'He told me [***his wife was ill***].'

Ngii-wiindmaag *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg told me'; **wiidgemaagnan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's spouse'; **aakzinid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv is sick.' (AM39.523)

(40) Niijkiwenh ngii-wiindmaag ngoding [***bezhig shkiniigkwe Menomini girl nsitawaad niw Wjibwen***].

'My friend once told me [that a certain Menomini girl understood Ojibwe].'

Niijkiwenh *nad 3sProx* 'my friend'; **ngii-wiindmaag** *vta ind 1s»3sProx*; **ngoding** *av* 'one time'; **bezhig** *av* 'a certain'; **shkiniigkwe** *na 3sProx* 'young woman'; **nsitawaad** *vta conj 3sProx>3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg understands ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that|those'; **Wjibwen** *na 3obv* 'Ojibwe (person|people).' (AM8.25)

Examples of verbs in indirect quotation inflected for INDEPENDENT ORDER are not uncommon. Note here too that the verb of the report in (41) has been shifted to first person, from its original second.

(41) Ngii-wiindmaagnaan, [***zaam wiikaa ngii-bi-yaami***$_{ind}$].

'He told us [(***that***) ***we had come too late***].' (AM39.362)

Ngii-wiindmaagnaan *vta ind 3sProx»1p* 'ANsg told us'; **zaam** *av* 'too'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **ngii-bi-yaami** *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl.) had come.'

(42) [***Gaawii giiyenh wiin gii-mwaasiin***$_{ind}$ ***niwin aapji-skwaach gaa-bin'jin bkwezhgaansan***] kida Maanii.

'Mary said [(***that***) ***she had not eaten the last cookie***].' (MC)

Gaawii *av* 'not'; **giiyenh** *av* 'evidently'; **wiin** *av* 'ANsg'; **gii-mwaasiin** *vta ind neg 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg did not eat ANobv'; **niwin** *prnt 3obv* 'that/those'; **aapji-skwaach** *av* 'very last'; **gaa-bin'jin** *vai ic conj 0obv* '(CCNJ) that ANobv was there'; **bkwezhgaan=san** *ni 0p* 'cookies'; **kida** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg says'; **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary.'

Verbs of thinking can have complements inflected for independent order as well:

(43) *Ndinendam* go naa [***niizhwaaswi eta ngii-piitiz***$_{ind}$].

'I think [***I was only seven years old then***].' (LM)

Ndinendam *vai ind 1s* 'I think'; **niizhwaaswi** *nm* 'seven'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **ngii-piitiz** *vai ind 1s* 'I was such age.'

13.3.3 Demonstrative Complementizers

Complement clauses, as with other subordinate clauses, may be introduced with the inanimate demonstrative pronouns *maanda*, 'this,' or more commonly, *iw*, 'that.' Such elements used to introduce complement clauses are called COMPLEMENTIZERS.

(44) *Gii-nshkaadzi* aw ndawemaa [***iw bbaa-yaayaan wiikaa iw dbikak***] gii-zhmaagnishiiwi maa naa ge wiin, ngii-paktewig dash naangim go gii-ni-dgoshnaang endaayaan.

'My brother got mad [***that I was around late at night***], he was a soldier too, and he hit me on the shoulder until we got to my house.' (AK8.10)

> **Gii-nshkaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was angry'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ndawemaa** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my sibling-of-opposite sex'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bbaa-yaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(SUF) I was around'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **dbikak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be night'; **gii-zhmaagnishiiwi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was a soldier'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wiin** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **ngii-paktewig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg hit me repeatedly'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **naangim** *av* 'until'; **gii-ni-dgoshnaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we arrived there'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

(45) Mii dash nhendmaan [***iw gii-gkenmag geget iw nsitang***].

'So now I felt sure [***that I knew that she did really understand it***].' (AM9.35)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **nhendmaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I felt satisfied that IN was true'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-gkenmag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I knew about ANsg'; **geget** *av* 'truly'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nsitang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg understood IN.'

The optionality of *iw* in complement clauses can be seen by comparing example (45) directly above with the following sentence, which lacks *iw*. This sentence is also interesting in the TENSE relationship between the main verb, which is unmarked for tense, and the verb in the complement, which is marked for past tense (with *gii-*).

(46) Mii dash nhendamaan [***geget sa gii-gkenmag sa Wjibwemod***].

'So now I was satisfied [***that I knew she spoke Ojibwa***].' (AM9.40)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **nhendamaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I felt satisfied about IN'; **geget** *av* 'truly'; **gii-gkenmag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I knew about ANsg'; **Wjibwemod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg spoke Ojibwe.'

13.3.4 Tense and Modality in Complement Clauses

Verbs in complement clauses allow a rather free range of TENSE and MODAL PREVERBS, including: *gii-*, 'past tense' (55) (p. 673), (88) (p. 680); *wii-*, 'future tense, intentive' (53) (p. 672), (54) (p. 672); *ji-*, 'modal ('should, could, would')' (64) (p. 675), (65) (p. 675); and *da-*, 'modal' (47) (p. 671), (48) (p. 671). Generally, verbs in complements that represent unrealized events in the past, present, or future, such as in (54) (p. 672) and (63) (p. 674), are marked with *wii-*, 'future, intentive.' When the complement represents a real(ized) event or situation, its verb is often not marked with tense. Complements representing unrealized situations, such as those of verbs of striving and trying, also often have verbs marked with conjunct modal preverbs *ji-* or *da-* (64) (p. 675) and (65) (p. 675). Preverb *ji-* is also used with complements representing actions and events which will take place in the future (70) (p. 676). Much more analysis remains to be done on tense and modality in complements.

13.3.5 Notional Groupings of Verbs Taking Sentence Complements

The following sentences provide examples of the rich assortment of sentence-complement verbs in Nishnaabemwin. Verbs are grouped into very general notional categories. Unfortunately, these lists are *in lieu* of an adequate analysis.

13.3.5.1 Verbs of Mental Activity

(47) [***Da-ni-giiwenpa daansan***] *gii-nendam* Audrey.

'Audrey thought [***that her daughter should go home***].' (MC)

> **Da-ni-giiwenpa** *vai conj pret 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv should go home'; **daansan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's daughter(s)'; **gii-nendam** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg thought so'

(48) [***Da-naadmaagoon Maaniiyan***] *gii-nendam* Roger.

'Roger assumed [***that Mary would help him***].' (MC)

> **Da-naadmaagoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv would help ANsg'; **Maaniiyan** *na 3obv* 'Mary (obv.)'; **gii-nendam** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg thought so'; **Roger** *na 3sProx* 'Roger.'

(49) *Ndoonenmaa* [***wii-tamag***].

'I am forgetting [***to draw at my pipe***].' (AM39.550)

> **Ndoonenmaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I forget ANsg'; **wii-tamag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I draw (suck) on ANsg.'

(50) *Gii-wnendaan* [***wii-gbaakwang shkwaandem***] Maanii.

'Mary forgot [***to close the door***].' (MC)

Gii-wnendaan *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg forgot INsg'; **wii-gbaakwang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg will close IN'; **shkwaandem** *ni 0s* 'door'; **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary.'

(51) Ngii-zhaa dash widi *gii-wa-ndawaa-ndo-gkendmaan* ***[wegdagwen iidig nendwendaagdagwen]***.

'So I went to find out, as was necessary, ***[what it was that might be wanted]***.' (AM9.29)

Ngii-zhaa *vai ind 1s* 'I went'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **gii-wa-ndawaa-ndo-gkendmaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) that I necessarily go and find out'; **wegdagwen** *pr dub 0* 'whatever'; **iidig** *av* 'perhaps'; **nendwendaagdagwen** *vii ic conj dub 0* '(CCNJ) IN might be wanted.'

(52) Aaniish *gaa-zhi-gkendang* mBill ***[bkadeyin]***?

'How did Bill know [***that you were hungry***]? (MC)

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **gaa-zhi-gkendang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg thus knew IN'; **mBill** *na 3sProx* 'Bill'; **bkadeyin** *vai conj 2s* 'you are hungry.'

(53) Aaning go naa eta go iw gii-nsaawag *wgii-gkendaanaawaa* maa naa giw aaning [***waa-zhiwebziwaad***].

'But only some were killed, indeed some of them knew [***what was going to happen to them***].' (AK10.12)

Aaning *av* 'some'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-nsaawag** *vta ind x 3pProx* 'ANpl were killed'; **wgii-gkendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl knew INsg'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **aaning** *av* 'some'; **waa-zhiwebziwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what would happen to ANpl.'

(54) *Ngii-wnendaan* [***wii-aadaakwa(h)geyaanh***]. | 'I forgot [***to lock the door***].' (ED)

Ngii-wnendaan *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I forgot INsg'; **wii-aadaakwa(h)geyaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will do locking.'

13.3.5.2 Verbs of Perception

(55) Mii iw *gii-waabndamwaad* [***gii-waanked ge wii npaaj-nakehiing odi***], mii-sh maa bmi-zaagjikwed odi npaaj-nakehing gii-giihgowaad.

'They saw [***that he was digging too on the opposite side there***], indeed he was going along making tracks and escaping there on the opposite side.' (AK7.6)

Mii *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-waabndamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl saw IN'; **gii-waanked** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg dug'; **wii** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **npaaj-nakehiing** *av* 'in the opposite direction'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **bmi-zaagjikwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went along making tracks going out'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **npaaj-nakehing** *av* 'opposite direction'; **gii-giihgowaad** *vta conj 3obv»3pProx* '(CONJ) ANobv was escaping from ANpl.'

(56) Giishpin eyaagin waa-nankiing widi Girls Quarters mii go niin widi ezhnaazhkaagooyaan *ji-waabndamaan* ***[wegdagwen iidig nendwendaagdogwen]***.

'Whenever there was any work to be done over in the Girls' Quarters, I was the one to be sent there to see [***what it might be that was wanted***].' (AM8.24)

Giishpin *av* 'if'; **eyaagin** *vii conj 0 iter* '(CCNJ) there was ever'; **waa-nankiing** *vai ic conj x* '(CCNJ) one will do work'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **go niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **ezhnaazhkaagooyaan** *vta ic conj part 1s* '(CCNJ) I who was sent'; **ji-waabndamaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) I should see IN'; **wegdagwen** *pr dub 0* 'whatever'; **iidig** *av* 'perhaps'; **nendwendaagdogwen** *vii ic conj part dub 0* '(CCNJ) what IN might be wanted.'

(57) Wgii-mkwendaan dash iw e-naabndangba ge go mii *gii-ndodang* [***iw waawaabmowin ji-wiidookaagod aazhi go wii-miigaazod***].

'He remembered the vision which he had seen long ago, and now he willed [***that the mirror should stand by him now as he was about to fight***].' (AM31.28)

Wgii-mkwendaan *vti ind 3sProx»0* 'ANsg remembered IN'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **e-naabndangba** *vti ic conj pret 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) which ANsg had dreamed IN'; **ge** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-ndodang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg asked IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waawaabmowin** *ni 0s* 'mirror'; **ji-wiidookaagod** *vta conj 0»3sProx* '(CONJ) IN will help ANsg'; **aazhi** *av* 'now'; **wii-miigaazod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg will fight.'

(58) Gii-noondwaan [***Rogeran ni-maajaanid***] Maanii. | 'Mary heard [***Roger leave***].'

> **Gii-noondwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg heard ANobv'; **Rogeran** *na 3obv* 'Roger'; **ni-maajaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv go away'; **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary.' (MC)

(59) Enh, weweni dash ka-naagzowaabam [***ezhchigeyaanh***].

'Yes, you'll watch (me) carefully [***how I do it***].' (DP)

> **Enh** *av* 'yes'; **weweni** *av* 'carefully'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ka-naagzowaabam** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you will observe me'; **ezhchigeyaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) how I do so.'

13.3.5.3 Verbs of Intention and Desire

(60) *Nii-nookiinan* [***wii-nnaahchigaadeg***]. | 'I intend [***to have the things repaired***].'

> **Nii-nookiinan** *vaio ind 1s»0p* 'I will have INpl worked on'; **wii-nnaahchigaadeg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN will be repaired.' (AM39.545)

(61) *Gdagaawaanaa* na [***wii-biindaakweyan***]?

'Are you hankering [***to smoke (tobacco)***]?'

> **Gdagaawaanaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you long for ANsg'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **wii-biindaakweyan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you will smoke tobacco.' (AM39.548)

(62) *Gnandwenmin* [***da-miijyan***]. | 'I want you [***to eat it***].' (AM39.549)

> **Gnandwenmin** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'I want you'; **da-miijyan** *vti conj 2s»0* '(CONJ) you will eat IN.'

(63) Mamaa aapji *wii-dagkendmang* endgwenh gwisan *ji-naaknigenid* [***wii-niibwinid***].

'The mother really wants to find out if her son is planning [***to get married***].' (DP)

> **Mamaa** *nad 3sProx* 'a mother'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **wii-dagkendmang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg wants to find out about IN'; **endgwenh** *av* 'whether'; **gwisan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's son'; **ji-naaknigenid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv might decide'; **wii-niibwinid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv will marry.'

(64) Ngii-nkwetwaa dash, mii iw dnawa gye nii *gaa-msawendmaan* [***ji-nankiiyaambaa***].

'I answered him, "That is the kind of work I would like [***to do***]."' (AM8.19)

> **Ngii-nkwetwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I answered ANsg'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **dnawa** *pr sim 3/0* 'kind'; **gye** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'me'; **gaa-msawendmaan** *vti ic conj part 1s»0* '(CCNJ) which I long for IN'; **ji-nankiiyaambaa** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) I would like to work so.'

(65) "*Nga-wiikjitoon* [***ji-maajaayaan***]," gii-nendam Niibaakhom.

'"I will try [***to move on***]," thought Nibakom.' (SO6.62)

> **Nga-wiikjitoon** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I will try INsg'; **ji-maajaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will leave'; **gii-nendam** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg thought so'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Nibakom.'

(66) Mii dash gaa-nendang, "*Nga-gtaamgoz* [***ji-gkendmaan iw sa ezhi-nokiiwaad giw giigoonykewninwag***]."

'And he thought thus, "I'll strive ***to know how these fishermen work***."'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-nendang** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg thought thus'; **ji-gkendmaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I could know IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ezhi-nokiiwaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) how ANpl work thus'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **giigoonykewninwag** *na 3pProx* 'fishermen.' (AK13.23)

13.3.5.4 Verbs Representing Formal Speech Acts

(67) Mii sa nii *aano-nji-gnahmoonaan* [***wii-mod wa giigoonh***].

'That's why I forbade you (in vain) [***to eat that fish***].' (SO3.20)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **aano-nji-gnahmoonaan** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) why I tried to warn you against'; **wii-mod** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you will eat ANsg'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish.'

(68) *Ndanoonaa* gwiiwzens [***gegoo wii-naadid***].

'I am commissioning the boy [***to fetch something***].' (AM39.541)

> **Ndanoonaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I hire ANsg'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **wii-naadid** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg will fetch IN.'

(69) Wiikaanenyan *wgii-baataamgoon* [***iw gii-gmoodid waagaakdoons***].

'His brother accused him [***of having stolen the hatchet***].' (AM39.519)

Wiikaanenyan *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's brother'; **wgii-baataamgoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv accused ANsg'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-gmoodid** *vaio conj 3sProx (» 0)* '(CONJ) ANsg stole'; **waagaakdoons** *ni 0s* 'little axe.'

(70) *Ngii-wiikmigoog* [***ji-zhaayaan endaawaad***].

'They have invited me [***to go to their house***].' (AM39.602)

Ngii-wiikmigoog *vta ind 3pProx»1s* 'ANpl invited me'; **ji-zhaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I go there'; **endaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl live.'

(71) *Ngii-waawiindmaag* Maanii [***wii-naadmawid***]. | 'Mary promised [***to help me***].'

Ngii-waawiindmaag *vta ind 3sProx»1* 'ANsg promised me'; **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary'; **wii-naadmawid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANsg will help me.' (MC)

(72) Mii dash gaa-naad aw getzid gaa wiin aw mandaagnini *da-daapnaasig* sa [***sha waa-wiindmaagod***].

'And the old person would tell him not to accept that fine gentleman and [***what he would tell him***].' (AM23.12)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **getzid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg who is old'; **gaa wiin** *av* 'not'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mandaagnini** *na 3sProx* 'gentleman'; **da-daapnaasig** *vta conj neg 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg should not take ANobv'; **waa-wiindmaagod** *vta ic conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANobv will tell ANsg.'

(73) Mii dash [***niw***] *gaa-gnahmawaawaajin* giw getzijig niw sa wdooshkniigiimwaan [***ji-daapnaasnig***].

'This is the way those old people warned the young people [***not to accept that creature***].' (AM23.18)

Mii *av* 'that's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **gaa-gnahmawaawaajin** *vta ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) whom (ANobv) ANpl warned'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **getzijig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) were old'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdooshkniigiimwaan** *na 3pProx(3obv)* 'ANpl's youth'; **ji-daapnaasnig** *vta conj neg 3obv»3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv should not accept ANobv.'

(74) Mii dash gaa-naad ndoodoom, "*Ngii-bgidnaa* go [***odi ji-zhaad***]."

'But my mother told him, "I allowed her [***to go there***]."' (AK8.11)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **ndoodoom** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **Ngii-bgidnaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I permitted ANsg'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **ji-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg go there.'

13.3.5.5 Verbs of Instruction

(75) Gaa-giizhiitaawaad dash maa gkinoohmaadiiwgamgong gye wii maaba Nishnaabens *wgii-gkinoohmawaan* niw Gchi-mookmaanensan [***iw gekendang wiikwebjigan***].

'When they had finished the course of study at the University, this young Indian taught that young white American [***the love medicine which he knew***].' (AM30.3)

Gaa-giizhiitaawaad *vai ic conj 3p* '(CCNJ) when ANpl were finished'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gkinoohmaadiiwgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'at the school'; **gye** *av* 'as for'; **wii** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **Nishnaabens** *na 3sProx* 'young Indian'; **wgii-gkinoohmawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg taught ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **Gchi-mookmaanensan** *na 3obv* 'young white American(s)'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gekendang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANsg knew IN'; **wiikwebjigan** *ni 0s* 'love medicine.'

(76) Wgii-zhiwnaan widi megyaak; *wgii-zhinoohmawaan* [***zaagkiinig iw mshkiki***].

'He took him into the woods; and showed him [***where that herb grew***].' (AM30.4)

Wgii-zhiwnaan *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg took ANobv'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **megyaak** *av* 'in the woods'; **wgii-zhinoohmawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg showed Y to ANobv'; **zaagkiinig** *vii conj oobv* '(CONJ) INobv sprouted from the ground'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mshkiki** *ni 0s* 'herb.'

13.3.5.6 Verbs of Orientation and Evaluation

(77) *Gkendaagod* [***Maanii debwed***]. | 'It's obvious [***that Mary's telling the truth***].' (MC)

Gkendaagod *vii 0s* 'INsg is evident'; **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary'; **debwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is truthful.'

(78) *Dbishkoose* [***da-maajaayang***]. | 'It is time [***for us (inc.) to leave***].' (AM39.546)

Dbishkoose *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is time'; **da-maajaayang** *vai conj 21* '(CONJ) we leave.'

13.3.5.7 Verbs of Making and Doing

(79) [***Dbishkoo Nishnaabemsig***] *gii-doodam* Maanii.

'Mary pretended/made believe [***that she couldn't speak Nishnaabemwin***].' (MC)

Dbishkoo *av* 'like'; **Nishnaabemsig** *vai conj neg 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg does not speak Nishnaabemwin'; **gii-doodam** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg did so'; **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary.'

(80) Giin maa *gdizhchigaanaa* sa [***ji-mdaagwenmik***].

'You will make him [***desire you***].' (AM29.7)

Giin *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **maa** *av* 'in that case'; **gdizhchigaanaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you (SG) work on ANsg'; **ji-mdaagwenmik** *vta conj 3sProx»2s* '(CONJ) ANsg will like you.'

13.3.5.8 Verbs of Capability

(81) Mii-sh go pane gaa-mkwendang iw, gaawiin *wgii-gshkitoosiin* [***wii-nbaad***].

'And he thought about it constantly and he was not able [***to sleep***].' (AK4.6)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **pane** *av* 'always'; **gaa-mkwendang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg remembered IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **wgii-gshkitoosiin** *vti ind 3sProx»0s neg* 'ANsg was not able to do INsg'; **wii-nbaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg will sleep.'

(82) Wegwen dash aw *ge-gshkitoogwen* [***ji-zhngwaadzig***], mii aw gbeyhiing ge-bmaadzid, da-ntaa-ndawenjge da-nbwaakaa miinwaa gwyak da-zhi-yaa.

'And whoever may be able [***to keep it down (i.e., not vomit)***], he's the one who will live for a long time, he'll be a good hunter, he'll be clever and he'll behave right.' (AK5.6)

Wegwen *pr dub 3* 'whoever'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ge-gshkitoogwen** *vti ic conj dub 3sProx»0* 'ANsg might be able to do IN'; **ji-zhngwaadzig** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg keeps down'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **ge-bmaadzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg will live'; **da-ntaa-ndawenjge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be good at hunting'; **da-nbwaakaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be wise'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gwyak** *av* 'right'; **da-zhi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'NA will be thus.'

(83) *Ji-gshkitoowaad* [***ji-bmasewaad nsimdana dso-dbaabaan ji-bi-giiwewaad***].

'They'd be able [***to walk thirty miles to come home***].' (AK7.10)

Ji-gshkitoowaad *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl would be able to do IN'; **ji-bmasewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl would walk along'; **nsimdana** *nm* 'thirty'; **dso-dbaabaan** *ni 0* 'so many miles'; **ji-bi-giiwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl will come back home.'

(84) *Gii-gshkitoon* [***wii-nsaaknang Maanii shkwaandem***].

'Mary was able [***to get the door open***].' (MC)

Gii-gshkitoon *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg was able to do IN'; **wii-nsaaknang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg open IN'; **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary'; **shkwaandem** *ni 0s* 'door.'

13.3.5.9 Other Sentence-Complement Verbs

(85) Gaawiin dash gegoo gii-miinaasii aw nishnaabe, mii go eta gii-mzinaazohnd, mdaaso-bboon *gii-baabiiho* [***wii-debnang iw mzinaazgan***].

'But nothing was given to the Indian, he just had his picture taken, and he waited for ten years [***to get the picture***].' (AK2.16)

Gaawiin *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **gii-miinaasii** *vta ind x»3sProx* 'ANsg was given Y'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **gii-mzinaazohnd** *vta conj x 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg's picture was taken'; **gii-baabiiho** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg waited'; **wii-debnang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg will get IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mzinaazgan** *ni 0s* 'photograph.'

(86) Niimna dsogon gii-yaa maa wiigwaamensing, *gii-baabiitood* [***iw gegoo ji-naabndang***].

'Many days he stayed there in that hut, waiting for [***that which he should see in a vision***].' (AM31.4)

Niimna *av* 'many'; **dsogon** *av/ni* 'so many days'; **gii-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wiigwaamensing** *ni 0 loc* 'in the little wigwam'; **gii-baabiitood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg waited for IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **ji-naabndang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) which (IN) ANsg would dream IN.'

(87) Nookmis, baamaa *ka-naadmoon* [***moonapniiyin***].

'Grandma, I'll help [***you dig the potatoes***] later.' (DP)

Nookmis *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **baamaa** *av* 'later'; **ka-naadmoon** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'I will help you'; **moonapniiyin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you dig potatoes.'

(88) *Nmetoo* sa wii gwa [***gaa-bi-zhaagbanen***].

'He has left traces which show [***that he must have come here***].' (AM39.709)

Nmetoo *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg leaves tracks'; **wii** *av* 'then'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed'; **gaa-bi-zhaagbanen** *vai ic conj pdub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) that/where ANsg must have come hither.'

(89) *Nmetoowag* [***gaa-bi-zhaagbanenag***].

'They have left traces that show [***that they must have come here***].' (AM39.710)

Nmetoowag *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl leave tracks'; **gaa-bi-zhaagbanenag** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) that/where ANpl must have come hither.'

Another set of verbs which have associated clauses showing complement-like behaviour are the ASPECTUAL verbs such as *maajtaa*, 'begin (doing something)' (VAI) and *giizhiitaa*, 'finish (doing something)' (VAI). These are discussed briefly in Chapter 16.

13.3.6 Adverbial Predicators

The ADVERB *ambegish* (also *mbegish*) means 'one hopes that…' and takes a complement clause with a verb inflected for the PLAIN CONJUNCT. This adverb has an OPTATIVE function, that is, is used to express a wish or a hope.

(90) Ambegish [***ndawaa bbaa-giiwsed***]. | 'I wish [***he would go out and hunt***].'

ambegish *av* 'wish'; **ndawaa** *av* 'changing one's mind'; **bbaa-giiwsed** *vai conj 3sProx* 'ANsg go around hunting.' (AM39.496)

The following two sentences have *nishaa*, 'in fun; in jest; fancifully' in one case with an associated verb in the conjunct order (91), suggesting that its clause is functioning as a complement, and in another with the verb in the independent order (92), suggesting that it is merely an adverbial modifier of the main verb.

(91) Nishaa iidig [***gaa-nendmaanh Roger zaaghid***].

'I must have just imagined [***that Roger loved me***].' (MC)

Nishaa *av* 'in jest'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **gaa-nendmaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I thought'; **Roger** *na 3sProx* 'Roger'; **zaaghid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANsg loves me.'

(92) Nishaa ggii-nendam [***zaaghik***]. | 'You (sg.) just imagined [***that he loved you***].'

Nishaa *av* 'in jest'; **ggii-nendam** *vai ind 2s* 'you thought'; **zaaghik** *vta conj 3sProx»2s* '(CONJ) ANsg loves you.' (MC)

13.3.7 Subject-of-Complement Copying Verbs[1]

Some sentence-complement verbs allow the SUBJECT of their COMPLEMENT CLAUSE to function as their inflectional GOALS. How this works can be clarified by considering some MENTAL ACTIVITY VERBS. Such verbs appear to take clausal complements, without being inflected as transitive verbs, even though there is arguably an associated semantic role of the "thing thought," filled by the complement clause. In the following example, for instance, the verb *giisaadendam*, 'be sorry, be sad,' has an associated clause, *gii-gkinoohmawaad niw ooshenyan*, 'that she had taught her grandchild,' which represents what the old woman is sorry about.

(93) Mii gii-ni-giiwed aw mdimooyenh ***gii-giisaadendam*** [***dash gii-gkinoohmawaad niw ooshenyan.***]

'And when the old woman got home she was sorry [that she had taught her grandchild.] (n.b. improper things).' (AK14.17)

Mii *av* 'then'; **gii-ni-giiwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went away home'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **gii-giisaadendam** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was sorry'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-gkinoohmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg taught ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ooshenyan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's grandchild(ren).'

Another example, with the verb *nshkaadzi*, 'be angry.'

1. In the linguistic literature on European languages, phenomena very similar to those discussed here are generally referred to as "raising" constructions.

(94) ***Gii-nshkaadzi*** aw ndawemaa [***iw bbaa-yaayaan wiikaa iw dbikak***…]'

'My brother got mad [that I was around late at night…]' (AK8.10)

> **Gii-nshkaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was angry'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ndawemaa** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my brother'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bbaa-yaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(SUF) I was around'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **dbikak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be night.'

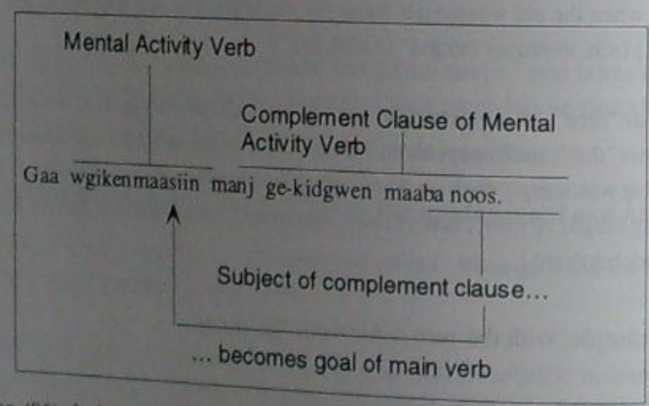
Often, however, the SUBJECT of the COMPLEMENT CLAUSE comes to function as the GOAL of the main verb, in which case it is transitive animate (VTA). In essence, the subject's grammatical properties get copied to the main verb's goal macrorole, and the process is sometimes called COMPLEMENT-SUBJECT COPYING. For example, in the following sentence, the main verb is *gikenim*, 'know AN,' VTA, and the goal of this verb, *maaba noos*, 'that father of mine,' is the subject of the complement clause, *manj ge-kidgwen maaba noos*, 'what my father might say.' Note that the subject of the complement clauses, maaba noos, 'my father,' is proximate, though it is obviative in relation to the subject (actor) of the main verb.

(95) Gaa wgikenmaasiin manj ge-kidgwen maaba noos.

'She did not know (him) what my father would say.' (AM4.10)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **wgikenmaasiin** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv neg* 'ANsg did not know about ANobv'; **manj** *av* 'however it may be'; **ge-kidgwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg might say'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **noos** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my father.'

The following chart outlines the relationships between elements in this sentence.



In sentence (96), below, the complement-taking verb is *ndawenim*, 'want AN,' and the complement sentence is *da-miijyan*, 'that you (sg.) eat IN.' The verb *ndawenim* is a transitive animate (VTA) verb, requiring an animate goal, though, in fact, what is 'wanted,' is not a person but an event, the event associated with the verb *miijin*, 'eat IN' (VTI). In sentence

(99), what is not known is not the grandmother, but the date of her death, though the complement-taking verb *gkenim*, 'know AN,' is a VTA verb.

(96) ***Gnandwenmin*** [da-miijyan].

'I want you [to eat it].' (AM39.549) (lit., '***I want you***— [you should eat it])

> **Gnandwenmin** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'I want you (sg)'; **da-miijyan** *vti conj 2s»0* '(CONJ) you (sg) will eat IN.'

(97) Baamaa-sh ***ggii-gkenminim*** [zhaazhi kina gaa-bi-maajaayeg].

'It was somewhat later that I realized that you all had already left.' (SO6.82)
(lit., 'Later ***I knew you*** (pl) — [already all of you had left]')

> **Baamaa-sh** *av* 'later then'; **ggii-gkenminim** *vta ind 1s»2p* 'I knew of you (pl)'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gaa-bi-maajaayeg** *vai ic conj 2p* '(CCNJ) you (pl) had left.'

(98) Enh, weweni dash ***ka-naagzowaabam*** [ezhchigeyaanh].

'Yes, you'll watch carefully [how I do it].' | (lit., '***You'll watch me*** — how I do it.')

> **Enh** *av* 'yes'; **weweni** *av* 'carefully'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ka-naagzowaabam** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you (sg) will observe me'; **ezhchigeyaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) what I do.' (DP)

(99) Gaawiin ***wgii-gkenmaasii*** [pii iidog nebnid niw ookmisan].

'He didn't know when his grandmother died.' (AK13.26)
(lit., '***ANsg did not know ANobv***— [when ANsg's grandmother died]')

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **wgii-gkenmaasii** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg did not know about ANobv'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **iidog** *av* 'it seems'; **nebnid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) when ANobv died'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ookmisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's grandmother.'

(100) Ngoding dash go naa e-naabid shkweyaang aw ngashi ***ngii-waabmig*** [aazhi go gii-bkobiisewaambaa].

'But at one time as my mother looked back, she saw that I had indeed fallen into the water.' (AM5.4) (lit., '***she saw me***— [that I had already fallen into the water]')

Ngoding *av* 'once'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **e-naabid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg looked'; **shkweyaang** *av* 'behind'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **ngii-waabmig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg saw me'; **aazhi** *av* 'already'; **gii-bkobiisewaambaa** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) I had fallen in the water.'

(101) Ngashi gii-bi-zhaa maa a-nbaayaan ***gii-bi-waabmid*** [nembaawaanen].

'My mother came to where I was sleeping to see whether I was asleep.' (AM39.668) [lit., '***my mother came to see me*** — whether I was sleeping']

Ngashi *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **gii-bi-zhaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg came hither'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **a-nbaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) where I sleep'; **gii-bi-waabmid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANsg came and saw me'; **nembaawaanen** *vai ic conj dub 1s* '(CCNJ) I might be sleeping.'

Copying of the complement subject doesn't happen if the subject of both the complement-taking verb and the verb in the complement are the same, in other words, if copying would produce a REFLEXIVE VERB.

(102) ***Gnandwenmidiz na** [da-miijyan]?

'Do you want [to eat it].' (AM39.549, modified)
(lit., '***you want yourself***— [you should eat it]) [*]

***Gnandwenmidiz** *vta/vai ind 2s* 'you want yourself'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **da-miijyan** *vti conj 2s»0* '(CONJ) you will eat IN.'

An example with a THIRD PERSON SUBJECT shows the normal pattern, in which the main verb is a VTI, so no copying has occurred.

(103) Mii dash gaa wii *wgii-gkendnziin* [***manj iidig bgambizgwen***].
'He$_i$ did not know [***where he$_i$ landed***].' (AM36.22)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wii** *av* 'not'; **wgii-gkendnziin** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg knew INsg'; **manj** *av* 'wherever it may be'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **bgambizgwen** *vai conj dub 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg might have arrived flying.'

Even in those cases where it can apply, COPYING is an optional process. In the following sentence, for example, the main verb is a VTI, even though it has an VAI verb in its complement which has a different subject from that of the main verb. Rhodes 1994:8 suggests that only high ranked discourse topics copy, which may explain the lack of copying here.

(104) Gnimaa niiwgon ***wgii-gkendaan*** wii-bi-dgoshninid.

'***He knew*** that they were going to come in four days.' (AM31.20)

Gnimaa *av* 'perhaps'; **niiwgon** *av* 'four days'; **wgii-gkendaan** *vti 3sProx»0* 'ANsg knew IN'; **wii-bi-dgoshninid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv would arrive at point of reference.'

13.3.8 Secondary Role VTA Verbs

Related to sentential-complement raising verbs discussed in the previous section are VTA verbs derived from VTI by the addition of a suffix such as /-aw/, as in *gkendmaw*, 'know something about AN' Such verbs are formed by deriving a VTA verb which takes a SECONDARY SEMANTIC ROLE normally filled by a human and makes it the MACRO-ROLE of GOAL. The original goal of the VTI, which may have been a SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENT, can still occur alongside the newly derived animate goal. And since the animate goal is often the SUBJECT of the SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENT, there is the appearance of COPYING (see previous section) as well.

vti	vta			
gkendam	+aw	=	gkendmaw	'know something about AN'

The following example illustrates the use of such a verb. This sentence is from an oral historical account of treaty proceedings, in which the Indians returning from treaty signing were ambushed by others who had not signed.

(105) Giw dash nishnaabeg gaa-mji-zhiwebzijig gii-kamwaawaad iw sa pii beskaabiinid, ***wgii-gkendmawaawaan*** maa naa [iw sa niibwa go gegoo bmiwdoonid], mii-sh gii-nsaawaad niw miinwaa gii-mkamaawaad iw bemwidoonpan.

'And the Indians who did evil waited to ambush them upon their return, indeed ***they knew with respect to them*** [that they were carrying lots of things], they killed them and took away what they were carrying.' (AK10.11)

> **Giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gaa-mji-zhiwebzijig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) did evil'; **gii-kamwaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl lay in wait for ANobv'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **beskaabiinid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) when ANobv came back'; **wgii-gkendmawaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl knew Y in reference to ANobv'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **niibwa** *av* 'lots'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **bmiwdoonid** *vti conj 3obv»0* '(CONJ) ANobv carried IN'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **gii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl killed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gii-mkamaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl robbed ANobv of Y'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bemwidoonpan** *vti ic conj part pret 3obv»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANobv carried IN.'

13.4 Changing Verbal Perspectives on a Scene

Speakers of Nishnaabemwin have many options in choosing a way of casting a particular action or event. Because of the rich morphological resources of the language, a notion such as cooking can be represented in many different ways: as a transitive activity involving an agent acting on a patient, by using a transitive verb such as *mnozwaad*, 'cook AN,' (VTA) or *mnozang*, 'cook IN' (VTI); with a focus on the agent by using an actor-focus intransitive verb, such as *mnozekwe*, 'do cooking'; with a focus on whatever's being cooked, by using a goal-focus intransitive verb, such as *mnozo*, 'undergo cooking' (VAI) or *mnode*, 'undergo cooking' (VII); with a focus on the goal, by using an inflectional or lexical passive form of a transitive verb; with a focus on the beneficiary of the act of cooking, by using an applicative (benefactive) verb, *mnozmawaad*, 'cook for AN.' All of the verbs listed here bear obvious relationship to one another, underscoring a fundamental aspect of Nishnaabemwin vocabulary, namely that for any given concept there is usually a family of closely related words which can be used to cast an action or event from a number of different perspectives. When we consider that these multiple perspectives can be combined with the many ways of making reference, such as by verbal inflection, by demonstrative pronouns, or by full noun phrases of greater or lesser elaboration, we begin to understand something of the limitless richness that the language offers it speakers. And this is not to mention the vast amount of subtlety that can be achieved with different patterns of word order, syntactic focusing, and other rhetorical devices.

13.4.1 Decreasing the Number of Semantic Roles Associated with a Verb

There are many ways in Nishnaabemwin to suppress characters, that is, to either downplay or eliminate reference to some character/participant customarily associated with the meaning of a given verbal concept. At the same time that one character is suppressed, another is often advanced in prominence. For example, in a PASSIVE construction, the filler of a transitive verb's actor role is not specified, defocusing the agent, but at the same time the GOAL becomes more prominent, e.g., *nwaabmigoo*, 'I am seen.' In an ANTIPASSIVE, a

transitive verb's GOAL ROLE in greatly downplayed or eliminated, and the ACTOR/SUBJECT gains in significance, as well as the verbal action itself, e.g., *gnaadmaage*, 'you (sg.) help.' Another way that goals can be backgrounded is by INCORPORATING them into the verb, e.g., *gnaadsabii*, 'you (sg.) go check (your) net,' with incorporated *sab*, 'net.' All three of these processes involve changing the mechanics of a transitive verb by downplaying one or another of its roles, creating an intransitive verb as part of the bargain. In this section we will examine the form and use of each of these three devices.

13.4.1.1 Suppressing Actors with Inflectional Passives

Nishnaabemwin has PASSIVE forms for all PERSON and NUMBER combinations of animate goals, which like English passives, suppress the actor role. In the following passage for example, told by Angeline Williams, a dog who has married a woman has a premonition that the woman's brothers will soon arrive to kill the family. He informs his wife of this by means of three progressively more specific MII-FOCUS CLAUSES, only the last of which has an explicit NOUN PHRASE; the first clause uses a PASSIVE form. The passive is only one of several masking devices Ms. Williams uses in these few words.

(106) "Mii iw waabang ***wii-bi-nisigooyang***," odinaan aniw owiidigemaaganan. (b) "Aanii dash?" (c) "Mii sa iw gaa-izhichigewaad gii-zagaswaawaad, mii agiw gidawemaag."

> "Now in the morning ***we (incl.) will be killed***," he told his wife. (b) "How is that?" (she replied) (c) "That is what they have decided upon, having smoked, your brothers." (AW14.140-142)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waabang** *av* 'tomorrow'; **wii-bi-nisigooyang** *vta conj x»21* '(CONJ) we will be killed'; **odinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg says to ANobv'; **aniw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **owiidigemaaganan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's spouse.' (b) **Aanii** *av* 'how'; **dash** *av* 'then.' (c) **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-izhichigewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **gii-zagaswaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl smoked tobacco'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **agiw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gidawemaag** *nad 2s(3pProx)* 'your brothers.'

In another story, focusing on a removal of Indian people by the U.S. government, Ms. Williams uses passive forms to describe the seizure of the Indians' horses. This example shows that the SUBJECT of the passive verb can be the SECONDARY OBJECT (semantic THEME in this case) of the active verb, as in the case of *gii-mamawindwaa*, 'they were taken from them,' below.

(107) Mii iw ***gii-mamawindwaa*** neyaab ***gii-giiwenaazha'ondwaa***.

'Then they (horses) ***were taken from them*** and ***driven back home***.' (AW18.36)

Mii *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-mamawindwaa** *vta conj x»3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were taken away'; **neyaab** *av* 'back'; **gii-giiwenaazha'ondwaa** *vta conj x»3pProx* 'ANpl were driven back home.'

The following sentence shows the persistence of a non-goal semantic role under passivization, in this case, the secondary object, *wa kwe*, of the verb *gmoodim*, 'steal Y from AN.'

(108) Gga-noonde-gmoodmigoo sa nongo ***wa kwe***, mii enji-ninaanh wii-ggwejmad wewiip.

'Someone's going to steal ***that woman*** from you, that's why I'm telling you to ask her fast.' (n.b., in a comic skit, a mother to a son who is reluctant to marry) (DP)

Gga-noonde-gmoodmigoo *vta ind x»2s* 'you (sg) have Y stolen from you before the goal is reached'; **nongo** *av* 'now'; **wa** *pr* 3sProx 'that'; **kwe** *na* 3sProx 'woman'; **mii** *av* 'that's'; **enji-ninaanh** *vta ic conj 1s»2s* 'why I'm saying to you'; **wii-ggwejmad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* 'you (sg.) will ask ANsg'; **wewiip** *av* 'right away.'

Unlike English, Nishnaabemwin passive constructions do not allow any indirect specification of the actor role. In English this is done by means of a prepositional phrase with *by*, as in *The window was broken by the raccoon*. No equivalent means of indirectly specifying the actor in a passive exists in Nishnaabemwin. Also, transitive animate verbs that are passive are inflected as if they were animate intransitives, that is, they are inflected as if they have a single semantic role, that of their subject (S-Role). For example, the following passive verb shows the suffix complex «wag», associated with animate intransitive third person plural independent order forms. At the same time, the semantic role of the theme, here filled by *semaan*, 'tobacco' (obv.), is preserved.

(109) Semaan ***gii-miinaawag*** giw kiwenziinyag gaa-bi-zhaajig.

'The old men who had come ***were given*** tobacco.' (AK10.6)

Semaan *na 3obv* 'tobacco'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given Y'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **kiwenziinyag** *na 3pProx* 'old men'; **gaa-bi-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* 'who (ANpl) came.'

The only INFLECTIONAL difference between passives and regular animate intransitive verbs is that the passive retains an inflectional transitive theme suffix, here /-aa/.

Passivization
• Reference to Actor is eliminated (Agent defocus)
• Verb becomes intransitive in inflection
• Goal of old transitive becomes S-Role (subject) of intransitive

PERSON ASYMMETRIES IN PASSIVIZATION. Passivization of first and second persons, singular and plural, uses the theme suffix /-igoo/, which appears related to the NON-LOCAL INVERSE THEME suffix, /-igw/. Third persons are inflectionally passivized by means of the NON-LOCAL DIRECT THEME SUFFIX, /-aa/ in the independent order, and by the ending /-ind/ in the conjunct. This complex decomposes into an /-i/ of uncertain provenience, followed perhaps by the generalized actor suffix /-m/, and what at first blush looks like the regular conjunct animate third person inflection /-d/. Such an analysis is problematic in that the third person suffix standardly has the alternant /-g/ following a nasal. Furthermore, third person passives contrast with generalized actor forms in this very feature, in that the latter have a conjunct ending, /-ng/ (see next section). At any rate, it appears that first and second person outrank the passive trigger (unspecified actor) on the topicality hierarchy, since an INVERSE theme /-igoo/ appears in their passives, whereas the trigger outranks third persons, since a DIRECT theme, /-aa/, occurs. This is the motivation for the place of X, the unspecified actor, in the ranking 2,1 > X > 3.

GENERALIZED ACTOR FORMS. VAI and VTI[1] verbs can also show defocusing of their animate roles, rather analogous to the actor defocus of a VTA verb that occurs in the passive. This is done by means of the generalized actor suffix /-m/. This suffix indicates that the verbal action is general, rather than the action of any specific, identifiable individuals. Generalized actor forms are unlike passives in their failure to detransitivize VTI's, which retain their inanimate goals. Their inflectional behaviour is unusual in that the suffix /-m/ is retained in the conjunct, as if the suffix were derivational, and an additional conjunct ending, /-g/ is added, as can be seen in several of the examples below.

(110) Eshkam znagad ***wii-debnaming*** iw ***waa-boodweng***.

'It is getting harder and harder ***for one to obtain that*** with which ***one might make a fire***.' (AM15.15)

eshkam *av* 'increasingly' **znagad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is difficult'; **wii-debnaming** *vti conj x»0* '(CONJ) one will obtain IN' **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waa-boodweng** *vaio ic conj x* 'one will make a fire (with X).'

1. I am unsure of how extensive this process is with VTI verbs.

(111) Mii dash giizhiitaamgak aazhi ***ji-miijing*** iw bkwezhgan.

'Then that bread is done and ready ***for one to eat***.' (AM25.16)

> **mii** *av* 'and' **dash** *av* 'then' **giizhiitaamgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is finished'; **aazhi** *av* 'now'; **ji-miijing** *vti conj x»0* 'one can eat IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that' **bkwezhgan** *ni 0s* 'bread.'

(112) Nsing ***e-koozdeng*** gii-piitaagnagaa. | 'The snow was three feet ***deep***.' (AM10.4)

> **Nsing** *nm* 'three times' **e-koozdeng** *vai ic conj x* '(CCNJ) 'one is so many feet deep'; **gii-piitaagnagaa** *vii ind 0s* 'IN was snow of such depth'

(113) Kina gegoo ***wii-waabndahdim*** wezhtood aw Nishnaabe, doopwinan…

'Everything that the Indian produces ***will be exhibited***: tables…' (AM17.4)

> **Kina gegoo** *pr 0s* 'everything'; **wii-waabndahdim** *vti/vai ind x* 'will be exhibited' **wezhtood** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) which ANsg makes IN'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian' **doopwinan** *ni 0p* 'tables.'

LEXICAL PASSIVES. Many different classes of verbs exist with rather passive-like meanings. The largest class consists of descriptive verbs referring to the sensory or mental stimuli their subjects provide, such as *mnopgozi*, 'taste good,' *mnonaagzi*, 'look good,' and *mnotaagzi*, 'sound good.' The reason that these verbs are called LEXICAL PASSIVES is that they not only show the /-igw/ that occurs with inflectional passives, but they also have DERIVATIONAL elements attached, INTRANSITIVE FINALS, /-izi/ which form animate intransitive verbs (VAI) and /-ad/, which forms inanimate intransitive verbs (VII). The structure of these verbs suggests that the passive morpheme has been applied to a transitive stem, to which is then added an intransitive final. These derivational processes are not straightforward, however, and are subject to many irregularities. Sometimes the transitive stem that serves as a base is a transitive animate (VTA) stem; other times it is a transitive inanimate (VTI) stem. In some cases, it appears that the element /-aw/ is attached to the stem prior to the addition of the passivizing element /-igw/; in others it is not. The tables below show possible derivations of representative forms. Sometimes too they have meanings that can not be straightforwardly computed based on the meanings of their component parts. For example, the verb *gkendaagzi*, 'be revealed, be known' VAI, suggests a passive formation on the basis of its meaning; but another word with similar structure, *mnwendaagzi*, with root /minw-/, 'good, well,' means not 'be thought good,' as would be expected with a passive reading, but rather 'be content, be glad.' This meaning seems rather unpredictable.

Possible derivations of some lexical passives:

Transitive Stem	/minopw/
• Start with VTA stem /minopw/	/minopw/, 'like the taste of AN'
• Add Passive suffix /-igw/	/minopw-**igw**/
• Add vai Descriptive Final /-izi/	/minopw-igw-**izi**/
• Vowel Coalesence of /wi/ to /o/	/minop**o**gozi/
• Syncope	mnopgozi, 'taste good' VAI

Transitive Stem	/minwend+[am]/ (VTI)
• Start with VTI stem /minwend/	/minwend/, 'like IN'
• Add suffix /-aw/	/minwend-**aw**/
• Add Passive suffix /-igw/	/minwend-aw-**igw**/
• Add vai Descriptive Final	/minwend-aw-igw-**izi**/
• Vowel Coalescence of /awi/ to /aa/, /wi/ to /o/	/minwend**aa**gozi/
• Syncope	mnwendaagzi, 'be content' VAI

Transitive Stem	/izhit+[oo]/ (VTI)
• Start with VTI stem /izhit/	/izhit/, 'make IN'
• Add Passive suffix /-ig/	/izhit-**ig**/
• Palatalize /t/ to /ch/ before /i/	/izhi**ch**-ig/
• Add suffix /-aw/	/izhich-ig-**aw**/
• Add VAI Descriptive Final	/izhich-ig-aw-**izo**/
• Vowel Coalescence of /awi/ to /aa/	/izhich-ig**aa**zo/
• Syncope	zhichgaazo, 'be made' VAI

Most VAI lexical passives have corresponding VII forms, such as *mnopgod*, 'taste good,' and *zhichgaade*, 'be made in a certain way, be arranged in a certain way.' In Nishnaabemwin, lexical passives represent the only kinds of goal-focus possible for inanimate goals. There is no inflectional passive for VTI verbs in Nishnaabemwin. This is undoubtedly due to the general tendency to give grammatical prominence to humans and other living beings over inanimates.

(114) Mii dash ***gii-dkon'gaazwaad*** giw. | 'And ***they were arrested***.' (AK2.15)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gii-dkon'gaazwaad** *vta/vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were arrested'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those.'

(115) Kina dash ***gii-goojgaazwag*** giw gaa-nsaajig niw dkonwewninwan.

'But all of those who killed the policemen ***were hanged***.' (AK2.17)

> **Kina** *av* 'all'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-goojgaazwag** *vta/vai conj 3pProx* 'ANpl were hanged'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gaa-nsaajig** *vta ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANpl who killed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **dkonwewninwan** *na 3obv* 'policeman/men.'

(116) Weweni dash ***gziibiignigaazo*** aw mdaamin…

'And carefully the corn ***is washed***…' (AK16.13a)

> **Weweni** *av* 'properly'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gziibiignigaazo** *vta/vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is washed'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mdaamin** *na 3sProx* 'corn.'

Other kinds of lexical processes produce goal-focus verbs. These are treated in detail in Chapter 10, but here I simply note a couple of examples, such as *mnode,* 'be cooked, cook' vii and *mnozo,* 'be cooked, cook' vai.

13.4.1.2 Suppressing Goals with Detransitives (Antipassives)

GOALS too may be suppressed, using DETRANSITIVE VERBS, that is, verbs that have been made morphologically intransitive by removing their GOAL role, or making it very vague. The following sentence, for example, uses the intransitive verb *gtige,* 'do planting; do farming,' in which the emphasis is on the activity of farming or planting, as opposed to other activities, and the crops that are planted or farmed are not mentioned. To make explicit reference to a goal, there exist the corresponding transitive verbs *gtigaanaad,* 'plant, cultivate AN' VTA and *gtigaadang,* 'plant, cultivate IN' VTI. The VTA verb, for example, is used in sentence (118), where explicit reference to the cultivation of *semaa,* 'tobacco,' is made.

(117) Mii dash iw gii-bmi-nda–waabndamwaad ji-wnishing ***ji-gtigewaad.***

'And on their way they looked for good places to ***do planting***.' (AK16.2)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-bmi-nda-waabndamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl went along looking for IN'; **ji-wnishing** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN would be nice'; **ji-gtigewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl would do planting/farm.'

(118) Mii dash gii-maajii-aabjihaawaad ***niw semaan*** dbi iidog go gaa-zhaawaagwen mii go ***gii-gtigaanaawaad.***

'And they began to use ***that tobacco*** wherever they might go and ***cultivated it***.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-maajii-aabjihaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl began to use ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **semaan** *na 3obv* 'tobacco'; **dbi** *av* 'wherever'; **iidog** *av* 'it seems'; **gaa-zhaawaagwen** *vai ic conj dub 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl might go'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-gtigaanaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl cultivated ANobv.' (AK16.5

Another example involves the transitive verb *zgaknan,* 'gather s.t.; store s.t. up' VTI and the intransitive *zgaknige,* 'do gathering, do storing' VAI. In the following sentence, the use of the transitive verb allows specification of what is gathered, in this case, *mnoomin,* 'wild rice' (NI), while the use of the detransitive focuses on the activity of gathering by squirrels, rather than what they gather, since it isn't relevant here.

(119) Aapji dash go niibna ***wzagkinaanaawaa***$_{vti}$ ***iw mnoomin*** gonda Nishnaabeg degwaagnigin ***zgaknamwaad***$_{vti}$ ***iw mnoomin*** bboonnig waa-maamiijwaad dbishkoo go naa ***ezhi-zgakniged***$_{vai}$ maaba jidmoonh ezhnikaazod.

'These Indians ***gathered*** very much ***rice, gathering the rice*** in the autumn so as to have it to eat in the winter, just as that creature who is called a squirrel ***gathers***.'

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niibna** *av* 'much'; **wzagkinaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0* 'ANpl store INsg'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'rice'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **degwaagnigin** *vii ic conj 0 iter* '(CCNJ) whenever IN is autum'; **zgaknamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl store IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'rice'; **bboonnig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) INobv be winter'; **waa-maamiijwaad** *vti ic redup 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which ANpl will eat IN over a period of time'; **dbishkoo** *av* 'like'; **ezhi-zgakniged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) how ANsg stores things'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **jidmoonh** *na 3sProx* 'squirrel'; **ezhnikaazod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) as ANsg is called.' (AM6.12)

Most transitive verbs in Nishnaabemwin have detransitive forms, and such forms are quite commonly used. The most common detransitivizing suffix is /-(i)ge/. See Chapter 9.12.17.1, Actor Focus Detransitive /-ge/, beginning on page 403 for discussion of this final.

Detransitivization (Antipassive)
• Goal of transitive verb is eliminated
• Verb is then intransitive
• Actor of old transitive is Subject

13.4.1.3 Detransitivization with the Final /-iwe/

Another detransitivizing final is /-iwe/, which is added to a transitive animate verb (VTA) to produce an animate intransitive verb (VAI) that retains a vestigial sense of the original goal in that it implies a sense of action directed vaguely toward human beings. For example, from the VTA verb *dkonaad*, 'hold AN,' is derived VAI *dkonwe*, 'hold people; make an arrest, throw people in jail,' and from VTA *gkendmoohaad*, 'let AN know something,' is derived VAI *gkendmoohwe*, 'let people know.' This detransitivizing final suffix thus produces a verb that, while intransitive, retains traces of its transitivity in the retention of the human feature of its original goal. See also 9.12.17.2, Actor Focus Detransitive /-iwe/, Human Goal, beginning on page 406.

(120) Gii-bbaa-yaawag giiwenh nishnaabeg, ***bebaa-nda-nshiwejig.***

'Some Indians used to come around, ***who went around seeking to kill (people).***'

> **Gii-bbaa-yaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl went around'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **bebaa-nda-nshiwejig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who seek to murder (people).' (SO1.4)

(121) Aanii-sh naa mii sa go pane gzhaadged, gaa go naa maamda ***wii-wiijiiwwed***, maajaawaad iidig gonda zaasbaakdokejig.

'He always stayed home, as he couldn't ***go with others***, when those who made sugar went off.' (SO4.5)

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'well then'; **naa** *av* 'indeed'; **mii** *av* 'then' **sa go** *av* 'indeed'; **pane** *av* 'always'; **gzhaadged** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg stayed home'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; go naa *av* 'indeed' **maamda** av 'able'; **wii-wiijiiwwed** *vai conj 3sProx* 'ANs will accompany (people); **maajaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl set off'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; gonda *pr 3pProx* 'those' **zaasbaakdokejig** *vai ic part conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) those (ANpl) who do sugaring.'

13.4.1.4 Nominalization

Another important function of DETRANSITIVIZATION is to provide input verbs for NOMINALIZATION processes, that is, derivational morphological processes that make verbs into nouns. All such nouns in Nishnaabemwin are derived from intransitive verbs, in the case of transitive verbs by means of detransitivization. For example, the noun meaning 'writing,' *zhibiihgewin*, is derived by adding the nominalizing suffix /-win/ to the VAI form *zhibiihge*, 'do writing,' which is itself derived from the VTI stem *zhibiihang*, 'write IN,' by addition of the detransitivizing suffix /-(i)ge/. The noun meaning 'aid, assistance,' *naadmaagewin*, is derived from VAI *naadmaage*, 'help, be a help,' which is itself derived from VTA *naadmaw*, 'help AN' by the addition of the detransitivizing suffix /-(i)ge/. Various nominalizing suffixes are discussed in Chapter 11.6, Nominalizers, beginning on page 502.

13.4.1.5 Reflexives and Reciprocals

Sometimes, an actor acts REFLEXIVELY, that is, upon himself or herself. English has a set of reflexive personal pronouns for expressing reflexive activity, as in *I see myself*, or *you see yourself*. Nishnaabemwin treats reflexives differently, essentially by detransitivizing the transitive animate (VTA) verb by adding the VAI-deriving reflexive final complex /-idizo/, as in *waabmidzo*, 'AN sees self.' There are, of course, no reflexive forms for transitive inanimate (VTI) verbs, since the actor of a VTI, which must be animate, is always distinct from the goal, which must be inanimate.

In a RECIPROCAL activity, at the same time that the actor acts upon the goal, the goal acts upon the actor. English uses the pronominal expression *each other* in such contexts, as in *they see each other*, or *we see each other*. Nishnaabemwin treats reciprocals differently, and detransitivizes the transitive animate verb by adding the VAI-deriving reciprocal final complex /-(i)di/, as in *waabmidwag*, 'they see each other.' There are no VTI reciprocals.

The reflexive and the reciprocal thus both deal with co-reference of actor and goal by adding a final complex to produce an intransitive verb. These final complexes appear to be related, in that they share the component /-id-/, to which the reflexive adds VAI final /-izo/ and the reciprocal adds the VAI final /-i/.

The following examples provide a few sentential examples of reflexives ((122) to (124)), and reciprocals ((125) to (127)).

(122) Mii sa gii-ni-moon'hishkwed, mii sa Niibaakhom ***gii-shagwezdizod.***

'So he dug out some medicinal herbs as he went along, and so Nibakom ***induced himself to vomit.***' (SO6.65)

> **Mii** *av* 'so'; **gii-ni-moon'hishkwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went and dug herbs'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **gii-shagwezdizod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg made self vomit.'

(123) Pii ***yaabndizod*** gii-nbogba. | 'When ***he saw himself*** he must have died.'

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **yaabndizod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) when ANsg saw self'; **gii-nbogba** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg must have died.' (AM39.609)

(124) ***Gwanhodzon*** waaboowyaan. | '***Cover yourself*** with the blanket.' (AM39.740)

> **Gwanhodzon** *vai imp 2s* 'cover yourself'; **waaboowyaan** *ni 0s* 'blanket.'

(125) "Aa haaw!" Aanii-sh mii sa giiwenh ***gii-wiindmaadwaad*** giwi ninwag, "Zhaadaa!"

'"Well, let's go!" those men ***told each other***.' (SO1.33)

> **Aa haaw** *av* 'okay'; **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-wiindmaadwaad** *vta/vai recip conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl told each other'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ninwag** *na 3pProx* 'men.'

(126) Mii sa go ***gii-waawiindmaadwaad wii-miigaadwaad.***

'So they declared war (i.e., ***they promised each other to fight each other***).'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-waawiindmaadwaad** *vta/vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl promised each other'; **wii-miigaadwaad** *vta/vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl will fight each other.' (SO6.22)

(127) Aapji dash wgii-zaaghaan maaba shkinwe nonda sa kwewan pii ***gaa-wiidgendwaad.***

'This young man very much loved this woman when ***they married (each other)***.' (AM29.13)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wgii-zaaghaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg loved ANobv'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **shkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man'; **nonda** *pr 3obv* 'Prox'; **kwewan** *na 3obv* 'woman'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **gaa-wiidgendwaad** *vta/vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl married each other.'

Since reciprocal verbs require a plural subject, in that they require distinct actors and goals which act reciprocally, when such verbs and their like are listed in Rhodes 1985 they are often designated as VAIP, that is, as animate intransitive verbs (VAI) that require a plural (P) subject. An example is *taadwaad*, 'bet one another, gamble with one another' (Od). More information on reflexives can be in Chapter 9.12.18, Reflexive /-idizo/, beginning on page 408, and reciprocals, in 9.12.19, Reciprocal /-idi/, beginning on page 409.

13.4.1.6 Backgrounding by Means of Incorporation of Nouns into Verbs

Nouns referring to body parts and bodily products are customarily incorporated inside the verb, which may be considered a form of backgrounding, since they are then not referred to by means of independent nominals. In standard incorporation, a notional goal shows up as a medial inside the verb. The verb, lacking an external goal, is then inflected as an animate intransitive (VAI) verb, with the notional actor as subject. No VII verbs show comparable incorporation, or if they do, they are extremely rare. The following examples illustrate VAI forms.

(128) Wegne-sh wenji-***niizhootwageyan?*** | 'Why do you ***have two ears?***' (AM33.4)

> **Wegne-sh** *av* 'what'; **wenji-niizhootwageyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) do you (SG) have two ears on account of.'

(129) Waaboozoonh, wegne-sh wenji-***waawyemooweyan?***

'Rabbit, why do you ***have round droppings?***' (AM33.9)

> **Waaboozoonh** *na 3sProx* 'rabbit'; **wegne-sh** *av* 'what'; **wenji-waawyemooweyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) do you (sg) have round droppings on account of.'

The following chart outlines in very simple terms the workings of INCORPORATION.

Incorporation
• Goal is made a medial inside of verb • Verb becomes intransitive because it no longer has an external goal • Actor is Subject of intransitive

A number of incorporating verbs exist pertaining to the quest for, acquisition, transport, and processing of material resources such as fish, game, and plants and their parts, or with the acquisition, donning, doffing, or wearing of articles of clothing. A couple of examples are *moonhapnii*, 'dig potatoes' (/apin, opin/, 'potato'), and *naadsabii*, 'check one's fishing net' (/asaby/, 'fish net'). A variety of such verbs is presented in Chapter 9.12.20, Incorporated Goal Verbs, beginning on page 409.

Other processes produce goal-like elements inside of a verb. For example, VERBS OF POSSESSION (all VAI) have an INITIAL COMPONENT consisting of the possessed form of a noun, including possessed theme /-im/ where appropriate, and bearing inflection for a third person possessor, though this fact is sometimes obscured in Nishnaabemwin by the effect of syncope, which deletes the initial /o/ representing the third person prefix, /o(d)-/. Some examples are *dakiimi*, 'own land' (stem /odakiimi/, cf. /aki/, 'land' NI) and *nahaangshiimi*, 'have a son-in-law' (stem /onahaangishiimi/, cf. /nahaangishim/ 'son-in-law' NA). The following two sentences show a contrast in the treatment of the noun *zhoon'yaa*, 'money,' as the base of a verb of possession, in (130), and as an independent noun, in (131).

(130) Baamaa niigaan wii-aabjitooyaan gye ***wzhoon'yaamsiwaan*** ji-giishpnadooyaambaa iw mtig, mii baamaa iw da-giishkwag aw mtig.

'Since I mean to make use of it later on in the future, selling that wood in case I should have no ***money***, then later on I shall cut down those trees.' (AM15.14)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future'; **wii-aabjitooyaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I will use IN'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wzhoon'yaamsiwaan** *vai conj neg 1s* '(CONJ) (if/when) I don't have money'; **ji-giishpnadooyaambaa** *vti conj pret 1s»0* '(CONJ) I could sell/buy IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mtig** *ni 0s* 'wood'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **baamaa** *av* 'later'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that.'

(131) Kina bebkaan nankiiwag Nishnaabeg wii-debnamwaad ***zhoon'yaa.***

'All the Indians do one or another kind of work to earn ***money.***' (AM15.9)

> **Kina** *av* 'all'; **bebkaan** *av* 'separately'; **nankiiwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl work so'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **wii-debnamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will get IN'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money.'

Another common verbal derivative is the VERB OF MAKING AND GATHERING, which adds animate intransitive (VAI) final /-(i)ke/ to a noun initial, as in *mnoomnike,* 'gather wild rice,' with noun *mnoomin,* 'wild rice' NI as initial, and *giigoonyke,* 'fish,' with noun *giigoonh,* 'fish' NA as initial. Impersonal verbs of abundance are created by adding inanimate intransitive final /-kaa/ to a noun initial, as in *nimkiikaa,* 'be thundering' (from noun *nimkii,* 'Thunderer' NA) and *moodyikaa,* 'be lots of bottles' (from *mooday,* 'bottle' NI). See Chapter 9.12.21.4, (p. 418) for more details. VERBS OF ABUNDANCE suffix /-kaa/ to form VII verbs, e.g., *moodyikaa,* 'be an abundance of bottles' (see Chapter 9.11.3, (p. 373)).

13.4.2 Increasing the Number of Semantic Roles Associated with a Verb

Other morphological processes add grammatical roles to a verb, or alter its role configuration. The two most common processes are CAUSATIVE-FORMATION and APPLICATIVE-ADVANCEMENT. I will discuss each of these processes below. I also briefly discuss VERBS OF ACCOMPANIMENT.

13.4.2.1 Causative-formation

This process takes an intransitive (VAI) stem as input and adds a transitive animate final (VTA), often /-h/, to produce a causative in which the actor is an agent who acts directly or indirectly upon a goal, causing the goal to undertake the action of the intransitive verb either voluntarily or involuntarily. An example of a verb formed by CAUSATIVE-FORMATION is

mwihaad, 'make AN cry,' which is formed by adding the transitive animate causative final /-h/ to the VAI verb, *mwi,* 'cry.' The following list provides examples.

Causative	Gloss	Base	Gloss	PoS
baatiinhaad	'have a lot of AN '	baatiino	'be many'	vai
bbaamgaahaad	'spin AN , whirl dancing'	bbaamgaa	'dance around'	vai
gwihaad	'clothe AN '	gwid	'wear (Y)'	vaio
mdoodoohaad	'give AN a steam bath'	mdoodood	'take a steam bath	vai
mwihaad	'make AN cry'	mwid	'cry'	vai
nbehaad	'put AN to bed'	nbaad	'sleep'	vai
niimhaad	'make AN dance'	niimid	'dance'	vai
nmadbihaad	'make AN sit'	nmadbi	'sit'	vai

In one common verb, a VTI seems to serve as a base for causative formation, *waabndahaad,* 'show Y to AN,' evidently from VTI stem /waaband-am/, 'see IN.' The following chart illustrates the process of causative-formation.

Causative-Formation
• Start with an intransitive (VAI) verb
• Make it transitive by adding a VTA final, usually /-h/
• Agent is actor of new transitive
• Subject of old intranstive becomes goal of new transitive

Causation involving an instrument is commonly expressed with complex finals incorporating notions of instrumentality and causation. These are discussed at length in Chapter 10.

13.4.2.2 Applicatives as Primary Objects

Nishnaabemwin tends to give grammatical prominence to humans by inflectionally indexing semantic roles customarily associated with them, at the expense of roles standardly filled by non-living entities. For example, all verbs involving the transfer of something, including concepts such as giving, sending, receiving, writing, ordering, and feeding, treat the (typically) human receiver of the transfer as the grammatical goal, and these verbs are thus all transitive animate (VTA) because the recipient is animate. It doesn't matter what the gender of the object transferred is, it is irrelevant to the sub-classification of the verb as VTA or VTI, because it does not function as the grammatical goal, and is not inflectionally recognized except perhaps in certain participles. English has two ways of expressing the roles associated with transfer verbs, as in the following examples.

(a) Peanut mailed a book to me.
(b) Peanut mailed me a book.

In the first, the recipient, grammatically called the INDIRECT OBJECT, and equivalent to the goal in Nishnaabemwin, is expressed by means of a prepositional phrase, 'to me,' and the DIRECT OBJECT, which follows directly after the verb, is 'a book.' In the second example, however, it appears that the recipient ('me') is the direct object, because there is no longer a preposition associated with it, and it is now in the direct object position directly following the verb.

The treatment of recipients as primary grammatical goals is the norm in Nishnaabemwin, and is commonly indexed with morphological changes in the verb. I call this process APPLICATIVE-ADVANCEMENT, which indexes the recipient (primary object) as the inflectional goal while ignoring the semantic theme (secondary object). Applicative is a cover term that applies to such categories as the recipients of transfer verbs and the beneficiaries of benefactive verbs, such as *zhitmawaad*, 'make something for AN,' as well as many other peripheral semantic roles. In English, these roles are typically expressed with the help of prepositions such as *to, from,* and *for*, though, as we have seen, they can sometimes be promoted to the status of direct object, in which case they directly follow the verb and do not have an associated preposition. Nishnaabemwin shows a similar promotion, obligatorily, often by modifying the verb. Applicative-advancement takes as input a transitive stem, usually formally a transitive inanimate (VTI) stem, and adds the transitive animate final /-aw/ or /-amaw/, to produce a verb in which the original actor carries out the action of the verb for the benefit of the derived goal, or in relation to the derived goal in some way. Many verbs involving the transfer of an object show applicative-advancement. The verb gains a new goal, either the beneficiary, affected one(s), or recipient of a transfer. The old goal, representing the object manipulated, remains, but is only inflectionally marked on the verb in the most exceptional circumstances, such as in participle forms directly focusing on it. For example, in the following sentence, the actor role is filled by *aw kwe*, 'that woman,' and the goal role by first person singular, represented only by inflection on the verb. The object being made, *nbabgiwyaan*, 'my shirt,' is not inflectionally indexed on the verb in any way.

(132) Aw kwe ***ndazhtamaag*** nbabgiwyaan. | 'That woman ***is making me*** a shirt.'

> **Aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **ndazhtamaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg makes for me'; **nbabgiwyaan** *ni 1s(0s)* 'my shirt.' (AM39.356)

The following chart summarizes the workings of APPLICATIVE-ADVANCEMENT.

Applicative-Advancement
• Start with a transitive inanimate (VTI) verb stem
• Make it transitive animate by adding VTA final /-aw/ or /-amaw/
• The actor of the old transitive remains actor of new transitive
• Goal of old (VTI) transitive loses inflectional status
• Recipient, beneficiary, affectee becomes goal of new (VTA) transitive

Note that a few transfer verbs do not have /-(am)aw/ in their structure, e.g., *miinaad*, 'give X to AN,' *wihaad*, 'lend X to AN,' *daawmaad*, 'borrow X from AN,' and *gmoodmaad*, 'steal X from AN.'

To give some idea of the range of meanings associated with applicatives, the following verbs represent a variety of examples. More detail can be found in Chapter 10.7, Accompaniment and Benefactive (Applicative) Finals, beginning on page 461.

aajidaabaadwaad	'haul something for AN by dragging'
aawshkwetmawaad	'haul hay for AN'
bookbidmawaad	'break something in two for AN'
bskaabwidmawaad	'bring something back for AN'
daangskoodmawaad	'brush something against something belonging to AN'
dbaabndamwaad	'check up on something for AN'
doodmawaad	'do something to AN's possession'
giishpnadmawaad	'buy something from AN, buy something for AN'
gndamwaad	'take the bait for AN' (of fish)
gzhaadmawaad	'take care of something for AN'

APPLICATIVE-ADVANCEMENT APPLIED TO INTRANSITIVE BASES. Applicative-advancement is also freely used in the formation of verbs from intransitive stems. For example, the verb *nshkaadziitwaad*, 'be angry at AN,' is formed by adding /-taw/ to the VAI stem /nishkaadizi/, 'be angry.' Other examples formed similarly are *nokiitwaad*, 'work for AN' (VAI stem /anokii/, 'work'), *dbaajmotwaad*, 'talk about something to AN,' (VAI stem /dibaajmo/ 'narrate, report'), *Nishnaabemtawaad*, 'speak Indian to AN' (VAI stem /anishinaabemo/, 'speak Indian'), and *debwetwaad*, 'believe AN' (VAI stem /debwe/, 'be right, speak the truth'). The element /-t/ added to the VAI stem would seem to produce a dummy (empty) VTI stem to satisfy the input requirements of the process of applicative-advancement.

(133) ***Wnishkaadziitwaan*** wiidgemaagnan.

> '***S/he is angry with*** her/his spouse.' (AM39.322) [Cf. nshkaadzi, 'be angry' VAI]

> **Wnishkaadziitwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg is angry with ANobv';
> **wiidgemaagnan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's spouse.'

(134) Baamaa pii dash mii iw gii-giishnanaawaad niw waabgan-pwaagnan, mii go naa iw ***gaa-naajmotwid*** aw nmishoomsiban.

'But later on they bought those clay pipes, that's just as my former grandfather ***told me***.' (AK16.7) [Cf. naajmo, 'narrate, relate' VAI]

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-giishnanaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl bought ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **waabgan-pwaagnan** *na 3obv* 'clay pipe(s)'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-naajmotwid** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANsg related to me'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomsiban** *na pret 3sProx* 'my deceased grandfather.'

13.4.2.3 Verbs of Accompaniment (Comitatives)

Another process that changes the role structure of a verb by increasing its number of roles is one that produces verbs of accompaniment (also called comitatives). In simple terms, this process adds VTA final /-m/, usually to a VAI verb, and prepends preverb *wiiji-*, 'with' (also *wiij-*) or its corresponding root, /wiid-/. An example is *wiiji-mnikwemaad*, 'drink with AN,' formed from VAI verb *mnikwe*, 'drink.' The formation of these verbs is treated in detail in Chapter 10.7, Accompaniment and Benefactive (Applicative) Finals, beginning on page 461. Other examples are *wiijnokiimaad*, 'work with AN,' formed from *nokii*, 'work' VAI, and *wiij-yaamaad*, 'live with AN,' formed from *yaa*, 'be (in a place).'

(135) Ngii-mkawaag dash kina mno-bmaadziwaad gonda ***waajnokiimgig***.

'I found ***those I work with*** here all in good health.' (AM12.5)

> **Ngii-mkawaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I found ANpl'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **mno-bmaadziwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl live well'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **waajnokiimgig** *vta ic conj part 1s»3pProx* '(CCNJ) whom I work with ANpl.'

13.5 Summary

Concepts can be cast in a variety of ways in Nishnaabemwin, and there exist in the language families of verbs which provide different kinds of focus on the participants in a verbal event or action. The following charts provide a few illustrations of such families. Almost any transitive animate verb (VTA) can be inflectionally passivized as well, which eliminates the agent role and promotes the goal role to subject (S-role). Transitive inanimate verbs (VTI) do not have inflectional passive forms that promote their goals, but a variety of lexical passives exist which accomplish similar ends. A lexical passive is different from an inflectional passive in adding a derivational final to a verb's structure, creating a different word (lexeme), rather than merely inflecting an existing word, as an inflectional passive does.

In the case of verbs of transfer, benefit, and other kinds of association (ditransitives), the

recipient, beneficiary, and related roles serve as the inflectional goal (the primary goal). The object transferred (the secondary goal) is not usually inflectionally represented. I call this phenomenon applicative-advancement, because of its correspondence to equivalent grammatical rules in languages such as English.

In some cases, goals can be incorporated into medial position within a verb, producing an intransitive verb. Other kinds of verbs have notional goals functioning as initials, e.g., verbs of possession, such as *(w)zhoon'yaami*, 'have money' VAI (W, CL).

Causatives can be formed from intransitive verbs, as can verbs of accompaniment (comitatives).

The following charts provide a few summary illustrations of word families showing different kinds of role-focus.

Verb Form	Part of Speech	Gloss
mnozwaad	vta	'cook AN'
mnozang	vti	'cook IN'
mnozmawaad	vta (benefactive)	'cook something for AN'
mnozod	vai (goal focus)	'cook, be cooked'
mnodeg	vii (goal focus)	'cook, be cooked'
mnozekwe	vai (actor focus)	'cook, bake'

Verb Form	Part of Speech	Gloss
dkobnaad	vta	'tie AN fast'
dkobdood	vti	'tie IN fast'
dkobzod	vai (goal focus)	'be tied up'
dkobdeg	vii (goal focus)	'be tied up'
dkobjiged	vai (actor focus)	'tie things; tie one's shoes'
dkobjigan	ni	'tie-on ice skate'
dkobjigan	ni	'bailing machine'

Verb Form	Part of Speech	Gloss
jaagzwaad	vta	'burn AN'
jaagzang	vti	'burn IN'
jaagzo	vai (goal focus)	'burn (up)'
jaagde	vii (goal focus)	'burn (up)'
jaagzigaazo	vai (goal focus)	'be burned out'
jaagzigaade	vii (goal focus)	'be burned out'

14

Being and Becoming

This chapter looks at a few of the ways that Nishnaabemwin expresses the concepts of being and becoming. Nishnaabemwin uses several distinct constructions to assert identity or existence. These include the VERBS OF IDENTITY, *aawi* (VAI) and *aawan* (VII) and the LOCATIONAL VERBS OF BEING, *yaa* (VAI) and *yaa(mgad)* (VII), and *bi* (VAI) and *te* (VII). Another verb, *dgo* (VAI) and *dgon* (also *dgomgad*) (VII), can be used to specify the existence of stationary objects in a particular location. Various verbs of number exist which specify both the existence of something and provide some quantitative measure, such as *baatiino*, 'be abundant, be many' (VAI) and *niswag*, 'be three in number' (VAI). There are also a couple of INTRANSITIVE FINALS which take NOUN INITIALS and form VERBS OF BEING (/-wi/ VAI and /-wan/ VII) or verbs OF ABUNDANCE (/-kaa/ VII). All of these constructions are discussed below. The following chart summarizes the constructions that are examined in this chapter.

	Animate	Inanimate
identity, existence	aawi (VAI)	aawan (VII)
identity, existence	VAI FINAL /-wi/	VII FINAL /-wan/
location, state of being	yaa (VAI)	yaa(mgad) (VII)
location	dgo (VAI)	dgo(n), dgomgad (VII)
location	bi (VAI)	te (VII)
quantity	baatiino (VAI)	baatiinad (VII)
abundance	VII FINAL /-kaa/	

14.1 The Verbs of Identity *Aawi* and *Aawan*

The animate intransitive verb (VAI) *aawi* and corresponding inanimate intransitive (VII) *aawan* are mainly used to predicate IDENTITY. A predication of identity asserts that a given individual belongs to a particular group or has a particular social role or relation, that is, it

classifies the subject with the formula, 'X is a Y,' as in the following example, where the speaker's grandfather is identified as a Potawatomi.

(1) ***Boodewaadmii*** gii-aawi aw nmishoomis, Wisconsin odi gii-dnizwag.

'My grandfather was a Potawatomi, they lived there in Wisconsin.' (AK15.1)

> **Boodewaadmii** *na 3sProx* 'Potawatomi'; **gii-aawi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-dnizwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl lived there.'

Statements of identity involve two nominals, one of which functions as a subject, and the other as a predicate nominal. The subject may be a noun or noun phrase, a pronominal, or, when understood from context, indicated solely by means of verbal inflection. The noun in the role of predicate nominal usually immediately precedes the verb, perhaps because it is customarily indefinite, and represents new information, which tends to occur early in Nishnaabemwin clauses. The subject more commonly follows the verb, producing the following schematic:

Predicate Nominal	Verb	(Subject)
Boodewaadmii	gii-aawi	aw nmishoomis

The following sentences provide additional examples.

(2) Gaa wiin ***Wemitigoozhiikwe*** gii-aawisii aw mindimooyenh ***Anishinaabekwe*** gii-aawi.

'That old woman was not a Frenchwoman; she was an Indian woman.' (AW16.58)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **Wemitigoozhiikwe** *na 3sProx* 'a white woman'; **gii-aawisii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg was not'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **mindimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **Anishinaabekwe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian woman'; **gii-aawi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was.'

(3) Gonda niizh gii-ggiinwishkwag; gaawii gonda ***wedaaseg*** aawsiiwag.

'These other two were lying; they were not really braves.' (SO6.117)

> **Gonda** *prn na 3pProx* 'these'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **gii-ggiinwishkwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were liars'; **gaawii** *av* 'not'; **gonda** *prn na 3pProx* 'these'; **wedaaseg** *na 3pProx* 'warriors'; **aawsiiwag** *vai ind neg 3pProx* 'ANpl were not.'

(4) ***Aabita-animosh*** aawi. | 'He is a half-dog.' (AW16.46)

| **Aabita-animosh** *na* 'half-dog'; **aawi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is.'

Aawi may also be used in an equational function, that is, "assert that a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal" (Payne 1997:114). Equationals typically identify those filling kinship or marital roles, as in the following examples:

(5) ***Nookomis oosan*** gii-aawiwan. | 'He was my grandmother's father.'

| **Nookomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **oosan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's father'; **gii-aawiwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv was.' (AW18.99)

Aawi may be used to specify membership in a group identified within a particular discourse, as in example (6), from a text relating the misdeeds of a group of outlaw whites, and (7), which is the customary way of identifying who is "it" in the game of tag:

(6) Mii dash iw gaa-wiidookaagod gii-nwadnaad niw kwewan naw na bezhig gii-***aawi*** aw.

'And that was what helped him when he grabbed this woman, she was one of them.' (AK2.14)

| **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wiidookaagod** *vta ic conj part 0»3sProx* '(CCNJ) which IN helped ANsg'; **gii-nwadnaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg grabbed ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'ao'; **kwewan** *na 3obv* 'woman/women'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **gii-aawi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that.'

(7) Giin gdaaw! | 'You're it!' (MC)

| **Giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **gdaaw** *vai ind 2s* 'you (sg) are.'

The verb *aawi* is also used to translate English expressions of hyponymy, that is, inclusion within a larger group, as in the following examples:

(8) Giigoonh aawi dikmeg. | 'The whitefish is a fish.' (MC)

| **Giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish'; **aawi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is'; **dikmeg** *na 3sProx* 'whitefish.'

(9) Bneshiinh aawi pichi. | 'The robin is a bird.' (MC)

| **Bneshiinh** na 3sProx 'bird'; **aawi** vai ind 3sProx 'ANsg is'; **pichi** na 3sProx 'robin.'

Aawi may also be used to predicate existence, equivalent to English existentials of the form "there was a…" constructions. Existence asserts the presence of a given individual at a particular place and time as in the following.

(10) ***Anini*** gii-aawi aw animoshishan bezhig gaa-ogitiziimid.

'There was a man who had a dog as one parent.' (AW16.3)[1]

| **Anini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **gii-aawi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **animoshishan** *na pej 3s* 'worthless dog'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **gaa-ogitiziimid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) has for a parent.'

(11) ***Akwezensag*** gii-aawiwag niswi. | 'There were three girls.' (AW14.167)

| **Akwezensag** *na 3pProx* 'young women'; **gii-aawiwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were'; **niswi** *nm* 'three.'

In most cases, the predicate nominal agrees with the subject (and hence the verb) in features of gender, number and obviation, though occasionally constraints on obviative agreement seem to be relaxed. In the following sentence, for example, although the verb *aawi* is marked as obviative, the predicate nominal *Anishinaabe*, 'Indian,' is not.

(12) Noongwa dash gakina ogikenimaawaan Anishinaabeg ***Anishinaabe gii-aawinid*** ningwading gichi-zhaazhayi.

'For now all Indians know that ***he was once an Indian***, very long ago.' (AW2.25)

| **Noongwa** *av* 'nowadays'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **gakina** *av* 'all'; **ogikenimaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl know about ANobv'; **Anishinaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **Anishinaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **gii-aawinid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv was'; **ningwading** *av* 'once'; **gichi-zhaazhayi** *av* 'long ago.'

Aawan is the inanimate intransitive verb (VII) corresponding to animate *aawi*. The following example illustrates its use.

(13) Gakina gegoo zhooniyaa gegaa ***aawan***.

'Almost everything was of precious metal.' (AW19.109)

| **Gakina** *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'thing'; **zhooniyaa** *ni 0s* 'money'; **gegaa** *av* 'almost'; **aawan** *vii ind 0s* 'IN is.'

1. This sentence is particularly interesting in that *ogitiziimi*, 'have a parent,' acts as a VAIO and allows for a quasi-object, *animoshishan*, 'dog (obv.).'

The following examples illustrates another tendency, to use adverbial expressions as predicates of *aawan*, in this case *jiigaajiwan*, 'near a flow of water.'

(14) Jiigaajiwan ***gii-aawan*** ashpadaawangaag.

'It was on a high sandy bluff by a stream.' (AW1.22)

> **Jiigaajiwan** *av* 'near a stream'; **gii-aawan** *vii 0s* 'INsg was'; **ashpadaawangaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN was a high sandy bluff.'

(15) Mii sa degwaagig dash ***aawang*** ogii-igowaan iniw Anishinaaben bezhig, "Mii iwidi ge-dazhi-biboonishiyaan."

'Then, since it was autumn, one Indian told them, "Over there will be the place I will spend the winter."' (GM6.8)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **degwaagig** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was autumn'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aawang** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN was'; **ogii-igowaan** *vta ind 3obv»3pProx* 'ANobv said to ANpl'; **iniw** *prnt 3obv* 'that/those'; **Anishinaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s)'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **iwidi** *av* 'there'; **ge-dazhi-biboonishiyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) I will spend winter there.'

The verb *aawan* is also used by some contemporary speakers to translate concepts from English such as 'be such a month (in date),' e.g., *June aawan,* 'It's (the month of) June,' and *20 degrees aawan,* 'it's 20 degrees.' The following example illustrates a typical usage.

(16) Holiday na aawan waabang? | 'Is tomorrow a holiday?' (MC)

> **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **aawan** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is'; **waabang** *av* 'tomorrow.'

The following examples illustrate a focus construction using *aawan*, in which a pronominal, *maanda*, 'this (in.),' directly precedes the verb, preceded itself by an initial, focused nominal, *gchi-nakiiwin*, 'great work.' A clause associated with the pronoun follows the verb.

(17) Gchi-nakiiwin maanda aawan zhibiihgaadeg grammar.

'It's a huge task this writing a grammar.' (MC)

> **Gchi-nakiiwin** *ni 0s* 'a great work'; **maanda** *pr dem 0s* 'this'; **aawan** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is'; **zhibiihgaadeg** *vii conj 0s* '(CONJ) IN is written.'

(18) Gaawii gegoo maanda aawnzinoo bemi-mbiighigyin.

'It's nothing, this thing that's got you ranting.' (MC)

> **Gaawii gegoo** *pr neg 0s* 'nothing'; **maanda** *pr dem 0s* 'this' **aawnzinoo** *vii ind neg 0s* 'INsg is not'; **bemi-mbiigigyin** *vta ic conj 0»2s* '(CCNJ) which (IN) makes you rant.'

As with most predicates in Ojibwe, verbs of being are systematically ambiguous between STATIVE ('be') and INCHOATIVE ('come to be') interpretations, and so have translations equivalent to both English 'be' and 'become.' The following sentence illustrates the latter interpretation of *aawi* See also the examples on p. 337.

(19) Mii sa iw gii-wzhiitaad mii dash gii-maajiibzod bneshiinh dash ***gii-aawid***, mii go gwyak odi …

'So he got ready and he flew away, ***he became*** a bird, and he flew straight there…'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gii-wzhiitaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg prepared'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-maajiibzod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg took off flying'; **bneshiinh** *na 3sProx* 'bird'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-aawid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gwyak** *av* 'straight'; **odi** *av* 'there' (AK14.11)

14.2 Denominal Verbs of Being with Finals /-wi/ and /-wan/.

A noun can also serve as a base to which is attached a verbal FINAL, *-wi* for animate nouns and *-wan* for inanimates, to produce a DENOMINAL verb of being, which is identificational, either statively or mutatively. Inanimate verbs of being are less common, though they are sometimes used in borrowings from English, such as in terms for the days of the week, e.g., *Sundaywan*, 'it is Sunday.' Examples of inanimates from Piggott and Grafstein are *oodenaawan*, 'be a town' (« *oodena* NI 'town') and *ziitaaganiwan*, 'be salty' (« *ziitaagan* NI 'salt'). The following examples illustrate animates.

(20) Washme wiin ***kiwenziinywi***. | '***He is*** a still ***older man***.' (AM39.109)

> **Washme** *av* 'more'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **kiwenziinywi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is an old man.'

(21) Otahaa! Mii giiwenh zhaazhi go ***aabta-giigoonywid*** wa!

'Goodness! He is already ***half-fish***!' (SO3.29)

> **Otahaa** *av* 'oh my!.' **Mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **aabta-giigoonywid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is half become a fish'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'this one.'

(22) Geget sa naa ***gmino-gwiiwzensiw.*** | 'Really, now, ***you are a good boy.***' (AM39.36)

| **Geget** *av* 'truly'; **gmino-gwiiwzensiw** *vai ind 2s* 'you are a good boy.'

The last two examples illustrate another point about verbs of being, namely that the stem to which the VERBAL FINAL is attached may include PRENOUNS, and the VERB FINAL can have scope over the entire complex. So, for example, *mno-gwiiwzenswi,* 'be a good boy,' is bracketed as [[mino-gwiiwzens]wi], while *aabta-giigoonywi* has the structure [aabta-[[gii-goony]wi]].

With regard to the stative and inchoative readings of verbs of being mentioned in the previous section, with the verb forms in this section the inchoative reading seems to be the default interpretation with past tense, while the stative is the more common default interpretation with present tense, e.g., *gii-dkonweniniiwi,* with past tense, is more likely to be neutrally interpreted as 'he became a cop,' and *dknonweniniiwi* as 'he is a cop.' Speakers have preferences too as to whether to use an *aawi* construction or VERB OF BEING, in different situations. For example, while it's possible to use *ko,* 'used to,' with a verb of being, as in *gii-dknoweniniiwi ko,* 'he used to be a cop,' the form *dkonwenini ko gii-aawi* is preferred.

Derivational aspects of denominal verbs of being are discussed in Chapter 9, beginning on p. 363.

DEPENDENT NOUNS such as KINSHIP TERMS can also serve as initials in the formation of verbs of being, as in *ookmiswi,* 'be a grandmother,' with initial /-ookmis/, 'grandmother,' though it is also common to use a VERB OF POSSESSION for such concepts, as in *ooshenyi,* 'have a grandchild' (i.e., 'be a grandparent'), with initial /-oosheny/, 'grandchild.'.

14.3 Locational/Existential Verbs *Yaa* and *Yaa(mgad)*

The verb *yaa* most commonly predicates existence restricted to a particular location, though it is also metaphorically extended to apply to states of being, particularly those of the mind and body. In its normal locational usage, it occurs with some specified location, most commonly a LOCATIONAL ADVERB, such as *maa,* 'here,' or *besho,* 'near.'

(23) Gga-kawaabndaan maanda jiimaan maa ***yaaswaan.***

'You'll look after this boat when I'm not here.'" (AK13.22)

| **Gga-kawaabndaan** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you SG will look after INsg'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **jiimaan** *ni 0s* 'boat'; **maa** *av* 'here'; **yaaswaan** *vai conj 1s neg* '(CONJ) I am not (here).'

(24) Aaniish mnik nimshag ***eyaawaad***? | 'How many dogs are there?' (KK1.38)

| **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **nimshag** *na 3pProx* 'dogs'; **eyaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl are.'

(25) "Aakaa giiwenh go naa iidig giigoonh zhanda ***ji-yaad*** ndahbaaning!"

'"That's a hell of a place for a fish to be, here in a water-hole!"' (SO3.22)

| **Aakaa** *av* 'hell of a place'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **iidig** *av* 'perhaps'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish'; **zhanda** *av* 'here'; **ji-yaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg would be there'; **ndahbaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'in the water hole.'

The verb *yaa is* also used as an existential, that is, to introduce characters into a discourse by predicating their existence, either generally or in a particular location, rather similarly to English 'there was/were' constructions.

(26) Aabdeg go ***gii-yaa*** aw wshkinwe gaa-nbwaakaad gaa-jepzid miinwaa gii-gzhiikaabtoo.

'There was sure ***to be*** a young man who was intelligent, smart and he ran fast.'

| **Aabdeg** *av* 'necessarily'; **gii-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was there'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **wshkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man'; **gaa-nbwaakaad** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) was wise'; **gaa-jepzid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) who ANsg was bright'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gii-gzhiikaabtoo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg ran fast.' (AK9.1)

(27) Mii dash noongo iw ***wenji-yaawaad*** giw ngoji debendaagzisgog nishnaabeg.

'And now that's why ***there are*** those Indians who don't belong anywhere.'

| **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **noongo** *av* 'now'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wenji-yaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) why ANpl are'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **ngoji** *av* 'anywhere'; **debendaagziSGog** *vai ic conj part 3pProx neg* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) don't belong to a group'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians.' (AK9.10)

(28) ***Yaa*** gwa Gzhe-mnidoo. | 'There is a God; God exists.' (MC)

| **Yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is (there)'; **gwa** *av* 'emphasis'; **Gzhe-mnidoo** *na 3sProx* 'God.'

In sentence (28), the verb must come first, since the nature of the predication is focusing on the assertion of existence.

YAA AND TRANSITIVE VERBS OF POSSESSION. The existential verb *yaa* shows a morphological relationship with the standard transitive verbs of possession, *yaawaad,* 'have AN' (VTA, stem /ayaaw/) and *yaang,* 'have IN' (VTI, stem /ayaam/). This relationship between existentials and possessives is found very commonly among the languages of the world. The intransitive verb *yaa* can also be used in notionally possessive contexts.

(29) Yaawan wgwisan. | 'He has a son.' (AM)

Yaawan *vai ind 3sProx* 'there is ANsg'; **wgwisan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's son.'

YAA WITH DIRECTIONAL PREVERBS. Used in combination with the DIRECTIONAL PREVERBS such as *bi-*, 'hither, towards,' and *bbaa-*, 'around, distributed location,' *bi-ayaa* and *bbaa-ayaa* indicate motion to a location or around it. In a sense, it is as if the verbal base serves as a empty stem to which meaningful directional elements can be attached.

(30) Miish wa mndimooyenh ***bbaa-yaad***, mii gii-waabmaad ninwan, mansooyan.

'This old lady ***was wandering around***, and she saw some men, strangers.' (SO2.3)

Miish *av* 'then'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **bbaa-yaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg goes around'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-waabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx 3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg saw ANobv'; **ninwan** *na 3obv* 'man/men'; **man'soonyan** *na 3obv* 'sneak(s).'

(31) Nenbozh go sha ***gii-bmi-yaa***. | 'Why, Nenabush ***came by here***.' (AM35.13)

Nenbozh *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush'; **gii-bmi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg came along.'

(32) Mii dash besho ***eni-yaayaan*** maa endnakmigzid.

'Then ***I got*** near ***to*** where she was working.' (AM8.32)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **besho** *av* 'near'; **eni-yaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) I went there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **endnakmigzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg was busy there.'

ZHI-YAA(MAGAD). The relative preverb *zhi-* (preverb form of root /iN/) denotes way or manner, and in combination with *yaa* indicates a general situational state. Predicated of humans, it generally refers to one's state of health, and when used interrogatively, implies a condition with cause for concern, as in the following example.

(33) Wgii-gkenmaan dash maaba mshkikiiwnini gegoo ***zhi-yaanid*** niw shkiniigkwen.
(b) Mii dash gii-ggwejmaad, Aanii-sh ***ezhi-yaayan?***

'The doctor knew that ***there was something wrong*** with the young woman. (b) Then he asked her, "What ***is ailing you***?"' (AM30.18-19)

Wgii-gkenmaan *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg knew about ANobv'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **mshkikiiwnini** *na 3sProx* 'doctor'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'something'; **zhi-yaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv had something wrong'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkiniigkwen** *na 3obv* 'young woman/women.' (b) **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-ggwejmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg asked ANobv'; **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **ezhi-yaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) are you SG thus.'

A similar implication appears to hold for the use of the verb with inanimate subjects as well, as in the following example, in which a mother mildly chastises her daughter for having been out late at night, during which time she had seen some unpleasant things.

(34) Baamaa pii dash gii-wiindmawid, "Mii sa ji-gkendman ***ezhi-yaamgak*** iw shpi-dbik bbaa-yaayan, naangodnong gegoo gwaabndaan ge-waabndazwamban iw go naa noongo epiitziyan."

'Later on she (mother) said to me, "So you can know ***what it's like*** if you're out late at night, sometimes you see things that you shouldn't see now at your age."'

Baamaa *av* 'later'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-wiindmawid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg told me'; **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bbaa-yaayan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you are around'; **naangodnong** *av* 'sometimes'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'something'; **gwaabndaan** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you SG see it'; **ge-waabndazwamban** *vti ic conj pret 2s»0 neg* '(CCNJ) you SG shouldn't see IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **noongo** *av* 'now'; **epiitziyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG are of such age.' (AK8.12)

OTHER PREVERBS WITH YAA. The verb *yaa* occurs with many other preverbs indicating existence in a location, motion, and metaphorically, mental, emotional and physical states of being, such as *mno-*, 'good' (35), *maawndo-*, 'together' (36), *nboodewi-*, 'lonely' (37), and *bzaan-*, 'quietly' (38).

(35) Kina gegoo ngii-mkaan ***mno-yaag*** gyak zhi-yaag endaayaan.

'I found everything in ***good shape*** and my house in proper condition.' (AM11.3)

Kina *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'thing'; **ngii-mkaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I found INsg'; **mno-yaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is in good shape'; **gyak** *av* 'proper'; **zhi-yaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be so'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

(36) Mii iw gaa-wnji-baatiin'sigwaa iw ***gii-bmi-maawndoo-yaawaad*** gaa wiin waya ji-bkadesig.

'The reason they weren't many ***living together in a group*** was so nobody would go hungry.' (AK9.4)

Mii *av* 'that's'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wnji-baatiin'sigwaa** *vai ic conj 3pProx neg* '(CCNJ) why ANpl were not many in number'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gii-bmi-maawndoo-yaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were together over time'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **waya** *prn indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **ji-bkadesig** *vai conj 3sProx neg* '(CONJ) ANsg would not be hungry.'

(37) Mii dash maaba shkiniigkwe ***gii-nboodewi-yaad*** gye go doopwining gii-nwagkweshin.

'Then this young woman ***grew melancholy*** and sat at the table with lowered head.' (AM30.17)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **shkiniigkwe** *na 3sProx* 'young woman'; **gii-nboodewi-yaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg became lonely'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **doopwining** *ni 0 loc* 'at the table'; **gii-nwagkweshin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg lay with head lowered.'

(38) Mii go eta ***bzaan-yaawaad*** binoojiinyag.

'Of course the children would ***just sit quietly***.'

Mii *av* 'and'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **bzaan-yaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl are quiet'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children.' (NS2.5)

14.4 Existence in a Particular Location with *Dgo* and *Dgon (Dgomgad)*

The locational verbs *dgo* (VAI) and *dgon* (VII) are used to predicate the existence of some relatively stationary object in a particular location, typically natural objects or plants. In reference to the latter, it is sometimes translated with 'grows,' though the idea is existence in a particular place.

(39) Maajaawaad iidig, mii sa giiwenh zhi-gbeshiwaad naagshig, ngoji go naa nbiish ***endgog***.

'They started out, and, in the evening, they set up camp at a place where there was water.' (SO3.2)

Maajaawaad *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl set off'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **zhi-gbeshiwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl camped there'; **naagshig** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is evening'; **ngoji** *av* 'somewhere'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water'; **endgog** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) where IN is.'

(40) Jiigbiig ***dgon*** wi dnawa mshkiki debaaddaman.

'The kind of medicine you're talking about grows near the shore.' (MC)

Jiigbiig *av* 'near the shore'; **dgon** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is'; **wi** *pr dem 0s* 'that'; **dnawa** *pr sim 0s* 'kind'; **mshkiki** *ni 0s* 'herb, medicine'; **debaaddaman** *vti ic conj part 2s»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) you (sg) talk about IN.'

(41) Miinawaa besho ***dagomagad*** ziibi. | 'There was a river near by.' (AW8.25)

Miinawaa *av* 'and'; **besho** *av* 'nearby'; **dagomagad** *vii ind 0* 'IN is there'; **ziibi** *ni 0s* 'river.'

(42) Wiinashk izhinikaade. (b) Gaa wiin gaye go naa baatiinasinoon miziwe. (c) Bangii go naa ***dagomagad***.

'It is called sweet grass. (b) It is not plentiful everywhere. (c) There is only a little of it growing.' (AW10.14-16)

Wiinashk *ni 0s* 'sweetgrass'; **izhinikaade** *vii ind 0s* 'IN is called.' (b) **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **gaye** *av* 'and'; **baatiinasinoon** *vii ind neg 0s* 'INsg is not abundant'; **miziwe** *av* 'everywhere.' (c) **Bangii** *av* 'a little'; **dagomagad** *vii ind 0* 'IN is there.'

(43) Mii oodi ***dgowaad*** mskomnag. | 'That's where the raspberries ***grow/are situated***.'

Mii *av* 'it's'; **oodi** *av* 'there'; **dgowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl are'; **mskomnag** *na 3pProx* 'raspberries.' (MC)

(44) Pane oodi ***bi-dgowag*** giwig dnawag mtigoog.

'Those kind of trees have always *grown/been* there.' (MC)

Pane *av* 'always'; **oodi** *av* 'there'; **bi-dgowag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl have been there'; **giwig** *pr dem 3pProx* 'those'; **dnawag** *pr sim 3pProx* 'kind'; **mtigoog** *na 3pProx* 'trees.'

The following sentences shows *dago* in the role of a general existential locational predication, rather than applying to the existence of specific objects.

(45) Awiya gaye abinoojiinyan gii-ayaawaad gaye wii ***dagomagad*** i'iw mashkiki menikwed.

'Also when one had a child there was a medicine for her to drink.' (AW5.15)

Awiya *prn indef 3* 'some'; **gaye** *av* 'and'; **abinoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren)'; **gii-ayaawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg had ANobv'; **gaye** *av* 'also'; **wii** *av* 'then'; **dagomagad** *vii ind 0* 'IN is there'; **i'iw** *prnt 0s* 'that'; **mashkiki** *ni 0s* 'medicine'; **menikwed** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg drinks.'

(46) Noongwa gaa wiin geyaabi ***dagosinoon*** gichi-waasa noopiming.

'Now that (logging camps) is no longer, way off there in the uplands.' (AW3.18)

Noongwa *av* 'now'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **geyaabi** *av* 'still'; **dagosinoon** *vii ind neg 0* 'INsg is not there'; **gichi-waasa** *av* 'very far'; **noopiming** *av* 'in the bush.'

This verb can also be used to specify the location of events in time, as in the following.

(47) Mii sa gii-giizhiitaamgak gchi-miigaadwin wi pii ***gaa-dgogbanen.***

'So that great battle ***which evidently took place*** at that time was over.' (SO6.188)

Mii *av* 'so'; **gii-giizhiitaamgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN was finished'; **gchi-miigaadwin** *ni 0s* 'great battle'; **wi** *pr dem 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **gaa-dgogbanen** *vii ic conj pdub 0* 'which (IN) allegedly took place.'

14.5 Locational Verbs *Bi* and *Te*

The verbs *bi* (VAI) and *te(mgad)* (VII), 'sit, be in a place,' are common in Nishnaabemwin. The following sentences illustrate the use of these verbs. The verb *bi* evidently has a specialized sense of 'lie in repose' in some dialects.

(48) Ningodwaaswi imaa ***gii-abiwag*** igiw adikwag.

'***There were*** six of those caribou there.' (GM8.56)

Ningodwaaswi *nm* 'six'; **imaa** *av* 'there'; **gii-abiwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were (t)here'; **igiw** *prnt 3pProx* 'those'; **adikwag** *na 3pProx* 'caribou PL.'

(49) Mii-sh imaa gaye wii ***abid gii-abinid***. (b) Gaa wiin imaa ***abisiiwan*** owiidigemaaganan.

'***He is buried*** right where ***she is***. (b) His wife ***is not buried*** there.' (AW6.40-41)

Mii *av* 'it's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **imaa** *av* 'there'; **gaye** *av* 'as for'; **wii** *prn pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **abid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is'; **gii-abinid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv was.' (b) **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **imaa** *av* 'there'; **abisiiwan** *vai ind neg 3obv* 'ANobv does not lie here'; **owiidigemaaganan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's spouse.'

(50) Niizh ***biwag*** bgesaanag. | '***There are*** two plums (on hand).' (MC8.23)

Niizh *nm* 'two'; **biwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are'; **bgesaanag** *na 3pProx* 'plums.'

(51) Aabiish ***bid*** ndoo-pen? | 'Where ***is*** my pen?' (MC8.25)

Aabiish *av* 'where'; **bid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) IN is'; **ndoo-pen** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my pen.'

(52) Mii go eta datgaagon ***gaa-teg***. | 'Only the backbone (keel) ***was there***.' (AK1.8)

Mii *av* 'it's'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **datgaagon** *ni 0s* 'keel'; **gaa-teg** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which IN was there.'

(53) Jina dash eta ***teni*** maa shkodeng. | 'Only for a short time ***is it there*** in the fire.'

Jina *av* 'a short time'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **teni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv is put'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **shkodeng** *ni 0 loc* 'in the fire.' (AM25.8)

(54) Gii-ni-mtigwaakaag, kina go gegoo go ***gii-ni-tedig*** zhiwi kiing.

'Lots of trees sprang up, and everything ***came into being*** on that land.' (SO5.78)

Gii-ni-mtigwaakaag *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) became treed'; **kina** *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'thing'; **gii-ni-tedig** *vii ind dub 0* 'IN came to be'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **kiing** *ni 0 loc* 'on the land.'

The verb *te* is also used to specify the location of cities, as in the following:

(55) Niizhwaak nso-dbaabaan nji maanpii *te* Toronto.

'200 miles from here *lies* Toronto.' (MC)

> **Niizhwaak** *nm* 'two hundred' **nso-dbaabaan** *ni* 'so many miles' **nji** *av* 'from' **maanpii** *av* 'here' **te** vii ind 0s 'INsg lies.'

In contemporary Odawa in particular, *te* has been extended to function as a rather general existential, allowing its usage in reference to organizations such as the coffee club in the following:

(56) Gyaabi na coffee-club *te*? | 'Is the coffee-club still in existence?' (MC)

> **Gyaabi** *av* 'still'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **te** *vii ind 0s* 'IN is.'

This organizational association is particularly interesting, in that the conjunct form of *te*, *teg*[1] (commonly spelled «tek»), is used in contemporary Odawa as a standard way of referring to institutions, for example, the following are names of Odawa institutions.

(57) Nishnaabemwin Teg. | 'Ojibwe Language Institute'

> **Nishnaabemwin** *ni 0s* 'Nishnaabemwin language'; **Teg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is (located).'

(58) Kenjgewin Teg | 'Cultural Institute'

> **Kenjgewin** *ni 0s* 'knowledge'; **Teg** *vii conj 0 '(CONJ) IN is (located).'*

Nishnaabemwin speakers are inveterate punsters. The following name of a start-up Odawa technology company, makes a cross-linguistic play on English "tech," sometimes spelled «Tek» in English as well.

(59) «Wau-be-tek» | 'that which will come to be'

> **waa-bi-teg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNG) what will come to be (located)'

As a final note, this verb can also be used to locate in time, as in the following Odawa correspondence, explaining why its author would be unable to attend a conference, because her husband would be working, and thus unavailable to take care of the children. This example also shows a nonce-formation with VAI denominal verb of being final /-wi/ added to an English borrowing.

1 Commonly spelled «tek», due to final obstruent devoicing.

(60) «Wi gewe pii conference ***tek***, mii wi pii bezhik weekend off-wi-sik.»

'And the time the conference ***falls***, he doesn't have the weekend off.' (MC)

> **Wi** *pr dem 0s* 'that'; **gewe** *av* 'also'; **pii** *av/ni* 'time'; **teg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is (located), **mii** *av* 'then'; **wi** *pr dem 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av/ni* 'time'; **bezhik** *nm* 'one'; **off-wi-sik** *vai conj neg 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is not off.'

14.6 Verbs of Abundance

The VII final /-kaa/ creates verbs which specify the abundance, and thus indirectly, the existence, of objects.

(61) Aapji giiwenh ***siniikaani*** gaa maamda ji-gtigewaapan mii-sh gii-bskaabiiwaad.

'It was reportedly ***very rocky*** and it was not possible for them to farm and so they returned.' (AK15.5)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **siniikaani** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv was rocky'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **maamda** *av* 'able'; **ji-gtigewaapan** *vai conj pret 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl could farm'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **gii-bskaabiiwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl came back.'

(62) Wiiba giiwenh gmaapiich mii giiwenh go ***gii-ni-miishkoonskaag*** go miinwaa.

'In a little while, ***lots of grass*** sprouted up.' (SO5.52)

> **Wiiba** *av* 'soon'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gmaapiich** *av* 'after awhile'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-ni-miishkoonskaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) became grassy'; **miinwaa** *av* 'also.'

14.7 Verbs of Quantity and Number

VERBS OF NUMBER simultaneously predicate EXISTENCE and ENUMERATION.

(63) Mii odi gii-mkamaang iw zaaghigan, miinwaa ***baatiindoon*** miinan, giigoonyag ge yaawag maa zaaghigning.

'And there we found this lake, and ***there were lots*** of berries, and there were also fish there at the lake.' (AK1.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-mkamaang** *vti conj 1p* '(CONJ) we found IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **zaaghigan** *ni 0s* 'lake'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **baatiindoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl are abundant'; **miinan** *ni 0p* 'blueberries'; **giigoonyag** *na 3pProx* 'fish PL'; **yaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **zaaghigning** *ni 0 loc* 'in the lake.'

(64) Mdimooyenh sa go naa ***gii-naanniwan*** niwi wgwisan, shkinwensag, shkinweg.

'There was (among them) an old woman whose sons ***were five in number***, little boys and young men.' (SO2.2)

> **Mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **gii-naanniwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv were five in number'; **niwi** *prn na 3obv* 'that/those'; **wgwisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG'S son(s)'; **shkinwensag** *na 3pProx* 'very young men'; **shkinweg** *na 3pProx* 'young men.'

(65) Mii dash gii-maajii-yaawaad binoojiinyan aw nookmis, ***gii-nsiwan*** niw wdaanwaan ***gii-bezhgowan*** dash wgwiswaan.

'And then my grandmother started having children, their daughters ***were three in number*** and their son ***was one in number***.' (AK11.22)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gii-maajii-yaawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg began to have ANobv'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren)'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nookmis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **gii-nsiwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv were three in number'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdaanwaan** *na 3pProx(3obv)* 'ANpl's daughter(s)'; **gii-bezhgowan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv was one in number'; **dash** *av* 'on the other hand'; **wgwiswaan** *na 3pProx(3obv)* 'ANpl's son(s).'

15

Location and Manner

In this chapter I present an introduction to the various ways that locations are specified in Nishnaabemwin. I also look briefly at the way that the manner in which things are done can be expressed. In the first section three locational semantic relations are outlined, fixed (static) location, origin location, and destination location. This is followed with a look at how various locational concepts find representation in particular locational vocabulary. Following this, we look at various locational adverbials, then locative nouns. Next I consider the form of clauses used to specify locations. The chapter concludes with a brief account of manner expressions, especially those used to express similarity or likeness.

15.1 Locational Perspectives

Three distinct locational perspectives are prominent in Nishnaabemwin: that of simple location, that is, fixed location in a particular place with no change of location, though there may be other kinds of movement (i.e., movement "in place"); that of the SOURCE location of some movement; and that of the DESTINATION location of some movement. Locational semantic roles rarely ever fill SEMANTIC MACROROLES of ACTOR or GOAL (see Chapter 13), so they are usually not indexed INFLECTIONALLY on the verb in Nishnaabemwin. When nouns are used to specify locations, they usually carry a locative suffix.

Several RELATIVE ROOTS, or their corresponding RELATIVE PREVERBS, are prominent in location and motion (change of location) expressions, namely /daN-/, /iN-/, and /ond-/, which prototypically have meanings corresponding to the three locational perspectives outlined in the previous paragraph. The following table summarizes their functions.

place of location	/daN/
place of destination	/iN/
place of origin	/ond/

There are also a few locational verbs that behave like those having relative roots and preverbs, in that they typically occur with, and are not complete without, some kind of locational complement, which may be an adverb, a nominal, or a clause. Examples include *yaa*, 'be (in a place)' (*yaa(mgad)*), *daa*, 'dwell (in a place) VAI, *bi*, 'sit/be in a certain place' VAI, and *te*, 'sit/be in a certain place' VII.

(1) Maa dash e-ndhamaang dkibi [***aabtawdaaki yaamgad***], [***besho*** yaag] nbis.

'The spring from which we got the water is ***halfway up a hill, it is near*** a lake.' (AM10.6)

> **Maa** *av* 'there'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **e-ndhamaang** *vti ic conj 1p»0* '(CCNJ) where we got IN from'; **dkibi** *ni 0s* 'spring of water'; **aabtawdaaki** *av* 'halfway up a hill'; **yaamgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is there'; **besho** *av* 'nearby'; **yaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is there'; **nbis** *ni 0s* 'lake.'

(2) Mii dash gii-bi-zhaad wshkinwe [***odi endaayaan***].

'A young man came ***there where I live***.' (AK7.1)

> **Mii** *av* 'and so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bi-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg came here'; **wshkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

SIMPLE (STATIC) LOCATION. The semantic relation of static location specifies the location where an action or event takes place. If the location is indicated with a noun phrase, the HEAD NOUN of the phrase shows locative inflection. Very often locative adverbs occur in conjunction with locative nouns, in which case the adverb almost always precedes the associated noun. In (3), below, for example, locative adverbs *maa*, 'there,' and *ddibew*, 'on the bank,' occur with a locative-inflected noun, *ziibing*, 'on/by the river,' and in (4), *maa* occurs with noun locative *wninjiing*, 'on ANsg's hand(s).'

(3) E-shki-waabmag aw Gchi-mookmaan ***maa ddibew ziibing*** ngii-zeghig.

'The first time I saw a white man ***there by the bank of the river,*** he frightened me.' (AM3.1)

> **E-shki-waabmag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) when I first saw ANsg'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **Gchi-mookmaan** *na 3sProx* 'white American'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **ddibew** *av* 'on the bank'; **ziibing** *ni 0 loc* 'by the river'; **ngii-zeghig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg frightened me.'

(4) Mii dash iw gii-bchinaajgaazod aw nmishoomis ***maa wninjiing,*** niiho-bboongizgoban giiwenh iw pii.

'And my grandfather was struck by accident ***there on his hand,*** he was reportedly four years old at the time.' (AK10.14)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gii-bchinaajgaazod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was shot accidentally'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wninjiing** *ni 3sProx(0) loc* 'on ANsg's hand'; **niiho-bboongizgoban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg was allegedly four years old'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time.'

The RELATIVE ROOT /daN-/, 'place, at' which takes the forms /dan/ or /dazh/, or its associated RELATIVE PREVERB *dzhi-* /dazhi-/, frequently occurs in expressions specifying a particular place (location), as in the following examples. Often the verb containing the relative element is part of a RELATIVE CLAUSE modifying a noun phrase that specifies the location, as in sentence (5), below, or some object pertinent to the location, as in (6).

(5) Gye go mii gii-miin'gooyaang rooms ***waa-dnizyaang.***

'And then we were given rooms ***in which we were to stay.***' (AM8.14)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-miin'gooyaang** *vta conj x»1p* 'we were given'; **waa-dnizyaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CCNJ) where we will stay there.'

(6) Ge nii gwiwnan ***endzhi-wzhichgaadeg*** ngii-zhiwnigoo.

'As for me, I was taken (to the place) ***where clothes were made.***' (AM8.16)

> **Ge** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *prn pers 1s* 'I'; **gwiwnan** *ni 0p* 'garments'; **endzhi-wzhichgaadeg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) where IN are made there'; **ngii-zhiwnigoo** *vta ind x»1s* 'I was taken.'

SOURCE LOCATION (ABLATIVE). The semantic relation of SOURCE specifies the place of origin of a verbal activity or motion. If the source is indicated with a noun phrase, the head noun of the phrase shows locative inflection. Very often specifications of source involve the relative root /ond/, 'source; reason' (also /onj-/), or its associated preverb /onji-/ (or /nji-/) or adverb, *nji*.

(7) [***Waasa*** gii-bi-***wnj***ibaawag ***Gchi-mookmaankiing***], mii-sh gii-gbeshwaad gii-ndawenjgewag dash giw ninwag.

'They came ***from far away in the United States,*** and the men camped & hunted.'

> **Waasa** *av* 'far'; **gii-bi-wnjibaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl came hither from there'; **Gchi-mookmaankiing** *ni 0 loc* 'United States (loc)'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **gii-gbeshwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl camped'; **gii-ndawenjgewag** *vai conj 3pProx* 'ANpl hunted'; **dash** *av* 'and'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **ninwag** *na 3pProx* 'men.' (AK2.2)

(8) Ngii-wiindmaag dash maanda gaa-zhiwebzid gii-bi-zhaad odi endaayaan, ***Neyaashii-nagmiing*** gii-***wnj***ibaa.

'He told me about this that had happened to him when he came there where I live, he came ***from Cape Croker.***' (AK13.30)

> **Ngii-wiindmaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg told me'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **gaa-zhiwebzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) that ANsg experienced'; **gii-bi-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg came hither there'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live'; **Neyaashii-nagmiing** *ni 0 loc* 'Cape Croker (loc)'; **gii-wnjibaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg came from there.'

DESTINATION LOCATION (ALLATIVE). The semantic relation of destination specifies the locational endpoint of a verbal action or motion. If the location is indicated with a noun phrase, the head noun of the phrase shows locative inflection. as with *kikong*, 'into the kettle,' in (9), below. Very often the relative root /iN/, 'direction, manner,' or its associated relative preverb /zhi-/, occurs in predications involving destinations or the specification of a "way," or manner. The root form varies between /in/, /izh/, and simple devoicing of the stem it is attached to. The following examples illustrate a few of its hundreds of lexically specific forms.

pide	/iN+bide/	vii	'drive to a certain place/in a certain way''
patoo	/iN+batoo/	vai	'run to a certain place/in a certain way'
kido	/iN+gido/	vai	'say'
naande	/iN+aande/	vii	'be coloured a certain way'
namo	/iN+amo/	vii	'be road running to a certain place'
nataage	/iN+ataage/	vai	'gamble in a certain way'
zhidaabaan'go	/iN+idaabaanigo/	vai	'ride in a certain direction'
zhinaagzi	/iN+inaagozi/	vai	'look a certain way'
zhinkaazo	/iN+inikaazo/	vai	'have a certain name'

A couple of examples illustrating the expression of destination:

(9) Nbiish wgii-toon ***kikong.*** | 'S/he put some water ***into the kettle.***' (AM39.187)

> **Nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water'; **wgii-toon** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg put INsg'; **kikong** *na 3 loc* 'into kettle.'

(10) Mii dash gwyak odi gaa-***zhi***-giiwewaad ***Neyaashii-nagmiing***.

'And they went straight home ***to Cape Croker.***' (AK10.16)

> **Mii** *av* 'so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gwyak** *av* 'straight'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gaa-zhi-giiwewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl went home there'; **Neyaashii-nagmiing** *place* 'to Cape Croker.'

Rhodes 1990 observes that the locational complements of relative elements associated with verbs are sensitive to definiteness in their word-order patterns, such that complements that are definite (old information) tend to follow the verb, while those that are indefinite (new information) tend to precede it. Rhodes also observes that there are two classes of exceptions to this general pattern. First, the the complements of relative roots inside of relative clauses sometimes occur to the right of their associated verbs, in order to keep the relativized verb adjacent to the noun being modified by the relative clause. The following example (from Rhodes 1990:4) illustrates.

(11) [Aw epgidang bkwaakod]$_{NOM}$ [ezhnikaazod Wellington Shognosh]$_{RC}$, mii aw…

'As for the pitcher, whose name is Wellington Shognosh, he's the one…'

> **Aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that (one)'; **epgidang** *vti ic conj part 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) throws IN'; **bkwaakod** *ni 0s* 'ball'; **ezhnikaazod** *vai* ic conj part 3sProx '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) is named'; **mii** *adv* 'it's'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that (one)'. (AM17.9 partial)

Here the relative clause, *ezhnikaazod Wellington Shognosh*, 'whose name is Wellington Shognosh,' modifies the preceding nominal *aw epgidang bkwaakod*, 'the one who throws the ball,' (i.e., the pitcher). Normally the name *Wellington Shognosh*, which is the complement of the relative root /iN/ in *ezhnikaazod*, 'be named X,' would appear before *ezhnikaazod*, but here it follows it, in order to keep *ezhnikaazod* adjacent to the nominal modified by the whole relative clause, *ezhnikaazod Wellington Shognosh*. Rhodes also points out that there is also a tendency for definite noun phrase complements to precede their verbs when they are definite 'by virtue of inferability or common experience' (p. 4), in contrast to corresponding non-complement definites. This points to an important fact about word order patterns generally, namely that definiteness distinctions can be quite nuanced,

and a complete account of their relationships to ordering patterns in Nishnaabemwin awaits a much more thorough study than I can provide here.

15.2 The Lexical Expression of Location

Nishnaabemwin shows considerable richness and variety in the way that locational concepts are realized, in part because the locative roots that are used to express them can be used in a great variety of ways, including serving as roots of locational adverbs having classificatory and geographical finals, as in (12) to (14) below, as roots in more general locative adverbs, as in (15), in prenouns, as in (16), and as root forms in verbs referring to specific locational orientations, as in (17). An extensive list of locational adverbs can be found in Chapter 3 (p. 140), and some lexical sets are listed below in Section 15.9, page 742.

(12) ***Gidaaki*** gii-zhaa. | 'He went ***up on the hill.***' (AM39.55) [/-aaki/ 'hill']

> **Gidaaki** *av* 'on top of hill'; **gii-zhaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went there.'

(13) Wgii-ni-waabmaan dash widi bnensan ***gidaatig*** nmadbinid.

'As he went along, he saw over there some young partridges sitting ***upon a branch.***' (AM36.2) [/-aatig/ 'sticklike object']

> **Wgii-ni-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **bnensan** *na 3obv* 'nestling partridge(s)'; **gidaatig** *av* 'upon a branch'; **nmadbinid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv sat.'

(14) Miinwaa wgii-nganaawaan niw wshkinwensan ge-kawaabnijin ***gechi-gidaabik*** odi gii-nmadbi aw wshkinwens.

'And also they left this young man to be a lookout ***way up on top of a rock,*** and there this young man sat.' (AK15.9) [/-aabik/, 'rock']

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **wgii-nganaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl left ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **wshkinwensan** *na 3obv* 'young man/men'; **ge-kawaabnijin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) will keep watch'; **gechi-gidaabik** *ni loc* 'high atop a rock'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-nmadbi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg sat'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **wshkinwens** *na 3sProx* 'young man.'

(15) Mii dash gii-godkoniiziid ***widi gijyahii*** gii-bkonaad niw waawaashkeshwan, gye go mii kina gii-mnozwaad.

'Then he scrambled ***up there to the top*** (of the bluff) and cut up the deer and roasted it all.' (AM36.27) [/-yahii/ 'location']

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-godkoniiziid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg climbed up slope'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **gijyahii** *av* 'on top of it'; **gii-bkonaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg skinned ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **waawaashkeshwan** *na 3obv* 'deer'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-mnozwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg cooked ANobv.'

(16) ***Giji-doopwin*** zhngishnin. | 'Lie down ***on top of the table.***' (AM39.761)

> **Giji-doopwin** *ni 0s* 'on top of table'; **zhngishnin** *vai imp 2s* 'lie (prone).'

(17) Mii dash gii-gbaayaang ***gii-gidaakiiweyaang.***

'And so we (excl.) got out of the boat and ***we climbed the hill.***' (AK1.2)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-gbaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we disembarked'; **gii-gidaakiiweyaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we climbed the hill.'

15.2.1 With Verbs Specifying Motion

Many verbs, both TRANSITIVE and INTRANSITIVE, have roots with locational meanings. The following examples illustrate such forms as used in sentences, with intransitive verbs in (17), above, as well as (18) through (21) below. Motion verbs, such as *dkamaadgaa*, 'swim across' (VAI) in (18), almost invariably have locational or manner initials. Transitive verbs with locational initials are illustrated in (22) and (23).

(18) ***Nii-dkamaadgaa*** nbising. | '***I shall swim across*** the lake.' (AM39.4)

> **Nii-dkamaadgaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I will swim across'; **nbising** *ni 0 loc* 'lake (loc).'

(19) Mtig dash ***aazwaakshin*** maa besho.

'There was ***a tree leaning against another tree*** close by there.' (AM35.33)

> **Mtig** *na 3sProx* 'tree'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aazwaakshin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg leans against something'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **besho** *av* 'nearby.'

(20) Mii dash ***gii-biindgeyooded*** maa mdoodoowgamgong,...

'Then ***entered*** the sweat lodge ***crawling,...***' (AM19.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-biindgeyooded** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg crawled inside'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **mdoodoowgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'into the sweat lodge'

(21) Mii-sh go odi ***gii-bbaamaazhgaamed***, baatiinwag giw giigoonykewninwag.

'And where ***he was walking around on the shore***, there are many fishermen.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-bbaamaazhgaamed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg walked around on shore'; **baatiinwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are many'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **giigoonykewninwag** *na 3pProx* 'fishermen.' (AK13.18)

(22) ***Wgii-biindganaawaan*** dash maa mdoodoowgamgong.

'***They put him inside*** the sweat lodge.' (AM20.5)

> **Wgii-biindganaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl took ANobv inside'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **mdoodoowgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'into the sweat lodge.'

(23) Mii dash iw eta gaa-gshkihaajin niw zhgaagon ji-nsaad gii-bshazhewaad ***gii-bi-giiwewdamwaad*** niw ookmisan, …

'He could only kills skunks hitting them with a stick and ***bringing them home to*** his grandmother, …' (AK13.6)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **gaa-gshkihaajin** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) whom (ANobv) ANsg was able to do Y to'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhgaagon** *na 3obv* 'skunk(s)'; **ji-nsaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg could kill ANobv'; **gii-bshazhewaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg whipped ANobv'; **gii-bi-giiwewdamwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg brought them home for ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **ookmisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's grandmother.'

15.2.2 With a Directional Root or Preverb

Motion relative to some reference point, such as the place of speaking, can be signalled with DIRECTIONAL elements, which may be either ROOTS or PREVERBS. The following examples illustrate the most common directionals.

Preverb /bi-/	Root /biid/, /biij/ 'come (and)…'

(24) ***Nga-bi-zhaami*** wadi gchi-gizheb, ***nga-bi-nsaanaanig*** giwi.

'We will ***come over*** there very early in the morning and come kill them.' (SO2.9)

> **Nga-bi-zhaami** *vai ind 1p* 'we will come'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **gchi-gizheb** *av* 'early in the morning'; **nga-bi-nsaanaanig** *vta ind 1p»3p* 'we will come kill ANpl'; **giwi** *prn 3pProx* 'those.'

(25) Aaniish mii sa giiwenh ***gii-bi-maajaawaad*** niniwag, ***gii-bi-zhaawaad*** zhiwi sa go naa gaa-daawaad iidig giwi.

'So the men started out (***for here***), and ***came back*** to where those people lived.'

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **giiwenh** *av* 'so the story goes'; **gii-bi-maajaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) in time ANpl left'; **niniwag** *na 3pProx* 'men'; **gii-bi-zhaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl came hither'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **gaa-daawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl live'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **giwi** *prn 3pProx* 'those.' (SO2.34)

(26) Mii sa giiwenh gii-googiid iidig ge wii wa, gaa wii giiwenh go gegoo ***wgii-biidoosiin***.

'So he too dived, but he didn't ***bring back*** anything.' (SO5.24)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'so the story goes'; **gii-googiid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg dove'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wii** *prn pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'so the story goes'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'anything'; **wgii-biidoosiin** *vti ind neg 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg did not bring INsg.'

(27) Mii dash wi Niibaakhom zhngishing, mii gii-noondwaad bezhgoogzhiin ***biidwewebtoonid—*** dog! dog! dog! dog!

'So it was that Nibakom was lying there; he heard the sound of a galloping horse ***approaching—*** clip! clop! clip! clop!' (SO6.45)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **zhngishing** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg lies prone'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-noondwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg heard ANobv'; **bezhgoogzhiin** *na 3obv* 'horse(s)'; **biidwewebtoonid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv come making noise running.'

(28) ***Biijnesin*** shkode. | 'The smell of the fire ***comes here***.' (AM39.229)

Biijnesin *vii ind 0s* 'INsg comes through the air'; **shkode** *ni 0s* 'fire.'

DISCOURSE RELATIVIZED USE OF DIRECTIONALS. A speaker may choose to define a locational point of reference as "home base" within a discourse, in which case the use of a directional such as *bi-*, 'here', relativizes to this point. The following examples come from traditional tales, in which the storyteller himself has no role.

(29) Mii dash giiwenh gii-naadid nbiish wa, giigoonyan giiwenh ***bi-dgojiinaan***.

'So that fellow went and got some water, but he ***brought back*** a fish also.' (SO3.7)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'so the story goes'; **gii-naadid** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg fetched IN'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **giigoonyan** *na 3obv* 'fish'; **giiwenh** *av* 'so the story goes'; **bi-dgojiinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg carried ANobv back.'

(30) Mii sa giiwenh ***gii-bi-biindgenid*** ninwan. | 'Then some men ***came into*** the house.'

Mii *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **gii-bi-biindgenid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv came in'; **ninwan** *na 3obv* 'man/men.' (SO4.8)

Preverb /bimi-/	Root /bim/	'by, along…'

(31) Mii dash gii-waabmaangid aw nimosh gaashiinyi mkadewzi ***wbimi-dkonendaan*** iw shkode waawyeyaani.

'And we saw this dog, it's small, it's black, ***it's going by holding the fire in its mouth***, it's a round ball.' (AK08.6)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-waabmaangid** *vta conj 1p»3sProx* 'we (excl.) saw ANsg'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nimosh** *na 3sProx* 'dog'; **gaashiinyi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is small'; **mkadewzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is black'; **wbimi-dkonendaan** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg goes by carrying INsg'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **shkode** ni 'fire'; **waawyeyaani** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv is round.'

(32) Nenbozh giiwenh ***gii-bmosegban*** ddibew. [root /bim/ + vai final /-ose/ 'walk']

'Once upon a time, ***the story goes, he was walking along*** the bank of a stream.')

Nenbozh *na 3sProx* 'Nenabush'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-bmosegban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg was allegedly walking along'; **ddibew** *av* 'by the shore.' (AM35.1

Preverb /babaa-/	Root /babaam/	'go around and…' (distributed location)

(33) Jidmoonh ***bbaamaandwebtoo bbaa-waabndang*** bgaanan giishpin yaabden'gwen.

'The squirrel is ***running about*** on the branches, (***going around***) looking to see whether the nuts are ripe.' [/babaam/ + /-aandawe/ 'climb'] + [/batoo/ 'run' vai]

Jidmoonh *na 3sProx* 'squirrel'; **bbaamaandwebtoo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg runs around climbing'; **bbaa-waabndang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg go around seeing IN'; **bgaanan** *ni 0p* 'nuts'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **yaabden'gwen** *vii ic conj dub 0obv* '(CCNJ) whether IN might be ripe.' (AM39.671)

(34) Kina giw gimaag gii-wiindmawaawag ji-maajiinaazhkawaawaad niw mzhinwen ***ji-bbaa-wiindmawaawaad*** niw nishnaaben ji-bi-maajaanid iw sa pii ji-wzhibiihgewaad.

'All the chiefs were told that they should send the messengers ***to go about telling*** the Indians to get ready to go at the time for them to sign the treaty.' (AK9.8)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-bbaamaazhgaamed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg walked around on shore'; **baatiinwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are many'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **giigoonykewninwag** *na 3pProx* 'fishermen.'

Preverb /ani-/	Root /anim/	'go away and…'

(35) Maanda mkokbinaagan, ***ni-zhaan*** maa gtigaaning gwyak, enaabiishing aw mdaamin.

'Here's a basket, ***go there*** into the garden where the corn lies in a straight row.'

Maanda *prn 0s* 'this'; **mkokbinaagan** *ni 0s* 'basket'; **ni-zhaan** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) go there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gtigaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'to garden'; **gwyak** *av* 'straightaway'; **enaabiishing** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) where ANsg lies'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **mdaamin** *na 3sProx* 'corn.' (AK6.2)

(36) Mii dash ***gii-ni-giiwebzod*** mii dash ***gaa-ni-dgoshing*** gii-giiskang iw wmashkkiim, mii dash gegoo gii-nbod iw zaam maa naa gii-gchi-giikiishknaanjgaazo.

'And then ***he went flying home*** and when ***he arrived back*** he took off his medicine, but he died anyway, indeed he had been cut too much.' (AK14.16)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-ni-giiwebzod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg flew away home'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-ni-dgoshing** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg arrived there'; **gii-giiskang** *vti conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg took off IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wmashkkiim** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsg's medicine'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ge** *av* 'even'; **gii-nbod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg died'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **zaam** *av* 'too'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gii-gchi-giikiishknaanjgaazo** *vta/vai redup ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was severely cut repeatedly.'

(37) Wgii-waabmaan Nenbozhoon ddibew ***nimsenid.***

'She saw Nenabush ***walking [away]*** along the bank of the stream.' (AM35.20)

Wgii-waabmaan *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **Nenbozhoon** *na 3obv* 'Nenabush'; **ddibew** *av* 'on the bank'; **nimsenid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv walk away.'

(38) Otahaa, ***gii-nimgaashin*** giiwenh wa nini.

'Wow! That man ***had left a trail*** along the way.' (SO1.35)

Otahaa *av* 'oh my!'; **gii-nimgaashin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went away leaving a trail'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man.'

The following examples illustrate contrasting uses of *bi-* and *ni-*.

(39) ***Bi-mookse*** giizis. | 'The sun is rising.' (AM39.68)

Bi-mookse *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg rises'; **giizis** *na 3sProx* 'the sun.'

(40) ***Ni-bngishmo*** giizis. | 'The sun is setting.' (AM39.111)

Ni-bngishmo *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg sets'; **giizis** *na 3sProx* 'the sun.'

(41) Aaniish mii sa gii-zaagjitmawaad, mii-sh giiwenh egod, "Naagdawaabmishin ***ji-ni-dkokiiyaanh*** go, mii go zhiwi ***ji-bi-dkokiiyan***."

'So they went outside and he (one of the visitors) said to him, "Watch where I step and that's where you should step."' (SO4.19)

Aaniish *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-zaagjitmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg took ANobv outside'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'so the story goes'; **egod** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANobv said to ANsg'; **Naagdawaabmishin** *vta imp 2s»1s* 'watch me'; **ji-ni-dkokiiyaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I step there'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **ji-bi-dkokiiyan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you step here.'

Preverb /wa-/	No Root Form	'go over and…' [TRANSLOCATIVE]

(42) Maampii nikekmig ndazhi-ndaadiz, baamaa dash miinwaa ***ngii-wa-dnakii*** widi Walpole Island.

'I was born here on this side of the border, but afterwards ***I went to live*** there on Walpole Island.' (AM39.17)

Maampii *av* 'here'; **nikekmig** *av* 'side of the border'; **ndazhi-ndaadiz** *vai ind 1s* 'I am born there'; **baamaa** *av* 'later'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **miinwaa** *av* 'also'; **ngii-wa-dnakii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'I went to live there'; **widi** *av* 'over there.'

(43) Mii-sh giiwenh enaad, "***Gdaa-wa-gdikweshin*** go naa wadi ndahbaaning.

'Then he said to the other, "***You must go over there and hang your head over*** the water-hole.' (SO3.19)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'so the story goes'; **enaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg spoke to ANobv'; **Gdaa-wa-gdikweshin** *vai ind 2s* 'you must go hang your head over to drink'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **ndahbaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'in the water hole.'

15.2.3 Demonstrative Locative Adverbs

A host of dialectally variable DEMONSTRATIVE locative adverbs exist. Such adverbs express location in very general terms, in relation to some reference point, usually the location of the speaker. General locative adverbs are thus like demonstrative pronouns, which also get their reference in relation to some established reference point, usually the place of speaking. These locationals sometimes behave like nominals, for example, in the ease with which relative clauses are associated with them. The locational *wedi* is labelled an animate noun in Rhodes 1985. The following table lists the common general locative adverbs, followed by a few examples.

Demonstrative Locative Adverbs	
maanpii, maampii	'here'
zhonda, zhanda	'here' (Od)
maa	'here; there'
zhiwi	'there' (M)
widi, odi, oodi	'there; over there'
wedi	'that over there' (na)

(44) Widi giiwednong gye go e-bngishmog gii-bi-wnjibaawag giw Naadweswag gaa-bi-mwinewaajig niw Wjibwen ***maanpii*** nikekmig.

'From the North and from the West came those Iroquois to attack the Ojibwe ***here*** in this part of the country.' (AM23.27)

Widi *av* 'over there'; **giiwednong** *av* 'in the north'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **e-bngishmog** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) where IN sets'; **gii-bi-wnjibaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl came hither from there'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **Naadweswag** *na 3pProx* 'Iroquois (PL)'; **gaa-bi-mwinewaajig** *vta ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) came and attacked ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **Wjibwen** *na 3obv* 'Ojibwe'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **nikekmig** *av* 'side of the border.'

(45) Gchi-zaaghigan ***zhonda*** ge-dgog, mii zhonda ge-bi-zhaawaad ge-giigoonykejig.

'There will be a big lake ***here***, where people will come to fish.' (SO3.35)

Gchi-zaaghigan *ni 0s* 'big lake'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **ge-dgog** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN will be there'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **ge-bi-zhaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl will come'; **ge-giigoonykejig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who will fish.'

(46) Mii go nendaajiihang wa kwe nmadbid ***zhiwi***.

'That is why the woman was stirring it as she sat ***there***.' (SO1.17)

Mii *av* 'that's'; **go nendaajiihang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg was beating IN'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **nmadbid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg sat'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there.'

(47) Ngoding dash go naa maanda zhi-gdogshkaag jiimaan, mii gii-aapjibzoyaan gye go ***widi nbiing*** gii-bngishnaan.

'Still at one time, when the canoe tipped to one side like this, I fell out and tumbled ***there into the water.***' (AM6.3)

Ngoding *av* 'once'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **zhi-gdogshkaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN tipped to one side'; **jiimaan** *ni 0s* 'boat'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-aapjibzoyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I fell out to my peril'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **nbiing** *ni 0 loc* 'into the water'; **gii-bngishnaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I fell.'

(48) Gaa dash miinwaa wiikaa ngii-zhaasiimin ***odi.***

'And we never went ***there*** again.' (AK1.10)

Gaa *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **ngii-zhaasiimin** *vai ind 1p neg* 'we didn't go there'; **odi** *av* 'there.'

When demonstrative locatives are used in combination with other words, it seems that their usual position is after the verb, often at the end of the clause containing them, though exceptions to this pattern are common as well (e.g., (47), above). The following examples illustrate post-verbal position.

(49) Mii-sh giiwenh gii-nkwebnaad wa nini, gii-mjimnaad iidig [***zhiwi wnikaaning***].
'But that man caught hold of him, probably grabbing him [***there on his arm***].'

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'so the story goes'; **gii-nkwebnaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg caught hold of ANobv'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **gii-mjimnaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg grabbed ANobv'; **iidig** *av* 'probably'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **wnikaaning** *nid 0 loc* 'on ANsg's arm.' (SO1.20)

(50) Aaniish mii sa gii-maajaad giiwenh bezhig nini, gii-zhaad [***wadi ziisbaakdokaaning***].

'So this man set off alone, and went over [***there to the sugar camp***].' (SO1.8)

Aaniish *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-maajaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg left'; **giiwenh** *av* 'so the story goes'; **bezhig** *num* 'a certain'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **gii-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went there'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **ziisbaakdokaaning** *ni loc 0* 'to the sugaring place.'

The post-verbal position of these expressions is in contrast to the use of the DEMONSTRATIVE LOCATIVES alone, which seem to more freely occur both before the verb, as in (51), below, and after it, as in (52).

(51) Mii giiwenh ***zhiwi*** gii-gbeshwaad. | 'And so it seems that they made camp ***there***.'

Mii *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **gii-gbeshwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl camped.' (SO3.3)

(52) Mii go nendaajiihang wa kwe nmadbid ***zhiwi***.

'That is why the woman was stirring it as she sat ***there***.' (SO1.17)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **nendaajiihang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg was beating IN'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **nmadbid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg sat'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there.'

PRE-ADVERB WAS-, 'BEYOND'. To express relatively more distant location, the pre-adverb *was-*, 'beyond,' can be added to a distal demonstrative adverb, e.g., *was-odi, was-oodi, was-wadi,* all of which mean 'way over there.'

15.3 General Directional Adverb *Nakeyaa, Nikeyaa*

To specify general direction toward another location, or orientation with respect to another location, the general directional adverb *nakeyaa* (also *nikeyaa*) is used. In the usage of Andrew Medler, *nakeyaa* follows the word it modifies, in (53) and (54), locative noun forms, and in (55), a locational IMPERSONAL verb (VII), *e-bgandaanmak,* 'where the wind strikes.'

(53) Gii-mbi-gwaashkni ziibiing ***nakeyaa***. | 'He leaped up ***in the direction*** of the river.'

> **Gii-mbi-gwaashkni** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg jumped up'; **ziibiing** *ni 0 loc* 'toward the river'; **nakeyaa** *av* 'in such a direction.' (AM35.24)

(54) Nbiing dash ***nikeyaa*** gidaaki gii-bngishin.

'Down he fell into the water ***in the direction of*** the foot of the bluff.' (AM36.21)

> **Nbiing** *ni 0 loc* 'into the water'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **nikeyaa** *av* 'in that direction'; **gidaaki** *av* 'on top of hill'; **gii-bngishin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg fell.'

(55) E-bgandaanmak maanoo ***nakeyaa*** da-wnjigaabwi aw waa-wiikwebnind.

'By all means, the person who is to be charmed must stand ***in the direction*** toward which the wind is blowing. '(AM30.9)

> **E-bgandaanmak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) where the wind strikes'; **maanoo** *av* 'deliberately'; **nakeyaa** *av* 'in such a direction'; **da-wnjigaabwi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will stand back from there'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **waa-wiikwebnind** *vta ic conj part x»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) will be put under a love spell.'

15.4 Indefinite Location with *Ngoji*

Indefinite location, often corresponding to English *somewhere* and *anywhere,* is indicated in Nishnaabemwin with the locational adverb *ngoji* (also *ngwaji*), which commonly precedes the verb it is associated with. The following examples illustrate its use.

(56) Wegnesh ***ngwaji*** gaa-nji-zhaayan? | 'Why did you go off ***somewhere***?'

> **Wegnesh** *prn inter 0* 'what'; **ngwaji** *av* 'somewhere'; **gaa-nji-zhaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) from what did you go.' (AM39.575)

(57) Naan'godnong gaa wii yaasii aw nini bbaa-ndawenjiged ***ngoji*** bgodkamig.

'Sometimes the man of the family would not be at home, having gone off hunting ***somewhere*** in the wilds.' (AM32.2)

> **Naan'godnong** *av* 'sometimes'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wii** *av* 'then'; **yaasii** *vai ind 3sProx neg* 'ANsg is not there'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **bbaa-ndawenjiged** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg go around hunting'; **ngoji** *av* 'somewhere'; **bgodkamig** *av* 'out in the wilds.'

This adverb appears in construction with other adverbs, too, as in the following.

(58) ***Ngoji waasa*** zhiwdoon. | 'Take it *far off* with you *somewhere.*' (AM39.748)

> **Ngoji** *av* 'somewhere'; **waasa** *av* 'far'; **zhiwdoon** *vti imp 2s»0* 'take IN.'

15.5 Universal Location

Universal location, or at least widely distributed location, is expressed with *nina,* in Odawa and with *mzi* in other dialects.

(59) Naabkwaanan wii-bgambidenoon waa-bi-wnjikaamgakin maa Sandusky gye go maa Cleveland gye go maa Port Huron gye go ***nina*** waa-bi-wnjibaajig damoobiiling waa-bi-yaajig.

'Ships will come sailing from Sandusky, Cleveland, and Port Huron, and from ***everywhere*** people will come by automobile.' (AM16.4)

Naabkwaanan *ni 0p* 'ships'; **wii-bgambidenoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl will arrive'; **waa-bi-wnjikaamgakin** *vii ic conj part 0p* 'which (INpl) come from a certain place'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **nina** *av* 'everywhere'; **waa-bi-wnjibaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pl* 'who (ANpl) will come from'; **damoobiiling** *na 3 loc* 'in car(s)'; **waa-bi-yaajig** *vai ic conj part* 'who (ANpl) will come.'

(60) ***Mzi*** gii-baa-yizhaa gii-baa-waabmaad nishnaaben. | 'He went *all over* seeing Indians.'

Mzi *av* 'all over'; **gii-baa-yizhaa** *vai redup ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went all around'; **gii-baa-waabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg went around seeing ANobv'; **nishnaaben** na 3obv 'Indian(s).' (AK5.9)

15.6 Dubitative Locational Adverb *Dbi*

Uncertain or unknown location, corresponding to English 'wherever,' is expressed with *dbi*. Associated verbs have CHANGED-CONJUNCT DUBITATIVE ORDER inflection. The dubitative adverb *iidog* (also *iidig*) is also common.

(61) Mii dash gii-maajii-aabjihaawaad niw semaan ***dbi iidog go gaa-zhaawaagwen*** mii go gii-gtigaanaawaad.

'And they started using the tobacco [***wherever they might go***], and cultivated it.'

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-maajii-aabjihaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl began to use ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **semaan** *na 3obv* 'tobacco'; **dbi** *av* 'wherever'; **iidog** *av* 'it seems'; **gaa-zhaawaagwen** *vai ic conj dub 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl might go'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-gtigaanaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl cultivated ANobv.' (AK16.5)

(62) Mii iw dash [***dibi iidig gaa-izhaawaagwen***]. 'I don't know [***where they may have gone***].'

Mii *av* 'it's'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **dibi** *av* 'wherever'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **gaa-izhaawaagwen** *vai ic conj dub 3pProx* '(CCNJ) that ANpl might go.' (AW9.42)

15.7 General Locational Adverbs

There is a large number of locational adverbs. A representative list is provided in Chapter 3 (p. 140). The following examples illustrate the use of such adverbs. When associated with a relative root, as in (63) and (64), the adverb often directly precedes the verb; otherwise, its position within the clause is quite variable, though Tomlin and Rhodes 1992:120 assert that the "unmarked" position of rhematic (new or particularly salient) adverbs is left-

ward, towards the beginning of the sentence, as in (63) and (64), below.

(63) ***Besho*** endaayaan. | 'It is ***near*** [from here] to where I live.' (AM39.581)

Besho *av* 'nearby'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

(64) ***Waasa*** endaayaan. | 'It is ***far*** to where I live.' (AM39.580)

Waasa *av* 'far'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

(65) Gzhidemgad ***biindig***, zaam. | 'It is hot ***indoors***, too hot.' (AM39.238)

Gzhidemgad *vii Os* 'INsg is hot'; **biindig** *av* 'inside'; **zaam** *av* 'too.'

(66) ***Gwajiing*** biindaakwen. | 'Smoke ***out of doors***.' (AM39.729)

Gwajiing *av* 'outside'; **biindaakwen** *vai imp 2s* 'smoke tobacco.'

Locational adverbs can be combined into complex, multi-word expressions, as in the following sentence, where *widi waasa giiwednong*, 'there far to the north,' occurs.

(67) Gye go maaba niikaanis gchi-waasa gaa-bi-wnjibaad Mister Snow ***widi waasa giiwednong*** ge wii ji-zhi-giiwed ndawaabndang neyaab miinwaa widi gaa-bi-wnji-maajaad.

'And my friend Mr. Snow here, who comes from ***very far in the north***, he, too, then is to go home and seek again the place from which he set out to come here.'

Gye *av* 'and'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **niikaanis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my friend'; **gchi-waasa** *av* 'very far'; **gaa-bi-wnjibaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) where ANsg came from'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **waasa** *av* 'far'; **giiwednong** *av* 'in the north'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wii** *prn pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **ji-zhi-giiwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg go home there'; **ndawaabndang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg look for IN'; **neyaab** *av* 'back'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **gaa-bi-wnji-maajaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg left from to come here.' (AM13.2)

15.7.1 Locational Terms with /-yahii/ and /-yahiing/

ROOTS ATTACHED TO FINAL /-YAHII/. Adverb FINAL /-yahii/ can be attached to orientational initials to produce general locational adverbs. A short, very incomplete list with examples can be found in Chapter 11 (p. 523ff.). These adverbs are often used in association with nouns inflected with a locative suffix, or with verbs having environmental medials (or pre-finals). The adverbs typically precede the word they are associated with, whether noun or verb, and may be "floated" to the front of the clause, as in (69), below.

(68) ***Aabtawyahii*** ngii-baashkzaan.

'I shot it ***right through its centre***.' [/aabta-/, 'half; middle'] (AM39.387)

Aabtawyahii *av* 'in the middle'; **ngii-baashkzaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I shot INsg.'

(69) ***Naamyahii*** yaan maa nbaagning. | 'Stay there ***under*** the bed.' [/anaami-/, 'under']

Naamyahii *av* 'underneath it'; **yaan** *vai imp 2s* 'you SG stay there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **nbaagning** *ni 0 loc* 'bed (loc).' (AM31.31)

(70) Nnandwaabmaanaan waaboozoonh, maampii dash yaa ***naamyahii*** miizhshoonskaag.

'We (exc.) are looking for the rabbit, and here it is, ***under*** the grass.' (AM39.533)

Nnandwaabmaanaan *vta ind 1p»3sProx* 'we are looking for ANsg'; **waaboozoonh** *na 3sProx* 'rabbit'; **maampii** *av* 'here'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is there'; **naamyahii** *av* 'underneath it'; **miizhshoonskaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) there is grass.'

(71) ***Naawyahii*** dash gii-mooshkmo maa yaanid niw zhiishiiban.

'He surfaced ***in the midst*** of those (obv.) ducks.' (AM38.9) [/naawi-/, 'midst']

Naawyahii *av* 'in the middle of area'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-mooshkmo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg surfaced'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **yaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv are there'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhiishiiban** *na 3obv* 'duck(s).'

(72) Ngii-naabgwepnaanaan bzhikiins, ngii-wiikbinaanaan ***biinjiyhii*** daabaaning.

'We (excl.) roped the calf, and we pulled it ***into*** the wagon.' (AM39.335)

Ngii-naabgwepnaanaan *vta ind 1p»3sProx* 'we roped ANsg'; **bzhikiins** *na dim 3sProx* 'calf'; **ngii-wiikbinaanaan** *vta ind 1p»3sProx* 'we pulled ANsg'; **biinjiyhii** *av* 'inside of it'; **daabaaning** *na 3 loc* 'into wagon.'

FORMS IN /-YAHIING/. A variant of /-yahii/, /-yahiing/ shows an ending rather like the suffix attached to locative nouns, /-ing/. In use, these locative adverbs typically do not occur in construction with nominals.

(73) ***Gijyahiing*** ggii-toonaan. | 'We (incl.) put it ***on top of the thing***.' (AM39.193)

Gijyahiing *av* 'on top of it'; **ggii-toonaan** *vti ind 21»0s* 'we put INsg.'

(74) Zaam gzhide mii maa ***biinjiiyhiing***. | 'It is too hot ***inside*** here.' (AM21.12)

Zaam *av* 'too'; **gzhide** *vii ind 0s* 'it is hot'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **biinjiiyhiing** *av* 'inside of it.'

(75) Jidmoo wadi gii-pagzo ***gijyihiing***, bbaa-mbi-gwaashkni giiwenh wadi.

'The squirrel threw himself ***on top of it***, and jumped up and down.' (SO5.55)

Jidmoo *na 3sProx* 'squirrel'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **gii-pagzo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg threw self in such direction'; **gijyihiing** *av* 'on top of it'; **bbaa-mbi-gwaashkni** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg jumped around up high'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **wadi** *av* 'there.'

15.8 Locational Adverbs with Noun-like Finals

Many locational expressions in Nishnaabemwin consist of SPATIAL-ORIENTATIONAL INITIALS together with noun-like FINALS specifying various geographical features, plants, and domestic structures and their components. A short list can be found in Chapter 11 (in the section beginning on p. 523).

(76) Ngii-gkidoon zhoon'yaa ***naamkamig***.

'I have hidden the money ***underground***.' (AM39.164)
[/naam-/ 'underneath'; /-akamig/, 'ground, earth']

Ngii-gkidoon *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I hid INsg'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money'; **naamkamig** *av* 'underground.'

(77) Gchi-nokii aw mdimooyenh biinchiged maa ***gaawtaagmig***.

'That old woman works hard cleaning up ***all around the house***.' (AM39.526)
[/gaawtaa-/, 'all around'; /-gamig/, 'building']

Gchi-nokii *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg works hard'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **biinchiged** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg cleans up'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gaawtaagmig** *av* 'all around the building.'

15.9 Some Specific Locational Vocabulary Sets

In this section we list a few common adverbial locational vocabulary sets.

SERIAL SEQUENCE. Serial sequence is expressed by means of *niigaan*, 'first,' *njiiyenh*, 'next,' and *shkweyaang*, 'last.'

(78) ***Niigaan*** bmose. | 'He walks ***in the lead***.' (AM39.71)

| **Niigaan** *av* 'in front'; **bmose** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg walks.'

(79) Wiikaansan ***njiiyenh*** bmosewan. | 'His brother walks ***next in order***.' (AM39.152)

| **Wiikaansan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's brother'; **njiiyenh** *av* 'next in serial order'; **bmosewan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv walks.'

(80) ***Shkweyaang*** bmose. | 'He walks ***in the rear***.' (AM39.70)

| **Shkweyaang** *av* 'behind'; **bmose** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg walks.'

CARDINAL DIRECTIONS. Cardinal directions are as follows. We have not been able to find location terms for east and south, and speakers consulted say that they do not exist.

Term	Location	Direction
east	—	waabnong
south	—	zhaawnong
west	(e-)bngshimog	(e-)bngshimog
north	giiwedin	giiwednong

(81) Zhiishiibag da-maajaawag ***zhaawnong***. | 'The ducks will leave ***for the south***.'

| **Zhiishiibag** *na 3pProx* 'ducks'; **da-maajaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl will leave'; **zhaawnong** *av* 'to the south.' (AM39.129)

(82) ***Widi giiwednong*** gye go ***e-bngishmog*** gii-bi-wnjibaawag giw Naadweswag gaa-bi-mwinewaajig niw Wjibwen maanpii nikekmig.

'***From the North*** and ***from the West*** came those Iroquois to attack the Ojibwe here in this part of the country.' (AM23.27)

| **Widi** *av* 'over there'; **giiwednong** *av* 'in the north'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **e-bngishmog** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) where IN sets'; **gii-bi-wnjibaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl came hither from there'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **Naadweswag** *na 3pProx* 'Iroquois (pl)'; **gaa-bi-mwinewaajig** *via ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who ANpl came and attacked ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **Wjibwen** *na 3obv* 'Ojibwe'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **nikekmig** *av* 'side of the border.'

LEFT AND RIGHT. The DEVERBAL ADVERBS *ezhi-gchi-nikaayan*, 'to your right,' and *ezhi-nmanj-nikaayan*, 'to your left' are used to express right and left, respectively. The term for 'right' includes the preverb *gchi-*, 'big, large,' and the term for 'left,' the preverb *nmanj-*, of uncertain meaning.

(83) ***Ezhi-gchi-nikaayan*** ni-izhaan. | 'Go ***to your right***.' (AM39.719)

| **Ezhi–gchi–nikaayan** *av* 'on your right side'; **ni-izhaan** *vai imp 2s* 'go there.'

(84) ***Ezhi-nmanj-nikaayan*** ni-zhaan. | 'Go ***to your left***.' (AM39.720)

| **Ezhi–nmanj–nikaayan** *av* 'on your left'; **ni-zhaan** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) go there.'

UPSTAIRS AND DOWNSTAIRS. *Shpimsagong*, 'upstairs' AV, and *naamsagong* 'downstairs' AV.

(85) Gii-zhaa ***shpimsagong***. | 'He has gone ***upstairs***.' (AM39.54)

| **Gii-zhaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went there'; **shpimsagong** *av* 'upstairs.'

(86) Waya na yaa ***shpimsagong***? | 'Is anyone ***upstairs***?' (AM39.58)

| **Waya** *prn indef 3sProx* 'someone'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is there'; **shpimsagong** *av* 'upstairs.'

UPSTREAM AND DOWNSTREAM. *Gidaajwan*, 'upstream' AV and *niisaajwan*, 'downstream' AV. There are also specific motion verbs, such as *godham*, *godho*, and *godkozhwe*, all of which mean 'paddle upstream,' and are VAI verbs. Cf., *niiskozhwe*, 'paddle downstream' VAI.

15.10 Locative Nouns

Nouns can be made into locational terms by the addition of the locative suffix, /-ing/, and variation in its form with different types of nouns is discussed at length in Chapter 4 (see page 193). The meaning of the locative is relatively general, and translates into English with a variety of more specific terms, such as *on*, *in*, *by*, and *at*. Locative nouns are not marked

for the regular nominal grammatical categories of number and obviation, and in this sense, resemble locative adverbs, though they can be inflected for a possessor. Generally, locative noun forms more commonly appear at the end of clauses containing them, a feature they share with other locational expressions, though they may also occur initially, as in sentence (89), below. They generally are not modified by demonstrative pronouns even when they are definite (see Chapter 12, p. 547). The following examples illustrate the use of locative nouns.

(87) ... "Giiskan iw ggoodaas, gga-goodoon dash maa *mtigoonsing*."

'...'Take off your dress, you are to hang it here ***on a bush***.'" (AK3.8b)

Giiskan *vti imp 2s»0* '(you SG) take IN off'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ggoodaas** *ni 2s(0s)* 'your SG dress'; **gga-goodoon** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you SG will hang IN'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **mtigoonsing** *na 3 loc* 'on bush.'

(88) Gii-bi-ngodwaasooshkaawag *jiimaaning*. | 'They came here six ***in a canoe***.'

Gii-bi-ngodwaasooshkaawag *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl came hither six to a boat'; **jiimaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'in a boat.' (AM39.128)

(89) *Daabaaning* ngii-boozmi. | 'We got ***on a wagon***.' (AM39.43)

Daabaaning *na 3 loc* 'into wagon'; **ngii-boozmi** *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl.) got on board.'

Very commonly, as we might expect, locative nouns are used with verbs containing locative roots, directional roots, or relative roots. The following examples illustrate occurrence with locative roots. Note that unlike the complements of relative roots, nominals associated with locational roots do not typically appear adjacent to the root or preverb in position before the verb.

(90) Nii-*dkam*aadgaa *nbising*. | 'I shall swim ***across the lake***.' (AM39.4)

Nii-dkamaadgaa *vai ind 1s* 'I will swim across' [/dakam-/, 'across']; **nbising** *ni 0 loc* 'lake (loc).'

(91) Gii-*biinjse dkibiing*. | 'He ***stepped into a spring of water***.' (AM39.67)

Gii-biinjse *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg fell in' [/biind-/, 'in(side)']; **dkibiing** *ni 0 loc* 'into spring of water.'

The following examples show verbs with RELATIVE ROOTS. Note that the locative follows the verb in (94).

(92) *Nbiing p*idoon. | 'Pull it ***into the water***.' (AM39.747)

Nbiing *ni 0 loc* 'into the water'; **pidoon** *vti imp 2s»0* 'pull IN to there' [relative root /iN/].

(93) *Doopwining* ngii-*nd*inaan. | 'I picked it up ***from the table***.' (AM39.385)

Doopwining *ni 0 loc* '(from) the table'; **ngii-ndinaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I got INsg from' [relative root /ond/]

(94) Nso-bboon ngii-*zh*aa ***gkinoohmaadiiwgamgong***.

'I ***went to school*** for three years.' (AM39.9)

Nso-bboon *temp* 'three years'; **ngii-zhaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I went' [relative root /iN/]; **gkinoohmaadiiwgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'to school.' [relative root /iN/]

(95) *Mnishenying* ngii-*daa*mi. | 'We (excl.) ***camped on an island***.' (AM39.39)

Mnishenying *ni 0 loc* 'on island'; **ngii-daami** *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl) were staying there.' [relative root /daa/]

The following examples illustrate the use of a locative POSSESSED noun. Note the lack of number (plural) marking on the locative noun in sentence (96).

(96) Wdasaan niw gaawyan ***wmakzining***.

'She is putting those quills ***on her moccasins***.' (AM39.314)

Wdasaan *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg puts ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **gaawyan** *na 3obv* 'porcupine quill(s)'; **wmakzining** *ni 3sProx(0) loc* 'on ANsg's shoe(s).'

(97) Gii-dsoozo dash ***wnikaang***. | 'He got himself caught there ***by his arm***.' (AM35.42)

Gii-dsoozo *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was caught'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wnikaang** *ni 3sProx(0) loc* 'on ANSG's arm(s).'

(98) Nii-nokii ***ngitgaanensing***. | 'I am going to work ***in my garden***.' (AM39.15)

Nii-nokii *vai ind 1s* 'I will work'; **ngitgaanensing** *ni dim 0 loc* 'in my garden.'

The following sentence is interesting, in that it contains the dependent noun /doon/, 'mouth,' both in an incorporated verb form, and as a free locative noun.

(99) Ngii-bkig***doon***ehog, ngii-bkitehog ***ndooning***.

'He hit me on my ***mouth***; he gave me a blow ***on my mouth***.' (AM39.347)

Ngii-bkigdoonehog *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg hit me on the mouth'; **ngii-bkitehog** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg hit me'; **ndooning** *nid 1s(0) loc* 'on my mouth.'

DISTRIBUTED LOCATIVES. An ending /-ikaang/ occurs on nouns as a locative form usually indicating location *within* an amorphous substance, such as water or sand. The nouns which take this suffix thus tend to be mass nouns. I call such locatives distributive locatives. This locative can be contrasted with the regular locative in sentence (101).

(100) Wdaansan dnakmigziwan ***negwiikaang***. | 'His daughters are playing ***in the sand***.'

Wdaansan *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's daughter(s)'; **dnakmigziwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv is/are busy there'; **negwiikaang** *ni 0 loc* 'in the sand.' (AM39.155)

(101) Gii-bmose ***negwiing***. | 'He walked ***on the sand***.' (AM39.69)

Gii-bmose *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was walking along'; **negwiing** *ni 0 loc* 'on the sand.'

LOCATIVES WITH NOMINAL PLACENAMES. Locative suffixes are freely used with placenames. Names themselves are often relatively invariant locative forms of nouns.

(102) ***Oodenaang*** dnakii. | 'He lives ***in Detroit***.' (AM39.80) [*oodena(w)*, NI 'town, city]

Oodenaang *name ni loc* 'in Detroit'; **dnakii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg lives there.'

(103) ***Zhgaagong*** ngii-zhinaazhwaa. | 'I sent him ***to Chicago***.' (AM39.278)

Zhgaagong *name ni loc* 'to Chicago'; **ngii-zhinaazhwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I sent ANsg.' [compare *zhgaag*, NA 'skunk']

(104) ***Baawtigoong*** ngo-bboon dash gii-miinaawag ji-dgoshinowaad odi gaawiin dash giw aaning gii-debwetnziiwag gaawiin gii-nsidtaziiwag gaa dash gii-zhaasiiwag.

'And they were given one year to arrive there ***at Sault Ste. Marie***, but some of them didn't believe, they didn't understand and they didn't go.' (AK9.9)

Baawtigoong *name ni loc* 'to Sault Ste. Marie'; **ngo-bboon** *temp/ni* 'one year'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given Y'; **ji-dgoshinowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl will arrive'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **aaning** *av* 'some'; **gii-debwetnziiwag** *vai ind 3pProx neg* 'ANpl did not believe'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **gii-nsidtaziiwag** *vai ind 3pProx neg* 'ANpl did not understand'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gii-zhaasiiwag** *vai ind 3pProx neg* 'ANpl did not go there.'

However, with the names of places that represent English borrowings, the locative suffix is often not used.

(105) Maampii nikekmig ndazhi-ndaadiz, baamaa dash miinwaa ngii-wa-dnakii widi ***Walpole Island***.

'I was born here on this side of the border, but afterwards I went to live there ***on Walpole Island***.' (AM39.17)

Maampii *av* 'here'; **nikekmig** *av* 'side of the border'; **ndazhi-ndaadiz** *vai ind 1s* 'I am born there'; **baamaa** *av* 'later'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **ngii-wa-dnakii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'I went to live there'; **widi** *av* 'over there.'

(106) Mii dash gii-dgoshnaang widi ***oodenaw Carlisle*** ezhnikaadeg ggizheb.

'Then we arrived, in the morning, at ***the town*** which is called ***Carlisle***.' (AM8.11)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-dgoshnaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we arrived'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **oodenaw** *ni 0s* 'town'; **ezhnikaadeg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is called'; **ggizheb** *av* 'in the morning.'

(107) Mii dash gii-maajaayaang gii-zhaayaang widi ***school***.

'Then we set out and went to ***the school***.' (AM8.12)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-maajaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we left'; **gii-zhaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we went there'; **widi** *av* 'over there.'

LOCATIVE NOUNS WITH LOCATIVE ADVERBS. Locative adverbs can be used with locative nouns to provide further locational specification. The adverb usually precedes the noun.

(108) Niidgemaagan nnanaamdabmi ***biindig wiigwaaming.***

'My spouse and I sat ***inside the house.***' (AM39.41)

> **Niidgemaagan** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my spouse'; **nnanaamdabmi** *vai redup ind 1p* 'we (excl) are sitting'; **biindig** *av* 'inside'; **wiigwaaming** *ni 0 loc* 'house (loc).'

(109) ***Shpiming mtigong*** goozo. | 'He is perched ***high up in the tree.***' (AM39.120)

> **Shpiming** *av* 'on high'; **mtigong** *na 3 loc* 'in the tree'; **goozo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is perched.'

15.11 Using Clauses to Express Location

VERBAL EXPRESSIONS AS MODIFIERS OF LOCATIVE ADVERBS. Verbal expressions can be used to identify or specify locations. Very commonly, such expressions serve as CLAUSAL MODIFIERS to locational adverbs such as *maanpii*, 'here,' *maa*, 'there,' and *odi*, 'there.' These locative adverbial clauses consistently follow the locative adverb they are associated with, and usually show PLAIN CONJUNCT INFLECTION, unless the verb contains a relative root or relative preverb, in which case the verb shows INITIAL CHANGE. For example, the verb *miizhshkoonskaag*, in (110) below, lacks a relative and is in the plain conjunct, while *endzhi-zhitoowaad*, in (111), has relative preverb *dzhi-*, 'at a certain place,' and has initial change.

(110) Nnanaamdabmi ***maa miizhshkoonskaag***, nnoondwaanaanig dash bneshiinyag ngamwaad.

'We (exc.) sat a while ***there in the grass***, and we heard the birds singing.'

> **Nnanaamdabmi** *vai redup ind 1p* 'we are sitting'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **miizhshkoonskaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be grassy'; **nnoondwaanaanig** *vta ind 1p»3p* 'we heard ANpl'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **bneshiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'birds'; **ngamwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl sing.' (AM39.532)

(111) Mii dash gii-webtaayaan gii-naadmaageyaan ***maa endzhi-zhitoowaad iw miishkogmig***.

'Then I began to help ***there where they were building a barn***.' (AM8.21)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-webtaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I began'; **gii-naadmaageyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I helped'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **endzhi-zhitoowaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) where ANpl make IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **miishkogmig** *ni 0s* 'barn.'

(112) Gaa-sh go wiikaa wgii-nenmaasii ji-zhaanid ***odi endzhi-gkinoohmoondwaa giw binoojiinyag***, mii go eta gii-maajiinaazhkawaad ji-bbaa-ndawenjgenid.

'She never allowed him to go ***there where the children were taught***, but only sent him to go out hunting.' (AK13.5)

> **Gaa-sh** *av* 'not then'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **wgii-nenmaasii** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv neg* 'ANsg did not permit ANobv'; **ji-zhaanid** *vai conj 3obv* 'ANsg could go there'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **endzhi-gkinoohmoondwaa** *vta ic conj x»3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl were taught there'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children'; **mii** *av* 'but'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **gii-maajiinaazhkawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg sent ANobv away'; **ji-bbaa-ndawenjgenid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv would go around hunting.'

LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS WITH RELATIVE ROOTS & PREVERBS. Verbal locative expressions also occur without any associated adverb, as ADJUNCT CLAUSES showing standard conjunct order inflection. The verbs of such expressions often have a relative root or preverb, which shows initial change. Such clauses commonly follow the main clause.

(113) Gnabaj zgimenh ngii-bdakhogdig, ngizhiibii ***gaa-namid.***

'A mosquito must have stung me; I am itching ***where it bit me.***' (AM39.552)
[RELATIVE ROOT /iN-/, 'there, to, thus'; INITIAL CHANGE: *gii- > gaa-*]

> **Gnabaj** *av* 'perhaps'; **zgimenh** *na 3sProx* 'mosquito'; **ngii-bdakhogdig** *vta ind dub 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg pierced me'; **ngizhiibii** *vai ind 1s* 'I itch'; **gaa-namid** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) where ANsg bit me.'

(114) Niijkiwenh ngii-nmadbimi ***endzhi-bgizwaad.***

'My friend and I sat ***where they bathe*** (i.e., at the bathing beach).' (AM39.578)
[RELATIVE PREVERB /dazhi-/, 'at such place,'; INITIAL CHANGE: *dzhi- > endzhi-*]

> **Niijkiwenh** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my friend'; **ngii-nmadbimi** *vai ind 1p* 'we sat'; **endzhi-bgizwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl swim.'

(115) Waasa ***endaayaan.*** | 'It is far ***to where I live.***' (AM39.580)
[Irregular RELATIVE component /en/, akin to /iN-/, 'there, to, thus' INITIAL CHANGE: *daa > endaa*]

> **Waasa** *av* 'far'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

THE LOCATIONAL (SUBORDINATING) PREVERB A-. The preverb *a-* occurs several times in the recorded texts of Andrew Medler, and serves as a locational SUBORDINATOR.

(116) Njiiyenh ngii-nmadab ***a-nmadbid.*** | 'I sat next to him ***where he sat.***' (AM39.534)

> **Njiiyenh** *av* 'next in serial order'; **ngii-nmadab** *vai ind 1s* 'I sat'; **a-nmadbid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) where ANsg sat.'

(117) Ngashi gii-bi-zhaa ***maa a-nbaayaan*** gii-bi-waabmid nembaawaanen.

'My mother came ***to where I was sleeping*** to see whether I was asleep.'

> **Ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **gii-bi-zhaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg came hither'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **a-nbaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) where I sleep'; **gii-bi-waabmid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANsg came and saw me'; **nembaawaanen** *vai ic conj dub 1s* '(CCNJ) I might be sleeping.' (AM39.668)

PREVERB *a-* can undergo INITIAL CHANGE, becoming *e-*.

(118) ***E-bgandaanmak*** maanoo nakeyaa da-wnjigaabwi aw waa-wiikwebnind.

'By all means, the person who is to be charmed must stand in the direction ***toward which the wind is blowing.***' (AM30.9)

> **E-bgandaanmak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) where the wind strikes'; **maanoo** *av* 'by all means'; **nakeyaa** *av* 'in such a direction'; **da-wnjigaabwi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will stand back from there'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **waa-wiikwebnind** *vta ic conj part x»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) will be put under a love spell.'

LOCATIONAL FOCUS. Locations can serve as the FOCUS of mii-focus constructions.

(119) Ngii-baashkzwaa jidmoonh, ***mii gwa naa maampii gaa-ndaakwiiyaan***.

'I have shot a squirrel; ***it's here that I shot from***.' (AM39.574)

> **Ngii-baashkzwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I shot ANsg'; **jidmoonh** *na 3sProx* 'squirrel'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed'; **maampii** *av* 'here'; **gaa-ndaakwiiyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) I shot from there.'

LOCATIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE FRAGMENTS. Rhodes 1996:11 discusses what he calls locative relative clause fragments, which "occur in positions like relative clauses and modify the head nouns in the way that relative clauses do, but lack the locative verb *yaad*, 'be (there),' which is suggested by the sense of the whole construction." He cites as an example the following:

(120) iw mnjikan endnizyaan. | 'the fence at my place (lit. where I live)' (AM11.4)

> **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mnjikan** *ni 0s* 'fence'; **endnizyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

Here one might expect a participial form of the locational verb *yaa*, 'be (there)' VII, to occur with *iw mnjikan*, 'that fence.' Rhodes further observes that the only time a locative verb explicitly occurs is when there is no head noun, as in the following example, which has a demonstrative pronoun *giwi*, but no noun.

(121) giwi ***eyaajig*** wedi. | 'the ones ***who are there.***' (SO)

> **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **eyaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) are there' **wedi** *av* 'there.'

15.12 Expressing Manner

The SEMANTIC RELATION of MANNER expresses the way in which an action or event occurs. Manner expressions very often show the relative root /iN-/, 'in such way; thus/ so, to there,' or its associated relative preverb, /izhi-/, as in the following examples.

(122) Ggii-zhichge na dash ***iw gaa-zhi-gkinoohmoonaan?***

'Did you do ***the way I taught you?***' (AM30.32) [rel. pv. /izhi-/]

> **Ggii-zhichge** *vai ind 2s* 'did you SG do'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaa-zhi-gkinoohmoonaan** *vta ic conj 1s»2s* '(CCNJ) how I taught you (SG) to do.'

(123) Gaa wii ngii-nwesii ***enwewaad.*** [rel. rt. /iN/]

'I did not pronounce ***the way they did.***' (AM1.2)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **ngii-nwesii** *vai ind 1s neg* 'I didn't speak so'; **enwewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) way ANpl speak.'

(124) Mii dash gaa-nag, Waabndamog ow nbiish ***ezhnaagwak.***

'I said to him, "Look at ***the way this water looks.***"' (AM10.13) [rel. rt. /iN/]

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-nag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I said to ANsg'; **Waabndamog** *vti imp 2p* 'look at IN'; **ow** *prn 0s* 'this'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water'; **ezhnaagwak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) how IN looks.'

ROOT SPECIFICATION OF MANNER. Intransitive finals indicating physical orientations and various kinds of motion typically occur with roots and initials that specify manner. Specification for manner is often coded within words. A quick look at some of the entries under "run" in Rhodes 1985 makes clear how prominent manner concepts are in Nishnaabemwin word structure.

(1)	biimbatoo	'run awkwardly'	/biim/	'twisted, winding'
(2)	zhebtoo	'run backwards'	/azhe/	'backwards'
(3)	gzhiikaabtoo	'run quickly	/gizhiikaa/	'quickly'
(4)	chaawsebtoo	'run lame'	/chaawse/	'lame'
(5)	bejbtoo	'run slowly'	/bej/	'slowly'
(6)	aabjibtoo	'run constantly'	/aabji/	'constantly'

MANNER PREVERBS AND ADVERBS. There are also preverbs and adverbs that expressly indicate the manner in which an action is performed. A list of such adverbs is provided in Chapter 3 (page 142). A couple of illustrative examples are provided here: in (125), with preverb *wiinge-*, 'carefully,' and in (126) with free adverb *weweni*, 'properly.'

(125) ***Wiinge***-ggwejmaawaad go iidig. | 'They questioned her ***very carefully***.' (SO2.17)

> **Wiinge-ggwejmaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl questioned ANobv carefully'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems.'

(126) Mii dash gii-wzhitood iw baagndibehgan, ge go gii-goodood iw ji-baatenig ***weweni***.

'So then he made that war club and hung it up to dry ***properly***.' (AM31.21)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-wzhitood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg made IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **baagndibehgan** *ni 0s* 'war club'; **gii-goodood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg hung up IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ji-baatenig** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN would be dry'; **weweni** *av* 'properly.'

The most common manner preverb is no doubt *gchi-*, which indicates the manner of action in terms of its degree or intensity.

(127) ***Gchi***-mnise giiwenh, aapji go ***gchi***-nokii.

'He evidently cut ***lots of*** wood, and really working ***hard***.' (SO4.54)

> **Gchi-mnise** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg gets lots of firewood'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **gchi-nokii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg works hard.'

(128) Megwaa-sh go maaba Niibaakhom ***gchi***-miigaazwaad, mii-sh gii-gkendmowaad.

'While Nibakom (and his men) were fighting ***hard***, they realized something.'

> **Megwaa** *av* 'while'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **gchi-miigaazwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl greatly fought'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl realized IN.' (SO6.30)

15.12.1 Expressions of Similarity (Likeness)

Expressions of similarity between two people or objects are made by using relative root /iN-/ in conjunction with a rich variety of verbal finals. In the simplest form, the subject follows the verb, and the object of comparison precedes it, marked with a locative suffix, /-ing/ if it is a noun, as in the following examples.

(129) ***Mhiingning*** zhinaagzi gday. | 'Your (sg.) dog looks like ***a wolf***.' (MC)

> **Mhiingning** *na 3 loc* 'wolf (loc)'; **zhinaagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg looks like'; **gday** *nad 2s(3sProx)* 'your dog.'

(130) ***Mhiingning*** zhinaagziwag gonda nimookaajiinyig.

'Those dogs look like ***wolves***.' (MC)

> **Mhiingning** *na 3 loc* 'wolf (loc)'; **zhinaagziwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl look so'; **gonda** *prn na 3pProx* 'these'; **nimookaajiinyig** *na 3pProx* 'dogs.'

(131) ***Mhiingning*** zhinaagziwan wdayan. | 'Her dogs look like ***wolves***.' (MC)

> **Mhiingning** *na 3 loc* 'wolf (loc)'; **zhinaagziwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv look(s) like'; **wdayan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's dog.'

Other attributes besides appearance can be compared, using different verbs. The following examples are representative. Example (134) is particularly interesting, in that it has a free noun, *giigoonh*, 'fish,' serving as an initial to VII final /ipogod/, 'taste.'

(132) Zhgaagong zhimaagzi gday. | 'Your (sg.) dog smells like a skunk.' (MC)

> **Zhgaagong** *na 3 loc* 'skunk (loc)'; **zhimaagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg smells like'; **gday** *nad 2s(3sProx)* 'your dog.'

(133) Mhiingning nitaagzi gday. | 'Your (sg.) dog sounds like a wolf.' (MC)

> **Mhiingning** *na loc 3* 'wolf (loc)'; **nitaagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg sounds like'; **gday** *nad 2s(3sProx)* 'your dog.'

(134) Giigoon(y)pogod maanda wiiyaas. | 'This meat tastes like fish.' (MC)

> **Giigoon(y)pogod** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg tastes like fish'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **wiiyaas** *ni 0s* 'meat.'

(135) Maanaajpogod maanda wiiyaas. | 'This meat tastes bad (i.e., as if rotten).' (MC)

> **Maanaajpogod** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg tastes bad'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **wiiyaas** *ni 0s* 'meat.'

(136) Bmideng daa-gii-toon waya maanda wiiyaas, epogok.

'This meat tastes like someone put it in oil.' (MC)

> **Bmideng** *ni 0 loc* 'in oil'; **daa-gii-toon** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg must have put INsg'; **waya** *prn indef 3sProx* 'someone'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **wiiyaas** *ni 0s* 'meat'; **epogok** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN tastes so.'

(137) Waasechganaabkoong zha-yaawag gonda zhoomaankenyig.

'These coins feel like glass.' (MC)

> **Waasechganaabkoong** *ni 0 loc* 'window glass (loc)'; **zha-yaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl be so'; **gonda** *prn na 3pProx* 'these'; **zhoomaankenyig** *na 3pProx* 'coins.'

(138) Gnebgoong zha-yaamgad maanda sabaab. | 'This rope feels like a snake.' (MC)

> **Gnebgoong** *na 3 loc* 'snake (loc)'; **zha-yaamgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is like'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **sabaab** *ni 0s* 'cord.'

The assertion of likeness may involve an action or situation, as in the following, which have clauses with independent order-inflected verbs associated with the relative element.

(139) Zhgaagon daa-gii-nkweshkwaawaan zhimaagziwan wdayan.

'Her dog smells like it encountered a skunk.' (MC)

> **Zhgaagon** *na 3obv* 'skunk(s)'; **daa-gii-nkweshkwaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl met ANobv'; **zhimaagziwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv smell(s) like'; **wdayan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's dog(s).'

(140) Zhgaagon daa-gii-nkweshkwaawaan zhimaagziwag gonda nimookaanjiinyig.

'These dogs smell like they encountered a skunk.' (MC)

> **Zhgaagon** *na 3obv* 'skunk(s)'; **daa-gii-nkweshkwaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl met ANobv'; **zhimaagziwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl smell like'; **gonda** *prn na 3pProx* 'these'; **nimookaanjiinyig** *na 3pProx* 'dogs.'

Richard Rhodes (1990:5) observes an important point about constructions involving relative elements, namely that 'there are no non-clausal relative root complements which are referential.' To understand what he means by this, consider the preceding examples, (129) and (130), where dogs are described as looking like wolves. Note that the reference is not to any specific wolves, but rather to the general class of creatures named with the Nishnaabemwin noun, *mhiingan*, 'wolf.' This is a non-referential usage, as opposed to reference that is to a specific individual, such as *maaba mhiingan*, 'this wolf.'

Because first and second persons can only be referred to by means of personal pronouns, which are inherently referential, it is common to express comparisons with a first or second person as the object of comparison by means of interlocked relative-root verbal expressions such as the following. Rhodes 1990:5 observes that these structures resemble corelatives, which are used in some languages to express the equivalents of relative clauses.[1] Notice in the example below that identical verbs are used, *zhinaagozi*, 'look so,' with relative root /iN/.

(141) Ezhnaagziyaanh gdizhnaagoz. | 'You look like me.' (MC)

> **Ezhnaagziyaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) as I look'; **gdizhnaagoz** *vai ind 2s* 'you look so.'

Rhodes also notes that constructions of this type are used when a referential animate would otherwise be the complement of a relative root, though a few common possessed inanimates also seem to be expressed in this way, such as the widely used verbal expression specifying the location of one's residence, e.g., *endaayaanh* and *endaad*, literally, 'where I live' and 'where ANsg lives,' as opposed to rare *nmiigwaam*, 'my house' and *wmiigiwaam*, 'ANsg's house.'

There are also transitive verbs (VTA and VTI) specifically involving comparison and similarity, using the relative root /iN-/, such as *naw*, 'resemble AN,' in the following.

(142) Wmishoomisan dinwaan ngwis. | 'My son takes after his grandfather.' (MC)

> **Wmishoomisan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's grandfather'; **dinwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg resembles ANobv'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

1. See, for example, the presentation in Keenan 1985, pp. 165-168.

The following sentences provide additional examples of comparisons.

(143) Ezhnaagzid zhinaagziwan wdayan ngwis. | 'My son's dog looks like him.' (MC)

> **Ezhnaagzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg looks so'; **zhinaagziwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv look(s) like'; **wdayan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's dog(s)'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(144) Meko-bmasening gii-noknowe[1] ndaanis gii-tasenwang.

'My daughter dressed like a witch for Halloween.' (MC)

> **Meko-bmasening** *na 3 loc* ' witch (loc)'; **gii-noknowe** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg dressed so'; **ndaanis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my daughter'; **gii-tasenwang** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) when IN was Halloween'

(145) Zhimaagnishiing ngii-noknowe. | 'I was dressed up like a soldier.' (MC)

> **Zhimaagnishiing** *na 3 loc* 'soldier (loc)'; **ngii-noknowe** *vai ind 1s* 'I dressed so.'

(146) Naasaab nozekwe wa nini enzekweyaanh.

'That man cooks the same way that I do.' (MC)

> **Naasaab** *av* 'in the same way'; **nozekwe** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg cooks in such way'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **enzekweyaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) I cook in such way.'

(147) Naasaab zhi-jiibaakwe wa nini ezhi-jiibaakweyaanh.

'That man cooks the same way that I do.' (MC)

> **Naasaab** *av* 'in the same way'; **zhi-jiibaakwe** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg cooks so'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **ezhi-jiibaakweyaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) I cook in such way.'

(148) Naasaab nwe wa nini enweyaanh.

'That man has the same accent as me (speaks the same way as I do).' (MC)

> **Naasaab** *av* 'in the same way'; **nwe** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg speaks so'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **enweyaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) I speak in such way.'

1. Perhaps a variant of /inokonaye/.

(149) Naasaab nitaagzi wa baapid mamaayin entaagzinid.

'She laughs the same way as her mother.' (MC)

> **Naasaab** *av* 'in the same way'; **nitaagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg sounds so'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **baapid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg laughs'; **mamaayin** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's mother'; **entaagzinid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv sounds so.'

(150) Naasaab naapi wa mamaayin entaagzinid. | 'She laughs the same way as her mother.'

> **Naasaab** *av* 'in the same way'; **naapi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg laughs in such way'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **mamaayin** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's mother'; **entaagzinid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv sounds so.' (MC)

(151) Naasaab naabkaadan gdasbaab niin genii enaabkaadmaanh.

'Tie your rope the same way that I do.' (MC)

> **Naasaab** *av* 'in the same way'; **naabkaadan** *vti imp 2s»0* 'tie IN'; **gdasbaab** *ni 2s(0s)* 'your rope'; **niin** *prn pers 1s* 'I'; **genii** *prn pers 1s* 'I also'; **enaabkaadmaanh** *vti ic conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) as I tie IN.'

(152) Gaawii dbishkoo ezhi-bmibzoochgeyaanh zhi-bmibzoochgesii mBill.

'Bill doesn't drive the same way that I do.' (MC)

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **dbishkoo** *av* 'like'; **ezhi-bmibzoochgeyaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) as I thus drive'; **zhi-bmibzoochgesii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg does not drive so.'

(153) Daa-bkade zhinaagzi nday. | 'My dog looks hungry.' (MC)

> **Daa-bkade** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg should be hungry'; **zhinaagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg looks like'; **nday** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my dog.'

(154) Aapji go naa bngwiing gii-zhi-yaadig. | 'It must have been very much like ashes.'

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **bngwiing** *ni 0 loc* 'like ashes'; **gii-zhi-yaadig** *vii ind dub 0s* 'INsg was like.' (SO5.48)

16

Time and Circumstance

16.1 Expressing Time

Nishnaabemwin has a rich system of TENSE inflection by which a verbal expression can be set in the present, the past, or the future. It also has MODAL preverbs to indicate possibility and obligation, and a host of preverbs with associated roots that signal aspectual notions such the beginning and end of an event or action. DIRECTIONAL preverbs can be used with temporal meanings as well. There are also verbal inflectional MODES, indicated by suffix inflections, which index the time in which a verbal event takes place relative to another, and the degree of certainty with which an assertion is made, including the DUBITATIVE MODE, PRETERIT mode and PRETERIT DUBITATIVE mode. There are ways to make subordinate clauses that specify time relations. Distinct temporal adverbs exist as well, and there are impersonal verbs which make reference to temporally defined concepts. In this section we will examine all of these different resources. The following chart summarizes some of the different ways of indicating time in Nishnaabemwin.

Verb Tenses	Present (doo-/da-/di-), Past (gii-), Future (wii-, da-/ga-)
Verb Inflectional Modes	Indicative, Preterit, Dubitative, Preterit Dubitative
Modal Preverbs	daa-, gii-
Directional Preverbs as Time	bi-, ani-, bmi-
Aspectual Preverbs and Roots	maajii-, booni-, ishkwaa-, giizhi-, etc.
Temporal Adverbs	bjiinaago, noongwa, waabang, etc.
Temporal Verbs	giizhgad, naagshi, dbikad, etc. namhe-giizhgad,
Temporal Clauses	pii…, megwaa…, etc.

16.2 Tense and Mood

Tense is expressed by means of distinct preverbs for past and future. Present tense was historically not usually marked. In contemporary usage, however, what were historically extended person prefixes are now used in present tense contexts in independent order inflection, as a means of stabilizing some of the variation in verb stems introduced by syncope. These person prefixes thus indirectly index present tense.

Tense preverbs occur with verbs inflected for the INDEPENDENT and CONJUNCT ORDERS; imperative verbs have IMMEDIATE and DELAYED modes, but these modes are expressed by means of inflectional suffixes, rather than by means of the system of tense preverbs. Verbs inflected for conjunct order are also subject to INITIAL CHANGE, which often affects the tense preverb, as it is frequently word-initial.

The past tense preverb is *gii-*, which does not show variation in its form, though it can undergo initial change, becoming *gaa-*. There are two future tense preverbs, *wii-*, which usually implies volition or desire (changed form *waa-*), and *da-/ga-*, which implies "consequence or obligation, rather than will" (Rhodes 1985:124). The latter future tense displays irregular (SUPPLETIVE) ALLOMORPHY, in its independent order variation between *da-* and *ga-*, and in the plain conjunct form, which is *ji-* (the changed conjunct form is *ge-*). The following chart lays out the basic scheme of tense preverbs. I have also included the TENSELESS SUBORDINATING PREVERB, *a-*, which is discussed below.

	Independent	Plain Conjunct	Changed Conjunct
Tenseless	—	a-	e-
Present	nda-, ndi-, ndoo- gda-, gdi-, gdoo- wda-, wdi-, wdoo-	—	—
Past	gii-	gii-	gaa-
Future	wii-	wii-	waa-
Future	ga-/da-	ji-	ge-

16.2.1 Present Tense

Present tense is used to refer to verbal events taking place at the time of speaking, or at the same time as some other temporal reference point within a discourse. Verbs in the present tense, according to their traditional form, do not show any tense preverb, as in the following examples: in (1), prefix /ni-/, 'first person,' is added directly to verb stem /waabandam/, 'see IN'; in (2), prefix /gid-/, 'second person' is added to stem /ayaaw/.

(1) ***Nwaabndaan*** jiimaanim. | '***I see*** his boat.' (MC22.1.)

| **Nwaabndaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I see INsg'; **jiimaanim** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsg's boat.'

(2) Bkwezhgan na ***gdayaawaa*** ge-shamyaangban.

'***Do you have*** any bread you could feed us?' (AK7.12)

> **Bkwezhgan** *na 3sProx* 'bread'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gdayaawaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you have ANsg'; **ge-shamyaangban** *vta ic conj 2s»1p* '(CCNJ) you (sg) could feed us (excl).'

For many contemporary speakers, the extended person prefixes are very commonly used in present tense contexts. Note that such prefixes are not exclusively tense markers, since they also occur with possessed nouns. They are in complementary distribution with past and future tense preverbs, and as such, implicitly signal present tense. These prefixes only occur with first and second person forms of intransitive verbs, but with all persons for transitives and VAIO verbs. Third person intransitives don't show the prefixes because historically they had no person prefixes. And, of course, the prefixes occur only in the independent order.

(3) ***Ndoo-***mmaangshkiinzhgwe. | '***I*** have big eyes.' (EM)

> **Ndoo-mmaangshkiinzhgwe** *vai ind 1s* 'I have big eyes.'

(4) Enso-biidoowaani coffee, ***nda-oo-nendaan*** creamer.

'Whenever I bring coffee, ***I go and forget*** creamer.' (MC22.5)

> **Enso-biidoowaani** *vai ic conj iter 1s»0* 'every time I bring IN'; **nda-oo-nendaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I go and forget INsg.'

(5) Ge-gii gsha ko ***gdoo-mnjiw***. Miinwaa ***gdoo-ntaa-naadmaw***.

'***You*** too ***treat me*** often. And ***you often help me***.' (MC15.5)

> **Ge-gii** *pr pers 2s* 'you too'; **gsha** *av* 'indeed'; **ko** *av* 'habitually'; **gdoo-mnjiw** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you treat me.' **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gdoo-ntaa-naadmaw** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you habitually help me.'

16.2.2 Past Tense

Past tense is used to make reference to events that took place prior to the time of speaking, or prior to some other established temporal reference point within a discourse. Past tense is expressed in a variety of ways in Nishnaabemwin, but most commonly by means of the preverb *gii-*.

(6) Aapji giiwenh ***gii-zhiingzi*** wa mnidoo; gaa sa go naa ***gii-nishisii; wgii-nsaan*** go naa bemaadzin'jin iidig.

'That manitou ***was despicable***; ***it was no good*** at all, for it seems ***it killed*** people.'

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-zhiingzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was despicable'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mnidoo** *na 3sProx* 'manitou'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **gii-nishisii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg was not good'; **wgii-nsaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg killed ANobv'; **bemaadzin'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv who live (i.e., people)'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems.' (SO4.29)

(7) Aaniish mii sa ***gii-maajaad*** giiwenh bezhig nini, ***gii-zhaad*** wadi ziisbaakdokaaning.

'Well, then a man ***set off alone***, and ***went over*** there to the sugar camp.' (SO1.8)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **gii-maajaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg left'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **gii-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went there'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **ziisbaakdokaaning** *ni loc 0* 'to the sugaring place.'

Coordinated verbs referring to events in the past often all show *gii-*.

(8) ***Gii-mno-yaawag*** gye go ***gii-maajiishkaawag***, binoojiinyan eshkam ***gii-baatiinhaawaad***.

'***They lived happily*** and ***were fortunate*** and in the course of time ***had many children***.' (AM29.16)

> **Gii-mno-yaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were well'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **gii-maajiishkaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl fared well'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren)'; **eshkam** *av* 'gradually'; **gii-baatiinhaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl had many of ANobv.'.'

RECENT PAST WITH NJI- AND BI-. The RELATIVE PREVERB *nji-* (/onji/) is used without additional tense marking to indicate a recent past rather similar to the English present perfect constructions in the translations provided for the examples below.

(9) ***Gdoo-nji-waabndaan*** na ndoo-sapnigan? Ndoo-naajtoon.

'***Have you seen*** my scissors? I lost them.' (MC)

> **Gdoo-nji-waabndaan** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you (sg) have seen INsg'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **ndoo-sapnigan** *ni 1s(0s)* 'my scissors.' **Ndoo-naajtoon** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I misplace INsg.'

(10) Giin dash? ***Gdoo-nji-giigoonke*** na? | 'How about you? ***Have you gone fishing lately***?'

> **Giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **dash** *av* 'how about.' **Gdoo-nji-giigoonke** *vai ind 2s* 'you (sg) have gone fishing'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question.' (MC5.6.)

(11) Gaawiin ***ndoonji-wiisnisii*** eko-dgoshnaanh maampii kinoomaagegamgong.

'***I haven't eaten*** since I got here to school.' (MO)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **ndoonji-wiisnisii** *vai ind neg 1s* 'I did not eat'; **eko-dgoshnaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) since I arrived'; **maampii** *av* 'here'; **kinoomaagegamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'at school.'

The DIRECTIONAL preverb *bi-*, 'hither,' seems to be used with events in the recent past as well. The emphasis seems to be on continuing relevance of the predication to the present.

(12) Pane gwa nga-mkwendaan maanda gaa-***bi***-zhichgeyin.

'I'll always remember this that you ***have*** done.' (ED)

> **Pane** *av* 'always'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed'; **nga-mkwendaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I will remember INsg'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **gaa-bi-zhichgeyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) what you (sg) have done.'

SEQUENCES OF GII-. Much work remains to be done before we have even the beginning of an account of the use of tense in connected discourse. In some cases, successive verbs are each marked with *gii-*, while in others they are not. The following examples, representing different versions of the same story as told by Andrew Medler show variable presence of *gii-* in the dependent time clause that translates as 'long ago when I was a child.' The main verb, *ngii-(bbaa)-maajiinig*, 'ANsg took me along,' is marked with independent order inflection and past tense *gii-* in all three cases. In sentence (13), *gii-* occurs with the DEPENDENT VERB, but in (14) it does not. In another recounting of the same story, it is missing as well.

(13) Zhaazhi go megwaa ***gii-binoojiinywiyaan ngii-bbaa-maajiinig*** aw ngashi ***bbaa-bwahmowaad*** bgoji-mnoomin widi waabshkokiing.

'***Long ago when I was a child***, my mother took me along as they went about gathering rice in the marsh.' (AM6.1)

> **Zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **megwaa** *av* 'while'; **gii-binoojiinywiyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I was a child'; **ngii-bbaa-maajiinig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg took me around'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **bbaa-bwahmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl went around knocking IN down'; **bgoji-mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'wild rice'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **waabshkokiing** *ni 0 loc* 'in the marsh.'

(14) Megwaa ***binoojiinywiyaan*** degwaagig ***ngii-bbaa-maajiinig*** aw ngashi.

'***When I was a child***, one autumn my mother took me about with her.' (AM5.1)

> **Megwaa** *av* 'while'; **binoojiinywiyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I was a child'; **degwaagig** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was autumn'; **ngii-bbaa-maajiinig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg took me around'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother.'

Verbs in clauses with past time that are contemporaneous with a main or preceding verb marked for past time, or which function as staging or elaboration of a main verb, often do not show marking for past tense, but simply inherit their tense from the main verb they are associated with. In example (15), below, the main verb is *gii-waabmaad*, which has a past tense preverb, while the staging verb, *bbaa-yaad*, does not. The verb *maajaa*, 'set off,' as in (16), often serves as the staging for a verb which follows it. This latter verb sometimes lacks past tense marking, as here, though in other examples both verbs are marked. In (17), the subordinated verb *niibwinid* has no past tense marker.

(15) Mii-sh wa mdimooyenh ***bbaa-yaad***, mii gii-waabmaad ninwan, mansooyan.

'Then ***as*** this old lady ***was wandering around***, she saw some men, strangers.'

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **bbaa-yaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg goes around'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-waabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx 3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg saw ANobv'; **ninwan** *na 3obv* 'man/men'; **mansooyan** *na 3obv* 'stranger(s).' (SO2.3)

(16) Gii-maajaawaad, ***bbaa-ndakwechgewaad***.

'So they set off, ***going around in search of the tracks***.' (SO1.34)

> **Gii-maajaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl went away'; **bbaa-ndakwechgewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl go around looking for tracks.'

(17) Gii-daatganaabid nakeyaa gaa-bi-wnjibzod, wgii-waabmaan widi waawaashkeshwan ***niibwinid***.

'When he looked up to the place from which he had fallen, he saw a deer ***standing there***.' (AM36.23)

> **Gii-daatganaabid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg looked up'; **nakeyaa** *av* 'in such a direction'; **gaa-bi-wnjibzod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg had fallen from'; **wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **waawaashkeshwan** *na 3obv* 'deer'; **niibwinid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv stood.'

PAST TENSE AND IMPERSONAL VERBS. Often, impersonal verbs, such as those expressing time of day, geographical features, and weather conditions, do not show a past tense pre-verb in past tense contexts. However, impersonal verbs with time reference often do show INITIAL CHANGE, which usually indexes past occurrence of a specific instance of the state described by the verb, and have a perfective sense, that is, indicate that the event signified by the verb has already taken place at the time of the action/event of the main verb, and is often translated as antecedent 'when.' The following examples illustrate.

(18) Mii dash gii-bi-giiwewaad ***debkadnig*** dash gii-dgoshnoog.

'And they came home and arrived ***just at dark***.' (AK7.14)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bi-giiwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl came back home'; **debkadnig** *vii ic conj 0obv* '(CCNJ) when INobv was dark'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-dgoshnoog** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl arrived.'

(19) ***Gegzhebaawgak*** goon kina gii-nkaabaawe.

'***When morning came*** all the snow had melted away.' (AM10.22)

> **Gegzhebaawgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN was morning'; **goon** *na 3sProx* 'snow'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-nkaabaawe** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg melted away.'

Temporal reference in impersonal verbs that does not refer to a specific instance often does not show initial change or past tense.

(20) Gii-nshkaadzi aw ndawemaa iw bbaa-yaayaan wiikaa ***iw dbikak*** gii-zhmaagnishiiwi maa naa ge wiin, ngii-bbaktewig dash naangim go gii-ni-dgoshnaang endaayaan.

'My brother got mad that I was around late ***at night***, he was a soldier too, and he hit me on the shoulder until we got to my house.' (AK8.10)

> **Gii-nshkaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was angry'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ndawemaa** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my sibling-of-opposite-sex'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bbaa-yaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I was around'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever; late'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **dbikak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be night'; **gii-zhmaagnishiiwi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was a soldier'; **maa** *av* 'then'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **wiin** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **ngii-paktewig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg hit me repeatedly'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **naangim** *av* 'until'; **gii-ni-dgoshnaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we arrived there'; **endaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I live.'

In the following example, all verbs making reference to past events are marked with past tense except for the impersonal verb *dbikad*, 'be dark, be night,' though here the verb is modified by the temporal adverb *aazhgo*, 'already,' suggesting a stative rather than process/event reading for the verb.

(21) Mii ***gii***-nda-waabndamwaad wii-nbaawaad ***wgii***-mkaanaawaa, wiigwaamens, gzhaabkizgan ***gii***-teni, mii-sh go eta ***gii***-mnisewaad— aazhgo ***dbikdini***— wii-gzhideg maa biindig.

'And while they were looking around wanting to sleep they found a little house, a stove was there, and they only got firewood— already it was dark— to have it warm there inside.' (AK7.7)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-nda-waabndamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl looked for IN'; **wii-nbaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl want to sleep'; **wgii-mkaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl found INsg'; **wiigwaamens** *ni 0s* 'small wigwam'; **gzhaabkizgan** *ni 0s* 'stove'; **gii-teni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv was there'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **gii-mnisewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl cut firewood'; **aazhgo** *av* 'already indeed'; **dbikdini** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv be night'; **wii-gzhideg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN will be warm'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **biindig** *av* 'inside.'

More stative (time-stable) impersonal verbs, such as those describing features of landscape, seem to be less often explicitly marked with past tense.

(22) Mii dash gaa-zhichged aw gaa-nsaad niw bnewan gii-zhaad maa ***gchi-bkwaabkaag*** gii-wi-namhaad. | 'And what this one who killed the partridge did, he went up ***on a high rock*** and he prayed there.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-zhichged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg did'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gaa-nsaad** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg who killed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **bnewan** *na 3obv* 'partridge'; **gii-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gchi-bkwaabkaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) there is high rock hill'; **gii-wi-namhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went and prayed.' (AK7.11)

(23) Gii-boonii dash maa ddibew ***mtigoonskaanig***.

'She (n.b., a partridge) alighted ***where there was a clump of bushes*** there by the river bank.' (AM35.21)

Gii-boonii *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg alighted'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **ddibew** *av* 'on the shore'; **mtigoonskaanig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) INobv was abundant with small trees.'

RELATIVE PAST WITH GII-. The preverb *gii-* can also be used to indicate an action or event that is past relative to some other event that is itself past. For example, in (24), the form *gii-zeghaawaad*, 'ANpl had scared ANobv,' is part of a complement clause to the verb of thinking, *gii-gkendamowaad*, 'ANpl knew IN.' Both verbs have *gii-*.

(24) Mii go naa zhiwi gii-gkendmowaad iidig ***gii-zeghaawaad*** niwi mansoonyan.

'They knew that ***they had scared off those*** who had come sneaking around.'

Mii *av* 'and'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **gii-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg knew IN'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **gii-zeghaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl frightened ANobv'; **niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'nao'; **mansoonyan** *na 3obv* 'sneak(s)/stalker(s).' (SO1.43)

(25) Gmaapii-sh giiwenh iidig gaa-ni-aanwitood wa, aanii-sh mii go naa iidig gii-zhaabwaakzod zhiwi wbaknaang, ***gii-bgaskjiihwind*** wi ziisbaakod.

'Shortly after, he could not continue the journey, as he had deep burns on his back where ***he had been plastered*** with the sugar.' (SO1.38)

Gmaapii-sh *av* 'after awhile then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **gaa-ni-aanwitood** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg tried in vain to do IN'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **gii-zhaabwaakzod** *vai conj 3sProx* 'ANsg was burned through'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **wbaknaang** *nid 3sProx(0) loc* 'on ANsg's back'; **gii-bgaskjiihwind** *vta conj x 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg had been plastered'; **ziisbaakod** *ni 0s* 'sugar.'

Often the tense marker on the antecedent event shows initial change.

(26) Mii dash gii-ziignamwaad ***gaa-biindgeyooded*** maa mdoodoowgamgong iw mshkikwaaboo wii-wmbaabteg.

'Then, ***when he had crawled into*** that bath tent, they poured the infusion which was to form steam.' (AM21.7)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-ziignamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl poured IN'; **gaa-biindgeyooded** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg had crawled inside'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **mdoodoowgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'into the sweat lodge'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mshkikwaaboo** *ni 0s* 'liquid medicine'; **wii-wmbaabteg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN will rise up as steam.'

(27) Kina dash ***gaa-giizhtood*** gegoo, mii dash miinwaa gii-naawngahang maa shkodeng waa-dzhi-mnodeg iw bkwezhgan.

'When ***she had made ready*** all this, she shaped out the ashes of the fire to make a place in which to bake that bread.' (AM26.4)

Kina *av* 'every'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-giizhtood** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg had finished IN'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **gii-naawngahang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg shaped the ashes of IN'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **shkodeng** *ni 0 loc* 'in the fire'; **waa-dzhi-mnodeg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) where IN will be cooked'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bkwezhgan** *ni 0s* 'bread.'

RELATIVE PAST WITH GII- + PRETERIT MODE OR PRETERIT DUBITATIVE MODE. Past completed activities relative to some reference point in the past can also be indicated with PRETERIT MODE marking on a verb inflected for past tense. Both preterit mode, as in (28), and PRETERIT DUBITATIVE MODE, as in (29) and (30), are used in this way.

(28) Ngoding dash go naa e-naabid shkweyaang aw ngashi ngii-waabmig aazhi go ***gii-bkobiisewaambaa***.

'But at one time as my mother looked back, she saw that ***I had*** indeed ***fallen into the water***.' (AM5.4)

Ngoding *av* 'once'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **e-naabid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg looked'; **shkweyaang** *av* 'behind'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **ngii-waabmig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg saw me'; **aazhi** *av* 'already'; **gii-bkobiisewaambaa** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) I had fallen in the water.'

(29) Zaam wiikaa ngii-dgoshin, aazhi dash ***gii-maajiibzogba*** aw shkode-daabaan.

'I got there too late; it appeared the train ***had already departed***.' (AM39.472)

Zaam *av* 'too'; **wiikaa** *av* 'late'; **ngii-dgoshin** *vai ind 1s* 'I arrived'; **aazhi** *av* 'already'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-maajiibzogba** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg had evidently taken off'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **shkode-daabaan** *na 3sProx* 'train.'

(30) Gegoo nii-giishpnadoonaaban daawewgamgong, zaam dash wiikaa ngii-ni-dgoshin, aazhi dash ***gii-gbaakhigaadegban*** daawewgamig.

'I was going to buy something from the store, but I got there too late, and the store ***was already closed***.' (AM39.622)

> **Gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **nii-giishpnadoonaaban** *vti ind pret 1s»0s* 'I had wanted to buy INsg'; **daawewgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'at the store'; **zaam** *av* 'too'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **wiikaa** *av* 'late'; **ngii-ni-dgoshin** *vai ind 1s* 'I arrived there'; **aazhi** *av* 'already'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-gbaakhigaadegban** *vii ind pdub 0s* 'INsg had been closed'; **daawewgamig** *ni 0s* 'store.'

ASPECTUAL PREVERB SHKWAA-. The ASPECTUAL preverb *shkwaa-* can also be used with a verb inflected for past tense, to indicate an activity explictly completed prior to the reference point of another past tense verb. In the following sentence, for example, *gaa-shkwaa-giishpnadood*, 'after he had bought it,' has an initial changed past tense preverb *gaa-* and *shkwaa-*, to indicate that the action takes place prior to some reference point action. Sentence (32) shows the same dynamic.

(31) Mii dash gii-boozyaan, ***gaa-shkwaa-giishpnadood*** iw mzinhigan ge nii waa-ni-aabjitooyaan ji-bmidaabaan'goyaan shkode-daabaaning.

'I boarded the train, that is, ***after he had bought*** the ticket which I was to use to ride on the train.' (AM9.10)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-boozyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I got on board'; **gaa-shkwaa-giishpnadood** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) after ANsg bought IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mzinhigan** *ni 0s* 'ticket'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'me'; **waa-ni-aabjitooyaan** *vti ic conj part 1s»0* '(CCNJ) that I would use IN'; **ji-bmidaabaan'goyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I ride along in a vehicle'; **shkode-daabaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'on train.'

(32) Gye go mii go mno-bmaadzid sa ***gaa-shkwaa-mdoodoojin***.

'Then he would be well, ***after he had taken the steam bath***.' (AM21.22)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **mno-bmaadzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was well'; **gaa-shkwaa-mdoodoojin** *vai ic conj 3sProx iter* '(CCNJ) whenever after ANsg took a sweat bath.'

RELATIVE PAST WITH *AAZHI*. Events preceding some reference point can also be communicated by means of the adverb *aazhi*, 'already,' and an associated verb having the simple past tense. Sentence (34), below, can be compared with (28), above.

(33) Pii dash ezhaayaang odi, ***aazhgo wgii-gdaanaawaa*** giw gaagog.

'But when we went there, the porcupines ***had already eaten it up***.' (AK1.7)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ezhaayaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) we go there'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **aazhgo** *av* 'already indeed'; **wgii-gdaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0* 'ANpl ate INsg up'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gaagog** *na 3pProx* 'porcupines.'

(34) Ngoding dash go naa e-naabid shkweyaang ngii-waabmig ***aazhi go gii-bkobiiseyaan***.

'But once as she looked behind her, she saw ***I had already fallen into the water***.'

> **Ngoding** *av* 'once'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **e-naabid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg looked'; **shkweyaang** *av* 'behind'; **ngii-waabmig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg saw me'; **aazhi** *av* 'already'; **gii-bkobiiseyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I had fallen into water.'

CLAUSES WITH *PII*. A temporally overlapping action or event can be linked to another verb by means of *pii*, 'when,' to indicate a specific point in the past relative to some ongoing situation or event. In this case, the verb in the CLAUSE with *pii* almost invariably shows INITIAL CHANGE.

(35) Kina go gii-mnognini ***pii gaa-bskaabiid*** mii-sh go naa aazhgo iw zgaknamwaad iw gaa-ntaawgitoowaad.

'Everything was growing well ***when he got back*** and already they were harvesting what they had grown.' (AK10.19)

> **Kina** *av* 'all'; **gii-mnognini** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv was growing well'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **gaa-bskaabiid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg came back'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **aazhgo** *av* 'already'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **zgaknamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl harvest IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-ntaawgitoowaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANpl raised IN.'

(36) Mii dash ***pii beskaabiiyaang***, kina iidog gaa-miijwaad iw ngoodaas giw pakneg mzi wgii-bagnendaanaawaa.

'But ***when we got back***, having eaten almost all of my dress, the grasshoppers had made holes in various places.' (AK3.9)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **beskaabiiyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) when we came back'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **iidog** *av* 'it seems'; **gaa-miijwaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* 'ANpl ate IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ngoodaas** *ni 1s(0s)* 'my dress'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **pakneg** *na 3pProx* 'grasshoppers'; **mzi** *av* 'everywhere'; **wgii-bagnendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* '(CCNJ) ANpl made holes in INsg.'

RELATIVE FUTURE IN THE PAST. Reference to events that are future relative to some reference point in the past is expressed with the preverbs future *wii-* (or *waa-*, with initial change) and *ge-* (the conjunct order, always initial-changed, future form of *da-/ga-*).

(37) [***Wii-bi-zhaanid zhiwi***] gaa-giizhtood wi biindsaagan.

'***They (obv) were to come over*** there after he had finished that raft.' (SO5.12)

Wii-bi-zhaanid *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv would come'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **gaa-giizhtood** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg had finished IN'; **biindsaagan** *ni 0s* 'raft.'

(38) Jiimaaning gii-bmishkaawag [***waa-dzhi-bwahmowaad iw bgoji-mnoomin***].

'They went in a canoe to the place ***where they would knock down that wild rice***.'

Jiimaaning *ni 0 loc* 'in a boat'; **gii-bmishkaawag** *vai ind 3p* 'ANpl paddled along'; **waa-dzhi-bwahmowaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) where ANpl will knock down IN there'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bgoji-mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'wild rice.' (AM4.2)

(39) Ngii-wzhitmaag aw ngashi wshki-goodaas [***ge-biiskamaan go eta ji-wi-namhaayaan***].

'My mother made me a new dress ***that I was to wear only for going to church***.'

Ngii-wzhitmaag *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg made for me'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **wshki-goodaas** *ni 0s* 'new dress'; **ge-biiskamaan** *vti ic conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) that (IN) I will wear IN'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **ji-wi-namhaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I would go to church.' (AK3.2)

Since the course of events in the future is uncertain, future tense forms often show DUBITATIVE MODE marking as well.

(40) Gaa wgikenmaasiin [***manj ge-kidgwen maaba noos***].

'She did not know ***what my father would say***.' (AM4.10)

Gaa *av* 'not'; **wgikenmaasiin** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv neg* 'ANsg does not know about ANobv'; **manj** *av* 'however it may be'; **ge-kidgwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg might say'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **noos** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my father.'

(41) Ngii-ggwejmig gye nii [***ge-zhaawaambaanen***].

'He asked me, too, ***whether I should care to go there***.' (AM8.2)

Ngii-ggwejmig *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg asked me'; **gye** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **ge-zhaawaambaanen** *vai ic conj dub 1s* '(CCNJ) I would go there.'

INITIAL CHANGE AND PAST TENSE. In some cases verbs show INITIAL CHANGE to indicate a specific instance of an event in the past, as opposed to a customary, habitual, or repetitive, event. Such verbs are not usually marked with a past tense preverb, though the adverb *pii*, 'when,' commonly occurs with them. Clauses of this sort are usually staging for a main predication, providing a time specification for the main verb of the sentence.

(42) Zhaangsimdana shi niiwin gii-dso-bboon'gizi aw nookmis ***pii nembod***.

'My grandmother was 94 years old ***when she died***.' (AM2.2)

Zhaangsimdana-shi-niiwin *nm* '94'; **gii-dso-bboon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was so many years old'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nookmis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **nembod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg died.'

(43) ***Pii dash menookmig, Ziisbaakdoke-giizis e-goojing***, gii-gsinaamgad.

'***Then when the spring was at hand, in the month of March***, there was cold weather.' (AM10.2)

Pii *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **menookmig** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when spring came'; **Ziisbaakdoke-giizis** *na 3sProx* 'Sugar Moon'; **e-goojing** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg was hanging'; **gii-gsinaamgad** *vii ind 0* 'the weather was cold.'

When the event does not represent a specific occurrence in the past, INITIAL CHANGE does not usually occur.

(44) Mii dash gaa-nendmaan, ***Pii go nshike waabmag*** nga-Wjibwemtawaa, ngii-nendam.

'Then I thought, "***If at any time I can see her alone***, I shall speak to her in Ojibwa," I thought.' (AM8.26)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-nendmaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) that I thought'; **Pii** *av* 'when'; **go nshike** *av* 'alone'; **waabmag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I see ANsg'; **nga-Wjibwemtawaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will speak Ojibwe to ANsg'; **ngii-nendam** *vai2 ind 1s* 'I thought.'

(45) ***Pii wii-aabjitooyan maanda wiikwebjigan*** mii da-ziignaman maa moozhwegaansing.

'***When you are ready to use this love medicine***, then you must pour it on a handkerchief.' (AM30.7)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **wii-aabjitooyan** *vti conj 2s»0* '(CONJ) you SG want to use IN'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **wiikwebjigan** *ni 0s* 'love medicine'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **da-ziignaman** *vti conj 2s»0* '(CONJ) you SG will pour IN'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **moozhwegaansing** *ni 0 loc* 'on a handkerchief.'

16.2.3 Future Tense

There are two future tense preverbs, *wii-* and *da-/ga-*. The former functions as a VOLUNTATIVE in many dialects of Anishinaabemowin, that is, it is used to express desire or intent. It often implies VOLITION in Nishnaabemwin, though there are some uses where it doesn't, such as when it expresses futurity with impersonal verbs. The future preverb *da-/ga-* tends to be used in contexts of consequence or obligation, though there is some overlap in usage. In at least one example, both preverbs occur with the same verb, in which case *wii-* would seem to have volitional or modal force.

(46) ***Gga-wii-daawmin*** gwepjigaans, baamaa nga-biidoon waabang.

'***I want to borrow*** your hammer; I will bring it back tomorrow.' (AM39.106)

> **Gga-wii-daawmin** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'I would like to borrow from you'; **gwepjigaans** *ni 2s(0s)* 'your hammer'; **baamaa** *av* 'later'; **nga-biidoon** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I will bring INsg'; **waabang** *av* 'tomorrow.'

FUTURE PREVERB WII-. This preverb is straightforward, showing predictable variants in all three of its forms.

Independent Order	Plain Conjunct	Changed Conjunct
wii-	wii-	waa-

One quirk in the behaviour of *wii-* is that it loses its initial /w/ in combination with the first person prefix, producing *nii-*, especially in Odawa dialect. (See (47), below.)

In the following examples, the sense of wilfulness associated with the meaning of *wii-* is striking.

(47) …"Gaawiin ***nii-bgidnanziimin*** maanpii endnizyaang," aaning dash giw nishnaabeg, "Gaawiin niinwind maa ***nwii-yaasiimin***, gga-gdaghigoom," mii dash gii-bi-maajaawaad.

'…"***We will not give up*** this place where we live," but some of the Indians (said), "Not us, ***we won't stay*** here, you'll be abused," and they left.' (AK15.6)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **nii-bgidnanziimin** *vti ind 1p»0* 'we do not want to give IN up'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **endnizyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) where we live'; **aaning** *av* 'some'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **niinwind** *pr 1p* 'we'; **maa** *av* 'here'; **gga-gdaghigoom** *vta ind x»2p* 'you PL will be abused'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then.'

(48) Mii zhigwa ***wii-ni-maajaayaan***. | 'Now ***I must leave*** right away.' (AM39.81)

> **Mii** *av* 'so'; **zhigwa** *av* 'now'; **wii-ni-maajaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will leave.'

(49) Mii noongo dbikak ***wii-maajaayaan*** gaa dash gnandwenmisnoon maa nshike ji-yaayan. | 'Tonight ***I'm going to go away*** and I don't want you to be here alone.'

> **Mii** *av* 'so'; **noongo** *av* 'today'; **dbikak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be night'; **wii-maajaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will go away'; **gaa** *av* 'no'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gnandwenmisnoon** *vta ind 1s»2s neg* 'I don't want you SG'; **maa** *av* 'here'; **nshike** *av* 'alone'; **ji-yaayan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you SG will be.' (AK14.2)

The preverb *wii-* often occurs on verbs in SUBORDINATE CLAUSES that represent the intent or purpose of an associated verb. For example, in the following sentence, families go hunting in order to feed their children.

(50) Ngodwaaswi noodewziwaad mii dash go naa gii-bi-gbaawaad gii-bi-ndawenjgewaad ***wii-shamaawaad niw binoojiinyan.***

'They were six families and they stopped along the way and went hunting ***intending to give food to*** the children.' (AK15.7)

> **Ngodwaaswi** *nm* 'six'; **noodewziwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were such families'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bi-gbaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl disembarked'; **gii-bi-ndawenjgewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl hunted'; **wii-shamaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl wanted to feed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren).'

In some cases where *wii-* is used, the intent is completely unfulfilled, as in the following examples.

(51) Mii sa giiwenh gii-biindge-gwaashknid wa nini, mookiitwaad giiwenh niwi ninwan, mookmaan ***wii-bjibwaad.***

'So the man (the intruder) jumped into the house and attacked the other man, ***intending to stab him*** with a knife.' (SO1.19)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-biindge-gwaashknid** *vai conj 3sProx* 'ANsg jumped inside'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **mookiitwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg assaulted ANobv'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'that/those'; **ninwan** *na 3obv* 'man/men'; **mookmaan** *ni 0s* 'knife'; **wii-bjibwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg intends to stab ANobv (with).'

(52) Mii-sh go pane gaa-mkwendang iw, gaawiin wgii-gshkitoosiin ***wii-nbaad.***

'And he thought about it constantly and he was not able ***to sleep***.' (AK4.6)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **pane** *av* 'always'; **gaa-mkwendang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg remembered IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **wgii-gshkitoosiin** *vti ind 3sProx»0s neg* 'ANsg was not able to do INsg'; **wii-nbaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg will sleep.'

(53) Mii dash wi Nimkiig gaa-nji-zhiingenmaawaad, ***aano-wii-nsaawaad.***

'That's why the Thunderers hated him and ***tried in vain to kill him***.' (SO4.30)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **Nimkiig** *na 3pProx* 'Thunderers'; **gaa-nji-zhiingenmaawaad** *vta ic conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) why ANpl hated ANobv'; **aano-wii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl tried in vain to kill ANobv.'

In subordinate clauses, *wii-* is also used to express future relative to the event in the main clause.

(54) Mii dash naawngahang maa ***waa-dzhi-mnozang.***

'Then she shapes the ashes there ***where she is going to bake it***.' (AM25.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **naawngahang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg makes sand/ashes into a certain shape'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **waa-dzhi-mnozang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) where ANsg will cook IN there.'

(55) Gnimaa niiwgon wgii-gkendaan ***wii-bi-dgoshninid***.

'He knew that ***they (obv) were going to come in four days***.' (AM31.20)

> **Gnimaa** *av* 'probably'; **niiwgon** *av* 'four days'; **wgii-gkendaan** *vti 3sProx»0* 'ANsg knew IN'; **wii-bi-dgoshninid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv would arrive here.'

Wii- is often used in weather forecasts, with verbs having inanimate subjects, and in other future impersonal constructions. In many of these it obviously implies no volition.

(56) ***Wii-gsinaamgad*** noongwa dbikak, niizh dash ndawendaagdoon waaboowyaanan.

'***It is going to get cold*** tonight; one will need two blankets.' (AM39.513)

> **Wii-gsinaamgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg will be cold'; **noongwa** *av* 'today'; **dbikak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be night'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ndawendaagdoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl be wanted'; **waaboowyaanan** *ni 0p* 'blankets.'

(57) Eshkam znagad ***wii-debnaming*** iw ***waa-boodweng.***

'It is getting harder and harder ***to gather*** that with which ***to make a fire***.'

> **Eshkam** *av* 'increasingly'; **znagad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is difficult'; **wii-debnaming** *vti conj x»0* '(CONJ) that one will get IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waa-boodweng** *vai ic conj x* '(CCNJ) one will make fire (with).' (AM15.15)

(58) Wedi ***waa-ni-bmiseg*** mii iw fair wii-yaamwaad giw Nishnaabeg maa Walpole Island.

'***Next week*** the Indians on Walpole Island are going to hold a fair.' (AM17.1)

> **Wedi** *av* 'next'; **waa-ni-bmiseg** *vii ic conj 0* 'next week'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wii-yaamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will have IN'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **maa** *av* 'there.'

However, weather forecasts may also be expressed with FUTURE PREVERB *da-*, though this seems less common.

(59) Ngwaankwad, gnabaj ***da-gmiwan***.

'It is clouding over; maybe ***it is going to rain***.' (AM39.245)

> **Ngwaankwad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is overcast'; **gnabaj** *av* 'perhaps'; **da-gmiwan** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg will rain.'

The DESIDERATIVE aspect of *wii-* can be applied indirectly to inanimate subjects, as in the following example, where the need represents a desired outcome rather than an actor's wilful engagement.

(60) Waagaakwad ***wii-giinboode***. | 'The axe ***needs sharpening***.' (AM39.210)

> **Waagaakwad** *ni 0s* 'axe'; **wii-giinboode** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg wants sharpening.'

FUTURE PREVERB DA-/GA-. The preverb *da-/ga-* is used in contexts where futurity is more directly associated with consequence or obligation, rather than desire or will. Ignoring the effects of syncope, the form *da-* is used in the independent order when there is no person prefix, and *ga-* elsewhere in the independent order. This effectively restricts the use of this form to third person intransitive contexts. The plain conjunct form of this preverb is *ji-*, and the changed conjunct is preverb *ge-*.

Independent Order	Plain Conjunct	Changed Conjunct
ga- w/ person prefix da- elsewhere	ji-	ge-

INDEPENDENT ORDER. Examples of *da-/ga-*.

(61) Wegwen dash aw ge-gshkitoogwen ji-zhngwaadzig mii aw gbeyhiing ge-bmaadzid, ***da-ntaa-ndawenjge da-nbwaakaa*** miinwaa gwyak ***da-zhi-yaa***.

'And whoever may be able to keep it down he's the one who will live for a long time, ***he'll be a good hunter***, ***he'll be clever*** and ***he'll behave right***.' (AK5.6)

> **Wegwen** *pr dub 3* 'whoever'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ge-gshkitoogwen** *vti ic conj dub 3sProx»0* 'ANsg might be able to do IN'; **ji-zhngwaadzig** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg keeps down'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that one'; **gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **ge-bmaadzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg will live'; **da-ntaa-ndawenjge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be good at hunting'; **da-nbwaakaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be wise'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gwyak** *av* 'straight'; **da-zhi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANSG will be thus.'

(62) Mii maa naa gaa-zhi-debweyendmowaad giw nishnaabeg giishpin waabmad aw baanaabe. Waya ***da-nbo*** maa endaayan.

'That's just as the Indian believed if you see a mermaid. Someone ***will die*** there where you live.' (AK4.11-12)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gaa-zhi-debweyendmowaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANpl believed IN'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **waabmad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you SG see ANsg'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **baanaabe** *na 3sProx* 'mermaid.' **Waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'any'; **da-nbo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will die'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **endaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) where you SG live.'

(63) Bboon maanda gii-aawi mii dash enaad niw ndooshknaweman, "***Nga-nda-waabmaamin*** sa aw waagosh waabang, gchi-gzheb ***nga-maajaamin***.

'This was in winter and he said to my young men, "***We'll go and look for*** this fox tomorrow, ***we'll leave*** very early.' (AK7.2)

> **Bboon** *ni 0s* 'winter'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **gii-aawi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **enaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg spoke to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **ndooshknaweman** *na 1s(3obv)* 'my young man'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **waabang** *av* 'tomorrow'; **gchi-gzheb** *av* 'very early in morning'; **nga-maajaamin** *vai ind 1p* 'we will leave.'

With second persons in particular, future *ga-* often carries a rather clear sense of obligation that aligns it with commands.

(64) Gaa-dgoshnaang odi waa-dzhi-mwizyaang, mii dash ezhid aw kwe, "Giiskan iw ggoodaas, ***gga-goodoon*** dash maa mtigoonsing."

'When we arrived there where we were going to pick berries, this woman said to me, "Take off your dress, ***you are to hang it*** here on a bush."' (AK3.8)

> **Gaa-dgoshnaang** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) when we arrive'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **waa-dzhi-mwizyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) we will pick berries there'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ezhid** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to me'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ggoodaas** *ni 2s(0s)* 'your SG dress'; **gga-goodoon** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you SG will hang IN'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **mtigoonsing** *na 3 loc* 'on bush.'

(65) Mii dash iw gaa-shkwaa-mwizyaang, mii sa ezhig, "Gaawiin ***gga-ni-giiwesii*** noongo."

'And as we had finished berrying, she said to me, "***Don't go on home*** today."' (AK3.10)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-shkwaa-mwizyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) we had finished picking berries'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **ezhig** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to me'; **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **gga-ni-giiwesii** *vai ind 2s* 'you SG will not go home'; **noongo** *av* 'today.'

Some uses of the future suggest alignment with English (DEONTIC) modals such as *should*, and *may*.

(66) ***Nga-nsaa*** na, gnimaa gegoo iw gaawiin geyaabi gegoo ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig.

'***Am I to kill it***, or perhaps do something so that it no longer has any power?'

> **Nga-nsaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will kill ANsg'; **na** *av* 'yes/no q.'; **gnimaa** *av* 'perhaps'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **geyaabi** *av* 'anymore'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig** *vai conj 3sProx neg* '(CONJ) ANsg would not be powerful.' (AK11.19)

(67) Gegoo na ***nga-biidoon***? | '***Shall I bring*** anything?' (MC10.2.)

> **Gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **nga-biidoon** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I will bring INsg.'

The plain conjunct form of *da-/ga-* is *ji-*. It is used with verbs in subordinate clauses calling for future tense, typically the complements of main and subordinate verbs inflected for future tense. The following examples illustrate. See also (61), above.

(68) Ngii-wzhitmaag aw ngashi wshki-goodaas ge-biiskamaan go eta ***ji-wi-namhaayaan***.

'My mother made me a new dress that I would wear only ***when I go to church***.'

> **Ngii-wzhitmaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg made for me'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **wshki-goodaas** *ni 0s* 'new dress'; **ge-biiskamaan** *vti ic conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) that (IN) I will wear IN'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **ji-wi-namhaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I would go to church.' (AK3.2)

(69) Gchi-gzheb nga-maajaa ***ji-wi-daaweyaan*** giw mskomnag miinwaa ***ji-yaamoonaan*** niw mkiznan."

'Very early I'll go and ***I'll sell*** the raspberries and ***I'll buy you*** the shoes."'

> **Gchi-gzheb** *av* 'very early in morning'; **nga-maajaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I will leave'; **ji-wi-daaweyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will go and sell Y'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **mskomnag** *na 3pProx* 'raspberries'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **ji-yaamoonaan** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) I will get for you'; **niw** *pr 0p* 'those'; **mkiznan** *ni 0p* 'shoes.' (AK3.12)

The CHANGED CONJUNCT form of *da-/ga-* is *ge-*. Used with INDICATIVE (NEUTRAL) MODE INFLECTION, it indicates simple futurity, as in the following example.

(70) Gchi-zaaghigan zhonda ***ge-dgog***, mii zhonda ***ge-bi-zhaawaad ge-giigoonykejig***.

'***There will be*** a big lake here, and here ***will come*** those ***who will fish***.' (SO3.35)

> **Gchi-zaaghigan** *ni 0s* 'big lake'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **ge-dgog** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN will be there'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **ge-bi-zhaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl will come'; **ge-giigoonykejig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who will fish.'

(71) "Aahaaw! Wegwendig wedaase enendmogwenh, mii nanda ***ge-daapnaad*** pwaagnan.

'"Okay! Whoever thinks himself a brave, he is the one ***who will take*** this pipe.'

> **Aahaaw** *av* 'okay.' **Wegwendig** *pr dub 3* 'whoever'; **wedaase** *na 3sProx* 'a warrior'; **enendmogwenh** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg might feel so'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **nanda** *pr 3obv* 'this/these'; **ge-daapnaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg will take ANobv'; **pwaagnan** *na 3obv* 'pipe(s).' (SO6.109)

FUTURE RELATIVE TO THE FUTURE. A future relative to some contingent event in the future is expressed by marking the verb in the contingent event with PAST TENSE, and the subsequent event with future.

(72) Baamaa ***gii-bskaabiiyan***, ***ka***-wiisnimi. | 'Later ***when you come back***, we'll eat.'

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **gii-bskaabiiyan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you SG came back'; **ka-wiisnimi** *vai ind 21* 'we will eat.' (DP)

(73) ***Nii***-ni-maajaa ***gii-shkwaa-naawkweg***. | 'I shall leave ***after noon***.' (AM39.509)

> **Nii-ni-maajaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I will set off'; **gii-shkwaa-naawkweg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) when IN became after noon.'

(74) Baamaa ***gii-shkwaa-naagshi-wiisniyaang*** nga-ni-maajaami.

'***After we (exc.) have eaten the evening meal*** we shall leave.' (AM39.510)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **gii-shkwaa-naagshi-wiisniyaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) after we have eaten in the evening'; **nga-ni-maajaami** *vai ind 1p* 'we will leave.'

OVERLAP OF WII- AND DA-/GA-. There is overlap in the usage of these preverbs, at least for some speakers, as can be seen from their interchangeability in some contexts, such as the following, where identical verbs reporting the same event vary in their tense preverb.

(75) Niidgemaagan ***wii-bi-dgoshin*** maampii naangiizhgak, naagshinnig ***da-bi-dgoshin***.

'My wife ***will get here*** on Friday; she ***will get here*** in the evening.' (AM39.115)

> **Niidgemaagan** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my spouse'; **wii-bi-dgoshin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will arrive here'; **maampii** *av* 'here'; **naangiizhgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is Friday'; **naagshinnig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) when INobv is evening'; **da-bi-dgoshin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will arrive here.'

In the following sentences, *waa-* and *ge-* are used interchangeably by the same speaker (Andrew Medler) in the PARTICIPLES *waa-bi-zhaajig*, in (76), and *ge-bi-zhaajig*, in (77), with identical meaning, 'those who will come.'

(76) Kina dash gegoo zhi-wzhiitaawag gonda Fair Company ge-zhi-mno-yaawaad giw ***waa-bi-zhaajig***.

'The Fair Company is doing everything for the convenience of [***those who will come***].' (AM18.4)

> **Kina** *av* 'every'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **zhi-wzhiitaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are thus preparing'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **ge-zhi-mno-yaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl will thus be contented'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **waa-bi-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who ANpl will come here.'

(77) Miinwaa dash kina gegoo wii-baatiinod sa ge-waabndamwaad giw ***ge-bi-zhaajig***.

'Moreover, every sort of thing will be in plenty there for [***those who will come***].'

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'moreover'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **kina** *av* 'every'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'thing'; **wii-baatiinod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg will be abundant'; **ge-waabndamwaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANpl will see IN'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ge-bi-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who ANpl will come.' (AM18.11)

Future preverb *wii-* is also used in a DUBITATIVE construction with MODAL *da-* (one of the conjunct forms of *daa-*).

(78) Endgwen ***da-wii-ndawaabminang***. | 'I wonder ***whether he'll be looking for us (inc.)***.'

> **Endgwen** *av* 'whether'; **da-wii-ndawaabminang** *vta conj 3sProx»21* '(CONJ) ANsg maybe will be looking for us.' (AM39.93)

(79) Endgwen ***da-wii-naadmoonang***. | 'I wonder ***whether he'll help us (inc.)***.'

> **Endgwen** *av* 'whether'; **da-wii-naadmoonang** *vta conj 3sProx»21* '(CONJ) ANsg maybe will help us.' (AM39.626)

These can be contrasted with a past tense form:

(80) Endgwen ***da-gii-waabminang***. | 'I wonder ***whether he has seen us (inc.)***.'

> **Endgwen** *av* 'whether'; **da-gii-waabminang** *vta conj 3sProx»21* '(CONJ) ANsg might have seen us.' (AM39.95)

Note, however, that, corresponding to the forms with *wii-*, above, there are future forms with *ge-* and DUBITATIVE MODE as well:

(81) Endgwen ***ge-bbaa-giiwsegwen***. | 'I wonder ***whether he will go hunting***.'

> **Endgwen** *av* 'whether'; **ge-bbaa-giiwsegwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg might go around hunting.' (AM39.674)

(82) Endgwen ***ge-naadmawwanen***. | 'I wonder ***whether you'll help me***.' (AM39.686)

> **Endgwen** *av* 'whether'; **ge-naadmawwanen** *vta ic conj dub 2s»1s* '(CCNJ) you might help me.'

16.2.4 Modal Preverb Daa-

The MODAL preverb is *daa-*, which expresses a range of meanings related to possibility, necessity, desire and obligation. The range of its meaning can be seen from it normal English translations, which include *could, should, would,* and *might*. The modal shows extreme variation in its independent, plain conjunct, and changed conjunct order forms, respectively *daa-*, *ji-*, and *da-*.

Independent Order	Plain Conjunct	Changed Conjunct
daa-	ji-	ge- + preterit mode
	da-	

The form *daa-* is used in independent order inflections, and precedes all other preverbs. The following examples illustrate its usage.

(83) Aw dash kiwenziinh wgii-naan niw wgwisan, ***Gdaa-nkwetwaa*** iw maanoo ji-zhwenmik.

'The old man said to his son, "***You must accept*** this being's offer to bless you.'

> **Aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **kiwenziinh** *na 3sProx* 'old man'; **wgii-naan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg said to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wgwisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's son(s)'; **Gdaa-nkwetwaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you must accept ANsg'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **maanoo** *av* 'by all means'; **ji-zhwenmik** *vta conj 3sProx»2s* '(CONJ) ANsg bless you SG.' (AM31.12)

(84) ***Ndaa-ni-maajaa*** na gwa? | '***May I go***?' (AM39.3)

> **Ndaa-ni-maajaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I may set off'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed.'

(85) ***Gdaa-naadmoon*** na? | '***Should I help you***?' (AM39.373)

> **Gdaa-naadmoon** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you SG could help me'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question.'

(86) Aapji nbakde, Maanii. Bezhgoognzhii gwa ***ndaa-mwaa***.

'I'm really hungry, Mary. ***I could eat*** a horse.' (ED)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **nbakde** *vai ind 1s* 'I am hungry'; **Maanii** *na 3sProx* 'Mary.' **Bezhgoognzhii** *na 3sProx* 'a horse'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed'; **ndaa-mwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I could eat ANsg.'

The modal preverb can be used with future reference rather like English modals.

(87) Waabang na go n***daa***-bgiz gbe-giizhig? | 'Tomorrow ***can*** I go swimming all day?'

> **Waabang** *av* 'tomorrow'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **ndaa-bgiz** *vai ind 1s* 'I could swim'; **gbe-giizhig** *av* 'all day.' (DP)

The modal preverb is used with past tense preverb *gii-* in the independent order as well, in which case it usually signals unrealized possibility. An associated conditional clause typically has its verb in the PRETERIT mode.

(88) Giishpin wiindmawyamba ***gdaa-gii-naadmoon***.

'If you had told me ***I would have helped you***.' (AM39.697)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **wiindmawyamba** *vta conj pret 2s»1s* '(CONJ) you SG had told me'; **gdaa-gii-naadmoon** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'I would have helped you SG.'

(89) Waawaashkeshi ngii-waabmaa widi megyaak; giishpin yaamaambaa baashkzigan ***ndaa-gii-baashkizwaa.***

'I saw a deer over in the woods. If I had had a gun ***I would have shot it***.'

> **Waawaashkeshi** *na 3sProx* 'deer'; **ngii-waabmaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I saw ANsg'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **megyaak** *av* 'in the woods'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **yaamaambaa** *vti pret 1s»0* '(CONJ) I had had IN'; **baashkzigan** *ni 0s* 'rifle'; **ndaa-gii-baashkzwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I would have shot ANsg.' (AM39.707)

One form of *daa-* used in the plain conjunct is *da-*, used with verbs in subordinate clauses that have time reference subsequent to that of the main verb. In most examples I have, the main verb is a verb of speaking, and the subordinate clause represents indirect speech.

(90) Mii dash gaa-naad aw getzid gaa wiin aw mandaagnini ***da-daapnaasig*** sa sha waa-wiindmaagod.

'And the old person would tell him that ***he should not accept*** that fine gentleman and what he would tell him.' (AM23.12)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **getzid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg who is old'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mandaagnini** *na 3sProx* 'gentleman'; **da-daapnaasig** *vta conj x»3sProx neg* '(CONJ) ANsg should not be accepted'; **waa-wiindmaagod** *vta ic conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANobv will tell ANsg.'

(91) Gye go wgii-ggiikmaan maaba aw e-bgidenmaad nonda sa noosan gii-wiindmawaad gaa wiin ***da-aabnaabsinig*** gaa-bi-wnjibaanid, …

'And he who held the burial rites for my father exhorted him, telling him ***he should not look back*** whence he had come, which he was going until he should arrive at the place to which he was going.' (AM24.7a)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-ggiikmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg exhorted ANobv'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **e-bgidenmaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg held a funeral for ANobv'; **nonda** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **noosan** *nad 1s(3obv)* 'my father'; **gii-wiindmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg told ANobv'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **da-aabnaabsinig** *vai conj 3obv neg* '(CONJ) ANobv should not look back'; **gaa-bi-wnjibaanid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) where ANobv had come from'…

However, *da-* is also used in contexts where we would expect INITIAL CHANGE, such as with a verb containing a RELATIVE ROOT, as in the following examples, both of which have verbs with relative root /iN/.

(92) Ngii-nkwetwaag dash ***da-nankiiyaan*** iw.

'I answered them that ***I would do that kind of work***.' (AM9.19)

> **Ngii-nkwetwaag** *vta ind 1s»3p* 'I answered ANpl'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **da-nankiiyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I would work so'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that.'

(93) Ngii-nkwetwaa dash ***da-zhaayaambaan*** giishpin bgidniwaad giw ngitziimag.

'I answered him ***that I would go*** if my parents permitted me.' (AM9.3)

> **Ngii-nkwetwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I answered ANsg'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **da-zhaayaambaan** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) I would go there'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bgidniwaad** *vta conj 3pProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANpl would let me'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ngitziimag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my parents.'

Possibility in the future is expressed with *ji-*, MODAL, in conjunction with PRETERIT MODE inflection.

(94) Baamaa niigaan wii-aabjitooyaan gye wzhoonyaamsiwaan ***ji-giishpnadooyaambaa*** iw mtig, mii baamaa iw da-giishkwag aw mtig.

'I intend to use it in the future, later on ***I could sell*** that wood if I should run out of money, then later on I shall cut down those trees.' (AM15.14)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future'; **wii-aabjitooyaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I will use IN'; **gye** *av* 'even'; **wzhoonyaamsiwaan** *vai conj 1s neg* '(CONJ) I don't have money'; **ji-giishpnadooyaambaa** *vti conj pret 1s»0* '(CONJ) I would be able to sell IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mtig** *ni 0s* 'wood'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **baamaa** *av* 'later'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that.'

Unrealized possibility in the past is expressed in the conjunct order with *da-*, modal, in conjunction with *gii-*, past tense, and preterit mode inflection.

(95) Aapji gii-zegzi aw sa ngashi wnji iw gii-bzhineyaan ***da-gii-daapneyaambaan.***

'My mother was very frightened because when I fell out of the canoe ***I could have drowned***.' (AM6.11)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **gii-zegzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was frightened'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **wnji** *av* 'on account of'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-bzhineyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I had a close call'; **da-gii-daapneyaambaan** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) I might have drowned.'

(96) Giishpin bwaa-waabmipa mii go ***da-gii-giihgiban.***

'If he had not seen me ***I would have gotten away from him***.' (AM39.698)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bwaa-waabmipa** *vta conj pret 3sProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANsg failed to see me'; **mii** *av* 'well'; **da-gii-giihgiban** *vta conj pret 1s»3sProx* 'I would have gotten away from ANsg.'

Other combinations of preverbal elements occur, such as *ji-wii-*, in which *ji-* is evidently a COMPLEMENTIZER and *wii-* indicates desire.

(97) Ngii-ke-nda-gkenmaag ntam endgwenh ***ji-wii-bbaa-wiijiindiwaad***.

'I wanted to determine first ***whether they were going out with each other***.' (DP)

> **Ngii-ke-nda-gkenmaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I wanted to find out about ANpl'; **ntam** *av* 'first'; **endgwenh** *av* 'whether'; **ji-wii-bbaa-wiijiindiwaad** *vta/vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were with each other.'

MODALITY in the conjunct future is expressed by *ge-*, the CHANGED form of *da-/ga-*, and either PRETERIT mode, as in (98) and (99), below or PRETERIT DUBITATIVE mode inflection, as in (100).

(98) Mii-sh gii-nkweshkwaawaad niw nishnaaben mii dash enaawaad, "Bkwezhgan na gdayaawaa ***ge-shamyaangban***."

'And then they met this Indian and they said to him, "Do you have any bread ***that you might give us to eat?***"' (AK7.12)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-nkweshkwaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl met ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s)'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **enaawaad** *vta ic conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANpl said to ANobv'; **Bkwezhgan** *na 3sProx* 'bread'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gdayaawaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'do you SG have ANsg'; **ge-shamyaangban** *vta ic conj pret 2s»1p* '(CCNJ) you SG will feed us.'

(99) Baamaa pii dash gii-wiindmawid, "Mii sa ji-gkendman ezhi-yaamgak iw shpi-dbik bbaa-yaayaan, naangodnong gegoo gwaabndaan ***ge-waabndazwamban*** iw go naa noongo epiitziyan."

'Later on she said to me, "So you can know what it's like if you're out late at night, sometimes you see something ***that you shouldn't see*** now at your age."'

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-wiindmawid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg told me'; **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bbaa-yaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(SUF) I was around'; **naangodnong** *av* 'sometimes'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **gwaabndaan** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you SG see it'; **ge-waabndazwamban** *vti ic conj pret 2s»0 neg* '(CCNJ) you SG shouldn't see IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **noongo** *av* 'now'; **epiitziyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG are such an age.' (AK8.12)

(100) Aanii-sh mii sa giiwenh egod: "Giishpin wii-miizhyaang giwi ggwisag, giin go gdaa-wenaabnjige zhonda wene go naa ***ge-wiidgemaawdibnen***.

'They said to her, "If you give us your sons, you may choose whoever here ***that you might want to marry***."'

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **egod** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANobv said to ANsg'; **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ggwisag** *nad 2s(3pProx)* 'your sons'; **giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **gdaa-wenaabnjige** *vai ind 2s* 'you can choose'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **wene** *pr inter 3* 'who'; **ge-wiidgemaawdibnen** *vta ic conj pdub 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) you might marry ANsg.' (SO2.4)

16.2.5 Expressing Obligation

Related to MODALITY is OBLIGATION, which is commonly expressed in Nishnaabemwin by means of adverbial constructions. There are several adverbs for this function, including *ndawaa* (also *ndawaaj*), *aabdig* (also *aabdeg*), and *booch* (also *pooch, pooj*). *Ndawaa* expresses a range of obligation, and is glossed by Rhodes 1985:286 as 'after all, might as well, necessarily, changing one's mind'; *aabdig* (also *aabdeg*) and *booch* both express strong obligation, the former glossed by Rhodes 1985:2 as 'absolutely, necessarily' and the latter as 'sure, must.' All three adverbs typically precede the verbs they modify. The following are examples of *ndawaa*.

(101) ***Ndawaa*** baamaa gga-biindaakwemi. | 'We (incl.) shall ***have to*** smoke later on.'

> **Ndawaa** *av* 'have to'; **baamaa** *av* 'later'; **gga-biindaakwemi** *vai ind 21* 'we will smoke tobacco.' (AM39.46)

(102) Mii dash ***ndawaa*** gii-giiwewaad. | 'Then they were ***compelled*** to go home.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **ndawaa** *av* 'have to'; **gii-giiwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl went home.' (AM4.8)

Examples of *aabdig* (*aabdeg*). Verbs associated with this adverb are usually FUTURE TENSE.

(103) Aambe gshkozin, ngwiiwzens. ***Aabdeg*** gwii-o-skooniw.

'Okay, get up my son. You ***have to*** go to school.' (ED)

> **Aambe** *av* 'hey'; **gshkozin** *vai imp 2s* 'wake up!'; **ngwiiwzens** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my boy.'

(104) ***Aabdig*** go ngii-yaanan mzinhignan wii-skoonwiyaanh.

'***I had to*** have the books to go to school.' (FF2.9)

> **Aabdig** *av* 'necessarily'; **ngii-yaanan** *vti ind 1s»0p* 'I had to have INpl'; **mzinhignan** *ni 0p* 'books'; **wii-skoonwiyaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will go to school.'

(105) Ji-bwaa-nso-dbahganek ***aabdeg*** gwii-giizhiitaami ennakiiying.

'We (incl.) ***have to*** finish working before three o'clock.' (MC)

> **Ji-bwaa-nso-dbahganek** *vii conj 0* 'before IN be three o'clock'; **aabdeg** *av* 'necessarily'; **gwii-giizhiitaami** *vai ind 21* 'we will finish'; **ennakiiying** *vai ic conj 21* '(CCNJ) we work so.'

The adverb *aabdeg* can be used with past tense, but usually in a context of future or unrealized action, as in the following sentence, where *gii-zhaawag*, 'ANpl went,' is past, but both *wii-boozchigewaad*, 'ANpl intend to do mailing,' and *wii-disgowaad*, 'ANpl intend to receive IN,' are both future. See also (104), above.

(106) ***Aabdeg*** oodenaang ***gii-zhaawag*** go Nishnaabeg ***wii-boozchigewaad***, maage maajiibiihgan ***wii-disgowaad***.

'It ***was necessary*** for people ***to go*** to town ***if they wanted to mail something***, or ***if they wanted to receive*** a letter.' (RN)

> **Aabdeg** *av* 'necessarily'; **oodenaang** *ni 0 loc* 'to town'; **gii-zhaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl went there'; **go nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **wii-boozchigewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl wanted to do mailing'; **maage** *av* 'or'; **maajiibiihgan** *ni 0s* 'letter'; **wii-disgowaad** *vta conj 0s»3pProx* '(CONJ) IN encountered ANpl.'

As with many adverbs, *aabdeg* can function predicatively, which results in associated verbs showing conjunct order inflection.

(107) Mii dash gii-bi-zhaad aw zhaagnaash mii-sh gaa-naad niw mdimooyenyan, "***Aabdeg*** sa ji-gkinoohmaagzid aw gwiiwzens."

'And this white man (Indian agent) came and he said to the old lady, "***It's imperative*** that that boy go to school."' (AK13.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bi-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg came hither there'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **zhaagnaash** *na 3sProx* 'white person'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **mdimooyenyan** *na 3obv* 'old woman/women'; **Aabdeg** *av* 'necessarily'; **ji-gkinoohmaagzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg should be in school'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy.'

The adverb *booch* (also *pooj, pooch*), too, generally requires a verb inflected for future tense.

(108) ***Pooj nwii-wi-daapnaa*** my mother-in-law.

'***I have to go pick up*** my mother-in-law.' (Rhodes 1985:525)

> **Pooj** *av* 'necessarily'; **nwii-wi-daapnaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will go pick up ANsg.'

(109) A: Giishpin oodetooyin, wewiib go bi-zhi-giiwen, bi-wiidookwishin biinchigeyaan pii. B: Iiyoo! ***Booch*** na ***gwii-biinchigemin***? A: Aaniish go? ***Booch*** niin go naa.

'A: If you go to town, come back quickly, and help me clean up then. B: Oh! ***Do we have to clean up***? A: Well of course! I mean to say! (LM)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **oodetooyin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you SG go to town'; **wewiib** *av* 'quickly'; **bi-zhi-giiwen** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) come home!'; **bi-wiidookwishin** *vta imp 2s»1s* '(you SG) come help me'; **biinchigeyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I clean up'; **pii** *av* 'then'; **Iiyoo** *av* 'oh!'; **Booch** *av* 'necessarily'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gwii-biinchigemin** *vai ind 21* 'we will clean up'; **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **Booch** *av* 'necessarily'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **go naa** *av* 'indeed.'

16.2.6 Expressing Desires and Wishes (Optatives)

Desire and intent are expressed by means of the future preverb *wii–*, which is often called a VOLUNTATIVE, and preverb *nda–*, 'want to, seek to.'

(110) Aapji ***nii***-damin gegoo. | 'I really ***want*** to play with something.' (DP)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **nii-damin** *vaio ind 1s* 'I want to play (with Y)'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something.'

(111) Gaawii ngii-gkendnziin iidig paa-***nda***-wiisniwaad giwi pinii-mnidoonshensag.

'I didn't know that the potato bugs ***wanted*** to eat.' (DP)

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **ngii-gkendnziin** *vti ind neg 1s»0s* 'I did not know INsg'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **paa-nda-wiisniwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl seek to eat'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **pinii-mnidoonshensag** *na 3pProx* 'potato bugs.'

Specific TRANSITIVE VERBS of wanting exist as well, such as *ndawenim*, 'want AN,' and *ndawendan*, 'want IN.'

(112) Aanii-sh gaa-zhichgeyaan, aanii-sh ***ezhi-ndawendman*** ji-zhichgeyaan?

'What shall I do, ***what do you want*** me to do?' (AK11.17)

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'what then'; **gaa-zhichgeyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) that which I do'; **ezhi-ndawendman** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you SG thus want IN'; **ji-zhichgeyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will do.'

(113) ***Gnandwenim*** na ji-nsag? | '***Do you want me*** to kill him?' (AK11.18)

> **Gnandwenim** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you SG want of me'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **ji-nsag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I will kill ANsg.'

One way to express wishes and hopes is with the OPTATIVE adverb *(a)mbegish*, 'one hopes [that]..., one wishes [that...],' used with verbs inflected with the plain conjunct.

(114) ***Mbegish*** ndawaa bbaa-giiwsed. | '***I wish*** he would go out and hunt.' (AM39.496)

> **Mbegish** *av* 'hopefully'; **ndawaa** *av* 'changing mind'; **bbaa-giiwsed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg go around hunting.'

16.2.7 Expressing Habituality

Habitual activity is expressed by means of the adverb *ko* (also *kwa*), 'customarily, generally, often,' and with the preverb *ntaa-*, 'be good at, often, customarily.'

(115) Aaniish ***ko*** pii mail e-biijgaadeg? | 'When is the mail ***usually*** brought?' (MC20.19)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ko** *av* 'usually'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **e-biijgaadeg** *vti/ii ic conj pass 0* '(CCNJ) that IN is brought.'

(116) Ngwetaani-niiskendam ***ko*** maanda ***wiikaa*** zgaknanzwin.

'I'm terribly irritated that you ***never*** put this away.' (MC22.9)

> **Ngwetaani-niiskendam** *vai ind 1s* 'I'm terribly irritated'; **ko** *av* 'frequency'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **wiikaa** *av* 'never'; **zgaknanzwin** *vti conj neg 2s»0* '(CONJ) you SG do not put IN away.'

(117) Gegii gsha ***ko*** gdoo-mnjiw. Miinwaa gdoo-***ntaa***-naadmaw.

'You too treat (sponsor) me ***often***. And you ***often*** help me.' (MC15.5)

> **Gegii** *pr pers 2s* 'as for you SG'; **gsha** *av* 'indeed'; **ko** *av* 'habitually'; **gdoo-mnjiw** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you treat me (i.e., pay for me).' **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gdoo-ntaa-naadmaw** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you habitually help me.'

With past tense, *ko* (*kwa*) is rather like English "used to," that is, constitutes a past habitual activity that is no longer in effect.

(118) N***gii***-wa-nbwaach'aa ***kwa***. | 'I ***used to*** go and visit him.' (AM39.253)

> **Ngii-wa-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I went and visited ANsg'; **kwa** *av* 'used to.'

16.2.8 Directional Preverbs as Time Markers

Many of the directional preverbs take on a secondary sense relating to the time of an action relative to the time of speaking, or some other reference point. The directional preverb *ni-*, for example, specifies something that happens subsequent to the time of speaking or some reference point, roughly translating as 'in the future course of time,' as can be seen from the following examples:

(119) Mii aw kwezens ntaawgid mii aw gimaa pii iw enaad, "Mii sa noongo ji-gkinoohmoonaan iw sa ge-***ni***-naadziyan niigaan.

'When a girl is grown the chief at that time says to her, "Now I would instruct you about the way you're going to live ***in the future***."' (AK6.1)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwezens** *na 3sProx* 'young woman'; **ntaawgid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg grows up'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'chief'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **enaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg spoke to ANobv'; **Mii** *av* 'so'; **noongo** *av* 'now'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ge-ni-naadziyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you will live so'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future.'

(120) Mii iw maanda ge-***ni***-nendaagok ji-***ni***-bmaadziyan niigaan.

'This is the way ***it will seem*** when you ***live in the future***.' (AK6.6)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **ge-ni-nendaagok** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN will seem'; **ji-ni-bmaadziyan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you SG will live'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future.'

Rhodes suggests that *bi-* has the tense-related meaning 'in the past' and cites the example of *gaa-bi-bmiseg*, 'last week.' In this sense *bi-* customarily appears with a past tense preverb, *gii-* or the SUBORDINATOR *gaa-*, which is identical in form to the initial-changed past tense preverb. The use of the preverb *bi-* seems to be especially associated with predications that begin in the past but have relevance to the present, or to give an explicit sense of the passage of time in the relationship between the present and past event referred to.

(121) Mii maanda gaa-zhiwebak zhaazhi go sa ***gii-bi***-mkadekewaad giw Nishnaabeg.

'That is the way it was of old when those Indians ***fasted in the hither course of time***.' (AM23.20)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **gaa-zhiwebak** *vii conj 0* '(CCNJ) that (IN) happened'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **gii-bi-mkadekewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) when ANpl fasted in the hither course of time'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians.'

(122) Pane oodi ***bi-dgo*** nahii wiingash.

'It's always (***from then until now***) ***been/grown*** there, uhm, sweetgrass.' (MC)

> **Pane** *av* 'always'; **oodi** *av* 'there'; **bi-dgo** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is there to this time'; **nahii** *pr paus 0s* 'that uh...'; **wiingash** *ni 0s* 'sweetgrass.'

See also examples (343), (p. 848) and (376), (p. 857), below.

The directional *bmi-*, 'along, by,' can be used to indicate continuity through time, as in the following example:

(123) Gaawiin gii-baatiin'siiwag gnimaa go naa ngodwaasmidna gii-dchidgenag bezhig iw ***gaa-bmi-dnizwaad***.

'There were not many, perhaps sixty formed a group where ***they dwelled in one place over time***.' (AK9.3)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **gii-baatiin'siiwag** *vai ind 3pProx neg* 'ANpl were not many in number'; **gnimaa** *av* 'probably'; **ngodwaasmidna** *nm* 'sixty'; **gii-dchidgenag** *vai ind dub 3pProx* 'ANpl might have been in number'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaa-bmi-dnizwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl lived there over time.'

It is also used to mean 'get around to...,' 'along the way...,' or 'in the course of time.' Mary Ann Corbiere notes (p.c.) 'it seems to be used to indicate that there's a schedule, albeit an informal one—doing this, then that, then that, and not getting to that other thing as one works through the sequence of tasks or activities, or not leaving one of the activities—getting hung up on something else perhaps.' The following examples illustrate.

(124) Gaa naash ngii-bmi-maajtaasii. | 'I never got around to starting.' (MC)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **naash** *av* 'emphatic (**naa + dash**)'; **ngii-bmi-maajtaasii** *vai ind neg 1s* 'I didn't get around to starting.'

(125) «Dibii iidik maanpii biindik gii-bmi-ni-bgidnamwaanenh wi.»

'I don't know where in here I might have gone and put it.' (of s.t. misplaced)

> **Dibii iidig** *av phr* 'wherever'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **biindik** *av* 'inside'; **gii-bmi-ni-bgidnamwaanenh** *vti conj dub 1s»0* 'I might have gone along and put IN'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that.' (MC)

16.3 Aspectual Verbs and Preverbs

Specific ASPECTUAL verbs exist in Nishnaabemwin, many capable of taking SENTENCE-COMPLEMENTS, focusing on the beginning and end of a verbal action or event. Aspect is a grammatical concept that relates to how verbal events are cast, for example, whether they are viewed as entirely completed or in process, or whether there is a focus on their beginning or ending. Aspectual verbs in Nishnaabemwin include *maajtaa*, 'begin [doing something],' *webtaa*, 'start [doing something],' *boontaa*, 'finish, complete,' *giizhiitaa*, 'finish [doing something],' and *shkwaataa*, 'finish [an activity].' The verbs *boontaa* and *shkwaataa* are most commonly used without complements, with the meaning, 'finish an activity, finish working.' Many of these roots occur as roots in other verbs as well, such as *maaddemo*, 'start to cry' VAI, and *boonenim*, 'forget about AN' [lit., stop thinking about AN] VTA. The root /maad/ appears to be much more common and productive than /boon/]. The root /ishkwaa/ appears in a few adverbs, such as *shkwaayaaj*, 'at the end, the last time' (W) and *shkwaayhiing*, 'behind.' All five roots occur in derived preverb forms, *maajii-*, 'begin,' *booni-*, 'stop, cease,' *giizhi-*, 'finish,' and *shkwaa-*, 'finish, complete, after,' and *webi-*, 'begin.' Some examples of these verbs and preverbs follow.

(126) Mii-sh ***maajii-ndawaabmad*** wenzhishid e-gwyakwaakzid mdaamin, pii dash go ge-ni-zhaayan naangim go odi yekwaayan.

'Then ***you start looking for*** the good kind of corn standing straight, and then you go on until you come to the end there.' (AK6.3)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **maajii-ndawaabmad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you SG start looking for ANsg'; **wenzhishid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg which is good'; **e-gwyakwaakzid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg which stands straight'; **mdaamin** *na 3sProx* 'corn'; **pii** *av* 'until'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ge-ni-zhaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you will go there'; **naangim** *av* 'until'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **yekwaayan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you're at the end.'

(127) Mii dash wi ***ji-maajtaayaan*** [ji-dbaajmag Niibaakhom].

'***I*** will now ***begin*** [to tell the story of Nibakom].' (SO6.7)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ji-maajtaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will start'; **ji-dbaajmag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I will relate of ANsg'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Nibakom.'

(128) Mii maa naa pii iw ***gaa-maadseg*** iw treaty, gaa-wnji-miinndwaa niw zhoonyaan.

'That was the time when the treaty ***started***, that's why they were given those coins.' (AK10.10)

Mii *av* 'and'; **maa** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-maadseg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN started'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wnji-miinndwaa** *vta ic conj x»3pProx* '(CCNJ) why ANpl were given Y'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhoon'yaan** *na 3obv* 'money.'

(129) ***Maajjiwan*** nbiish; aa wiiba giiwenh go naa, mii aazhi zaaghigan gmaa go nigkogamaag.

'The water ***started to flow***, and, in a short time, had grown into a fair-sized lake.'

Maajjiwan *vii ind 0s* 'INsg starts to flow'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water'; **aa** *av* 'well'; **wiiba** *av* 'soon'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **aazhi** *av* 'already'; **zaaghigan** *ni 0s* 'lake'; **gmaa** *av* 'indeed'; **go nigkogamaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN was a body of water of such size.' (SO3.48)

(130) Ngii-***booni***-zhooshkwaademin. | 'We (excl.) ***stopped*** skating.' (W, R82)

Ngii-booni-zhooshkwaademin *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl) stopped skating.'

(131) Miinwaa dash gnabaj besho ***ji-boontaayaang***.

'But I daresay the time is near when ***we shall stop working***.' (AM11.7)

Miinwaa *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gnabaj** *av* 'perhaps'; **besho** *av* 'near'; **ji-boontaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we will cease.'

(132) Mii dash maa ***gii-boonendmaan***. | 'So then ***I dismissed it from my mind***.'

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **maa** *av* 'then'; **gii-boonendmaan** *vti conj 1s»0* 'I stopped thinking about IN.' (AM3.8)

(133) Ngii-***giizhi***-dbahaan gaa-mzinhamaanh. | 'I paid ***off*** what I charged.' (W)

Ngii-giizhi-dbahaan *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I paid off IN'; **gaa-mzinhamaanh** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) IN which I obtained on credit.' (Rhodes 1985.162)

Several verbs are formed with root /giizh/, 'finish,' including *giizhiitaa*, 'finish [doing something], be finished' VAI, *giizhiitaa* 'finish (of activities)' VII, *giizhtaa*, 'be finished [doing something], be ready' VAI, *giizhtaah*, 'finish AN' VTA, *giizhtaatoon*, 'finish IN' VTI, and *giizhtoon* 'finish IN' VTI. The root also occurs in others words, such as *giizhzo*, 'be finished boiling' VAI, *giizhzaw*, 'finish boiling AN,' VTA and *giizhzan*, 'finish boiling IN' VTI.

(134) Noongo ggizheb ngii-wiindmaagoomi iw pii iidig sa waa-gaagiiweyaang ji-***giizhiitaayaang*** [iw sa mnik waa-nankiiyaang].

'This morning we were told when we should all go home, ***having finished*** [the amount of work which we were to do].' (AM13.1)

Noongo *av* 'today'; **ggizheb** *av* 'in the morning'; **ngii-wiindmaagoomi** *vta ind x»1p* 'we were told'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **waa-gaagiiweyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) when we will go home'; **ji-giizhiitaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we will finish'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mnik** *av* 'as much as'; **waa-nankiiyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) we will work thus.'

(135) ***Gaa-giizhtood*** dash mii ***gii-webi-mkadeked*** aw shkinwe.

'***When he had finished it***, then the young man ***began his fast***.' (AM31.2)

Gaa-giizhtood *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg had finished IN'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-webi-mkadeked** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg started to fast'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **shkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man.'

(136) Mii go aazhi gwa ***webi-gmiwang***. | 'Then it ***started to rain***.' (AM39.486)

Mii *av* 'and'; **aazhi** *av* 'now'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed'; **webi-gmiwang** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN begins to rain.'

(137) Mii dash ***gaa-shkwaa-waabndankaajganewaad***, mii dash gchi-mookmaanii-kiwewin Niibaakhom gii-niisaabiignang.

'And so, ***after they had examined*** everything, Nibakom then lowered the American flag.' (SO6.181)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-shkwaa-waabndankaajganewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) after ANpl had examined thoroughly'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gchi-mookmaanii-kiwewin** *ni 0s* 'American flag'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **gii-niisaabiignang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg lowered IN.'

(138) Aaniish naa gaa-nankiiyin jiinaago ***e-shkwaa-skoonwing***?

'What did you (sg.) do yesterday ***after school***?' (IT)

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **gaa-nankiiyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG worked so'; **jiinaago** *av* 'yesterday'; **e-shkwaa-skoonwing** *vai ic conj x* '(CCNJ) after one finishes school.'

OTHER ASPECTUAL PREVERBS. There is a rather open-ended group of PREVERBS that carry semi-ASPECTUAL meaning. These include, among others, *aazhoo-*, 'next' (of periods of time), *gji-*, 'try,' *kawe-*, 'first, in the process of,' *noonde-*, 'before a goal is reached; fail in the process,' *piichi-*, 'in process of, while,' *shki-*, 'first,' and *shkwaa-*, 'after.' A few illustrative examples follow.

(139) Miinwaa dash ***e-aazhoo-dbikak*** gii-bi-yaa aw waawaabmowin.

'[***The next night***] that Mirror Being came again.' (AM31.14)

Miinwaa *av* 'again'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **e-aazhoo-dbikak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN be next night'; **gii-bi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg came here'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **waawaabmowin** *na 3sProx* 'mirror.'

(140) ***Gji***-mjimendan, shkwaaj gii-naabjikaaziyimba?

'***Try to*** remember, where was the last place you (sg.) used it?' (MO)

Gji-mjimendan *vti imp 2s»0* 'try to remember IN'; **shkwaaj** *av* 'last'; **gii-naabjikaaziyimba** *vaio conj pret 2s»(y)* '(CONJ) when you used (Y).'

(141) ***Gii-kawe-nnaamdabi*** zhiwi bkekna.

'***So he stopped and sat down for awhile*** there by the side of the road.' (FF3.19)

Gii-kawe-nnaamdabi *vai redup ind 3sProx* 'ANsg stopped along the way and sat for awhile'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **bkekna** *av* 'by side of road.'

(142) ***Piichi-giiwnaajbatoowaanh*** dash, mii maaba nimshish gii-gchi-dkomid.

'***While I was running around crazily***, this dog bit me.' (IT)

Piichi-giiwnaajbatoowaanh *av* '(CONJ) while I was running around crazily'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **nimshish** *na pej 3sProx* 'worthless dog'; **gii-gchi-dkomid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANsg bit me.'

(143) Enh, nminjmendaan go pii ***eshki***-waabmag.

'Yeah, I remember that ***first time*** I saw her.' (DP)

Enh *av* 'yes'; **nminjmendaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I remember INsg'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **eshki-waabmag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) when I first saw ANsg.'

(144) Baamaa waabang ***gii-shkwaa-daaweyaan*** giw mskomnag.

'Wait till tomorrow ***after I finish selling*** the raspberries.' (AK3.11)

Baamaa *av* 'later'; **waabang** *av* 'tomorrow'; **gii-shkwaa-daaweyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) after I've finished selling'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **mskomnag** *na 3pProx* 'raspberries.'

The following sentences are from a humorous dialogue in which a mother exhorts her son to marry a woman he's been seeing. The mother's use of *noonde-*, 'before the goal is reached,' as a rhetorical foil is particularly striking.

(145) Gaawii nishinznoo nishaa wii-bimi-wiijiiwad wa kwe, gchi-zhaazhi eko-ngadenmad. ***Ka-noonde-kiyenziinyiw*** jibwaa-bmi-wiidgemaagniyin.

'It's not right to just fool around with this woman, you've known her for a long time. ***You'll be an old man*** before you get married.' (DP)

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **nishinznoo** *vii ind neg 0s* 'INsg is not good'; **nishaa** *av* 'casually'; **wii-bmi-wiijiiwad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you SG go on going with ANsg'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **gchi-zhaazhi** *av* 'very long already'; **eko-ngadenmad** *vta ic conj 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) such extent you SG have known ANsg.' **Ka-noonde-kiyenziinyiw** *vai ind 2s* 'you SG will be an old man before goal is reached'; **ji-bwaa-bmi-wiidgemaagniyin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) yet you SG not have a spouse in the course of time.'

(146) ***Nga-noonde-nib*** sa go nongo ji-bwaa-waabmagwaa nooshenyig.

'***I'll be dead before*** I see my grandchildren.' (DP)

> **Nga-noonde-nib** *vai ind 1s* 'I will die before goal is reached'; **go nongo** *av* 'now'; **ji-bwaa-waabmagwaa** *vta conj 1s»3pProx* '(CONJ) yet not I see ANpl'; **nooshenyig** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my grandchildren.'

(147) ***Gga-noonde-gmoodmigoo*** sa nongo wa kwe, mii enji-ninaanh wii-ggwejmad wewiip.

'***Someone's going to steal*** that woman ***from you***, that's why I'm telling you to ask her fast.' (DP)

> **Gga-noonde-gmoodmigoo** *vta pass ind x»2s* 'you SG will have AN stolen before goal is reached'; **nongo** *av* 'now'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **enji-ninaanh** *vta ic conj 1s»2s* '(CCNJ) source of I say to you SG'; **wii-ggwejmad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you SG will ask ANsg'; **wewiip** *av* right away.'

16.4 Verb Mode

Three inflectionally marked ASPECTUAL-EVIDENTIAL MODES exist in Nishnaabemwin, the PRETERIT, the DUBITATIVE, and the PRETERIT DUBITATIVE (also called DUBITATIVE PRETERIT). The absence of mode inflection is usually taken to represent another, unmarked, INDICATIVE (or NEUTRAL) mode. There are two parameters of variation in the mode system, one preterit, and the other dubitative. Preterit mode is prototypically used to indicate verbal action that has reached a point of completion prior to some reference point, usually the moment of speaking (the same orientational point as used for present tense). Dubitative mode indicates doubt, uncertainty, or conjecture. The interaction of these two parameters

produce the four modes of Nishnaabemwin verbs, as summarized in the following chart.

	- dubitative	+ dubitative
- preterit	indicative	dubitative
+ preterit	preterit	preterit dubitative

The dubitative modes are discussed in Section 16.9.2, Dubitative Mode, beginning on page 832, below. Here I will only present a few examples of the preterit.

(148) "Mewnzha ***gii-nboban*** aw gookmis, ggii-ngadmaag iw wiigwaam."

'"Your grandmother ***died*** a long time ago, she left you her house."' (AK13.27)

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **gii-nboban** *vai ind pret 3sProx* 'ANsg died'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gookmis** *na 2s(3sProx)* 'your grandmother'; **ggii-ngadmaag** *vta ind 3sProx»2s* 'ANsg left Y for you SG'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wiigwaam** *ni 0s* 'house.'

(149) … wgii-gkendmawaawaan maa naa iw sa niibwa go gegoo bmiwdoonid mii-sh gii-nsaawaad niw miinwaa gii-mkamaawaad iw ***bemwidoonpan***.

'…they knew that they were carrying lots of things, they killed them and took away ***what they had been carrying***.' (AK10.11)

> **wgii-gkendmawaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl knew Y about ANobv'; **maa** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **niibwa** *av* 'lots'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **bmiwdoonid** *vti conj 3obv»0* '(CONJ) ANobv carried IN'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl killed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gii-mkamaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl robbed ANobv of Y'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bemwidoonpan** *vti ic conj part pret 3obv»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANobv carried IN.'

In the following example, future tense preverb *wii-* is used with preterit mode to indicate an unfulfilled plan.

(150) Gegoo ***nii-giishpnadoonaaban*** daawewgamgong, zaam dash wiikaa ngii-ni-dgoshin, aazhi dash gii-gbaakhigaadegban daawewgamig.

'***I was going to buy*** something from the store, but I got there too late, and the store was already closed.' (AM39.622)

> **Gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **nii-giishpnadoonaaban** *vti ind pret 1s»0s* 'I had wanted to buy INsg'; **daawewgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'at the store'; **zaam** *av* 'too'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **wiikaa** *av* 'late'; **ngii-ni-dgoshin** *vai ind 1s* 'I arrived there'; **aazhi** *av* 'already'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-gbaakhigaadegban** *vii ind pdub 0s* 'INsg had been closed'; **daawewgamig** *ni 0s* 'store.'

16.5 The Iterative

Periodic activities can be marked with ITERATIVE verbal inflection, a suffix /-in/ (often lacking the final /n/ in Odawa) that occurs in final suffix position. Verbs inflected for iterative are conjunct order and also show initial change. See also the VII examples on p. 264.

(151) Aapji dash go niibna wzagkinaanaawaa iw mnoomin gonda Nishnaabeg ***degwaagnigin*** zgaknamwaad iw mnoomin….

'These Indians collected very much rice, collecting it ***whenever it is autumn***…'

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **go niibna** *av* 'much'; **wzagkinaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0* 'ANpl store INsg'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'rice'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **degwaagnigin** *vii ic conj 0 iter* '(CCNJ) whenever IN is autumn'; **zgaknamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl store IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'rice' (AM6.12)

(152) Waya ***yaakzijin*** mii go gii-mdoodoohind maa mdoodoowgamgong. Gye go mii go mno-bmaadzid sa ***gaa-shkwaa-mdoodoojin***.

'***Whenever anyone fell ill*** he was given a steam bath there in the sweating lodge. Then he would be well, when[ever] he had taken the steam bath.' (AM21.21-22)

> **Waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **yaakzijin** *vai ic conj 3sProx iter* '(CCNJ) whenever ANsg was ill'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-mdoodoohind** *vta conj x»3sProx* 'ANsg was given a sweat bath'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **mdoodoowgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'into the sweat lodge.' **Gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **mno-bmaadzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was well'; **gaa-shkwaa-mdoodoojin** *vai ic conj 3sProx iter* '(CCNJ) whenever ANsg finished taking a sweat bath.'

Another way to indicate iteration of actions and events is with RELATIVE PREVERB *dso-*, 'so many times,' as in the following example.

(153) ***Endso-dgoshing*** wnichiiwhigoon niw ninwan.

'***Every time he comes*** that man scolds him.' (AM39.603)

> **Endso-dgoshing** *vai ic conj 3sProx* 'every time ANsg arrives'; **wnichiiwhigoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv scolds ANsg'; **niw** *pr dem 3obv* 'that/those'; **ninwan** *na 3obv* 'man/men.'

Repetition is also expressed by means of REDUPLICATION (see Chapter 17, p.908ff.).

16.6 Expressions of Specific Time

In this section we examine many ways to make reference to units of time such as hours, days, weeks, months and years.

EXPRESSING THE HOUR AND DURATIONS OF HOURS. Expressions of hourly time are straightforward, being formed by means of the VII measurement verb *dbahgned*, 'be such hour.' (All examples in this section, from MC)

(154) Aanii-sh endso-dbahganeg? | 'What time is it?'

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **endso-dbahganeg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is so many units.'

(155) ***Ngo***-dbahgned. | 'It's ***one*** o'clock.'

> **Ngo-dbahgned** *vii ind nis* 'IN is one o'clock.'

(156) ***Niizho***-dbahganed. | 'It's ***two*** o'clock.'

(157) ***Nso***-dbahganed. | 'It's ***three*** o'clock.'

(158) ***Mdaaso***-dbahganed. | 'It's ***ten*** o'clock.'

(159) ***Mdaaswi-shi-bezhig nso***-dbahganed. | 'It's ***eleven*** o'clock.'

(160) Naawkwe. | 'It's twelve o'clock noon.'

> **Naawkwe** *vii ind nis* 'INsg is noon.'

(161) Aabtaa-dbikad. | 'It's midnight.'

> **Aabtaa-dbikad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is midnight.'

(162) Naawkwe-shi-aabta. | 'It's twelve thirty in the afternoon.'

> **Naawkwe-shi-aabta** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is noon and one/half.'

(163) Mdaaswi-shi-naano-dbahgaans shkwaa-ngo-dbahganeg. | 'It's a quarter past one.'

> **Mdaaswi-shi-naano-dbahgaans** *ni 0s* 'fifteen minutes'; **shkwaa-ngo-dbahganeg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is after one o'clock.'

(164) Ngodwaaso-dbahgaans shkwaa-ngo-dbahganeg. | 'It's six minutes after one.'

> **Ngodwaaso-dbahgaans** *ni* 'six minutes'; **shkwaa-ngo-dbahganeg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is after one o'clock.'

(165) Nso-dbahgaans ji-bwaa-niizho-dbahganeg. | 'It's three minutes till two o'clock.

> **Nso-dbahgaans** *ni 0s* 'three minutes'; **ji-bwaa-niizho-dbahganeg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is before two o'clock.'

The following examples illustrate the use of specific hour expressions, which typically show initial change, in running sentences. (all examples, MC)

(166) ***E-niizho-dbahganeg*** ngii-waabmaa nini. | 'I saw the man ***at two o'clock***.'

> **E-niizho-dbahganeg** *vii conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was two o'clock'; **ngii-waabmaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I saw ANsg'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man.'

(167) ***Naazho-dbahganeg*** ngii-waabmaa nini. | 'I saw the man ***at two o'clock***.'

> **Naazho-dbahganeg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was two o'clock'; **ngii-waabmaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I saw ANsg'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man.'

(168) ***Naazho-dbahganeg e-shkwaa-aabtaa-dbikak*** ngii-waabmaa nini.

'I saw the man ***at two o'clock in the morning***.'

> **Naazho-dbahganeg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was two o'clock';
> **e-shkwaa-aabtaa-dbikak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was after midnight';
> **ngii-waabmaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I saw ANsg'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man.'

(169) ***Niizho-dbahganeg noongo shkwaa-naawkweg*** gga-maajaami.

'We'll leave ***at two o'clock this afternoon***.'

> **Niizho-dbahganeg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be two o'clock'; **noongo** *av* 'today';
> **shkwaa-naawkweg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be after noon'; **gga-maajaami** *vai ind 21* 'we will set off.'

The following sentences illustrate the use of hour expressions to express duration. Note that the terms for hour, *dbahgiiswaan*, and minute, *dbahgaans*, are invariant in combination with numbers, to express durations. (all examples, MC)

(170) ***Nshwaaso-dbahgiiswaan*** gii-nakii nini. | 'The man worked ***for eight hours***.'

> **Nshwaaso-dbahgiiswaan** *ni 0s* 'eight hours'; **gii-nakii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg worked';
> **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man.'

(171) ***Mdaaswi-shi-naano-dbahgaans*** gii-yaa gwiiwzens.

'The boy was here ***for fifteen minutes***.'

> **Mdaaswi-shi-naano-dbahgaans** *ni 0s* 'fifteen minutes'; **gii-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was at'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy.'

(172) ***Aabta-dbahgaans*** ngii-ndaahaagmahaan nboob.| 'I stirred the soup ***for half a minute***.'

> **Aabta-dbahgaans** *ni 0s* 'half-minute'; **ngii-ndaahaagmahaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I stirred INsg'; **nboob** *ni 0s* 'soup.'

(173) ***Niimdana nso-dbahgaans*** gii-jaagde waaskonenjgaans.

'The candle burned ***for forty minutes***.'

> **Niimdana** *nm* 'forty'; **nso-dbahgaans** *ni 0s* 'so many minutes'; **gii-jaagde** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg burned'; **waaskonenjgaans** *ni 0s* 'candle.'

(174) ***Aabta-dbahgiiswaan*** gii-jaagde waaskonenjgaans.

'The candle burned ***for half an hour***.'

> **Aabta-dbahgiiswaan** *ni 0s* 'half an hour'; **gii-jaagde** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg burned';
> **waaskonenjgaans** *ni 0s* 'candle.'

(175) ***Eni-niizho-dbahgiiswaan*** gii-maajaa kwe. | 'The woman left ***after two hours***.'

> **Eni-niizho-dbahgiiswaan** *ni 0s* 'when after two hours'; **gii-maajaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg left'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman.'

(176) ***Niizho-dbahgiiswaan ji-bwaa-maajaayaanh*** gii-maajaa kwe.

'The woman left ***two hours before I did***.'

> **Niizho-dbahgiiswaan** *ni 0s* 'two hours'; **ji-bwaa-maajaayaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) before I left'; **gii-maajaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg left'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman.'

(177) ***Niizho-dbahgiiswaan e-shkwaa-maajaayaan*** gii-maajaa kwe.

'The woman left ***two hours after I did***.'

> **Niizho-dbahgiiswaan** *ni 0s* 'two hours'; **e-shkwaa-maajaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) after I had left'; **gii-maajaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg left'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman.'

The following sentences represent examples of substantive questions of temporal duration (all examples, MC).

(178) ***Aanii-sh piichi-gbeyhiing*** gaa-nakiiyin? | '***How long*** did you work?'

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **piichi-gbeyhiing** *av* 'such length of time'; **gaa-nakiiyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG worked.'

(179) ***Aanii-sh mnik nso-dbahgiiswaan*** gaa-nakiiyin?

'***How many hours*** did you (sg.) work?'

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **nso-dbahgiiswaan** *ni 0* 'number of hours'; **gaa-nakiiyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG worked.'

(180) ***Aanii-sh mnik nso-dbahgaans*** ge-mnazmangba waawnoon?

'***How many minutes*** should we (incl.) cook the egg?'

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **nso-dbahgaans** *ni 0s* 'number of minutes'; **ge-mnazmangba** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you SG will cook IN'; **waawnoon** *ni 0p* 'eggs.'

(181) ***Aanii-sh mnik seconds*** gaa-nesesig?

'***How many seconds*** did s/he hold her/his breath?'

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **gaa-nesesig** *vai ic conj neg 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg did not breathe.'

EXPRESSING THE DAYS OF THE WEEK. There are two forms for most days of the week, an inanimate intransitive (impersonal) verb form, and an inanimate noun form, which is usually derived from the associated verb. Noun forms tend to be preferred in some locales, such as Walpole, while verb forms are more common elsewhere. The following charts lay out the verb and noun forms in use for days of the week. Many days have more than one form.

Verb Forms for Days of the Week		
Monday	Shkwaa-namhe-giizhgad	'after-praying day'
Tuesday	Niizh-giizhgad	'day two'
Wednesday	Nso-giizhgad	'day three'
	Zoozep-giizhgad (M)	'Joseph-day'
	Aabtawyihiiwan (W)	'midway'
Thursday	Aabtawyihiiwan (W)	'midway'
Friday	Jiibaatgo-giizhgad (M)	'cross day'
	Naano-giizhgad	'day five'
Saturday	Maanii-giizhgad (M)	'Mary-day
Sunday	Namhe-giizhgad	'praying day'

Nouns Forms for Days of the Week		
Monday	Ntam-giizhgad (Od)	first day
Tuesday	Niizhoo-giizhgad (W)	day two
Wednesday	Nswi-giizhgad (Od)	day three
Thursday	Aabtawewang (W)	halfway
Friday	Naan(oo)-giizhgad (W)	day five
Saturday	Ngodwaasoo-giizhgad	day six
	Zaatewang (W)	Saturday
Sunday	Namhewgiizhgad	pray-day

Some speakers freely use the English terms for days of the week, evidently attached to the VII VERB OF BEING final /-wan/, as in *Mondaywan*, *Tuesdaywan*. Rhodes 1985 classes similar words with final /g/ as inanimate nouns, *Zaatewang*, 'Saturday' (NI, W), as listed

above. Examples of usage of days of the week follow.

(182) Aaniish ezhgiizhgak? | 'What day of the week is it?' (MC)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ezhgiizhgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is such day.'

(183) Mii dash ngoding ***enmahe-giizhgak*** wgii-bi-ndawaabmaan aw kwe niw wdaansan odi namhewgamgong.

'Then one time ***when it was Sunday*** a woman came there to the church to look for her daughter.' (AK3.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ngoding** *av* 'once'; **enmahe-giizhgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN be Sunday'; **wgii-bi-ndawaabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg came to look for ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdaansan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's daughter'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **namhewgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'in the church.'

(184) Niidgemaagan wii-bi-dgoshin maampii ***naangiizhgak***, naagshinnig da-bi-dgoshin.

'My wife will get here ***on Friday***; she will get here in the evening.' (AM39.515)

> **Niidgemaagan** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my spouse'; **wii-bi-dgoshin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will arrive here'; **maampii** *av* 'here'; **naangiizhgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is Friday'; **naagshinnig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) when INobv is evening'; **da-bi-dgoshin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will arrive here.'

(185) «Giishpin nongo megwaa e-bmiseg wii-bi-giigdayin, waabang (Spin'ganwang) shkwaa-9:00 biinish ngoji 2:00-shi-aabta nga-yaa oodi skoon'gamgoong ndoo-office-ing.»

'If you want to call this week, tomorrow (Thursday) after 9 until about 2:30 I'll be in my office at school.' (MC)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **nongo** *av* 'now'; **megwaa** *av* 'during'; **e-bmiseg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is a week'; **wii-bi-giigdayin** *vta conj 2s»1s* '(CONJ) you want to call me'; **waabang** *av* 'tomorrow'; **Spin'ganwang** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is Thursday'; **shkwaa-** av 'after'; **biinish** *av* 'until'; **ngoji** *av* 'sometime'; **2:00-shi-aabta** *av* 'half-past two'; **nga-yaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I will be (in location); **oodi** *av* 'there'; **skoon'gamgoong** *ni 0 loc* 'at school' **ndoo-office-ing** *ni poss 1s(0) loc* 'in my office.'

EXPRESSING THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR. The months of the year take their names from fish, berries, and seasonal events associated with the time of year in which the month falls.

Traditionally months were reckoned according to a lunar system, judged by the waxing and waning of the moon. The following table lays out the months of the year as set forth in Rhodes 1985.[1]

Nishnaabemwin	English	Note
Nmebini-Giizis nmebin 'sucker'	Sucker Month	Originally the first month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after December 27th in those places that have a sucker run during that time. (W, BC)
Mko-Giizis mkwa 'bear'	Bear Month	Originally the second month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after January 25
Naabani-Giizis naabanad 'be crust on snow'	Crust-on-Snow Month	Originally the second month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after January 25 (W, BC)
Ziisbaakdoke-Giizis ziisbaakdoke 'make sugar'	Sugaring Month	Originally the third month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after February 26th (W, BC)
Nmebni-Giizis	Sucker Month	Originally the fourth month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after March 25 in those places that have a sucker run then. (BC)
Waawaasgone-Giizis waawaasgone 'flower' (Od)	Flower Month	Originally the fourth month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after March 25. (W, CL, BC)
Gtige-Giizis gtige 'do planting, garden'	Planting Month	Originally the fifth month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after April 24. (W, BC)
Dehmin-Giizis dehmin 'strawberry'	Strawberry Month	Originally the sixth month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after May 23 (W, BC)
Miin-Giizis miinan 'blueberries'	Blueberry Month	Originally the seventh month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after June 22 (W, BC)
Datgaagmin-Giizis datgaagmin 'black-berry'	Blackberry Month	Originally the eighth month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after July 20 (W, BC)
Mdaamin-Giizis mdaamin 'corn'	Corn Month	Originally the ninth month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after August 18 (W, CL, BC)

Nishnaabemwin	English	Note
Bnaakwii-Giizis bnaakwii 'leaves fall'	Falling Leaves Month	Originally the tenth month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after September 17 (BC)
Bnaakwe-Giizis	Falling Leaves Month	Originally the tenth month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after September 17 (W).
Gshkadin-Giizis gshkadin 'freeze over'	Freeze-up Month	Originally the eleventh month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after October 16 (W, BC)
Gchi-bboon Giizis gchi- 'great, big' bboon 'winter'	Big-winter Month	Originally the twelfth month of the Ojibwe year, starting at the first new moon after November 15. (W, BC)
Shki-Biboon Giizisoons shki- 'new' bboon 'winter' giizsoons 'little month'	New-winter Monthlet	Originally the leap month of the Ojibwe year, used if there is a new moon after Gchi-iboon-giizis before December 27th. (W, BC)

EXPRESSING THE YEAR. The year is not usually expressed in Nishnaabemwin, though it can be, as in the following example.

(186) Mii wi gii-zhiwebdagbanen ***mdaaswaak-shi-nshwaaswaak miinwaa mdaaswi-shi-niizh***.

'It probably occurred ***in the year 1812***.' (SO6.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-zhiwebdagbanen** *vii conj pdub 0* '(CONJ) when IN allegedly happened'; **mdaaswaak-shi-nshwaaswaak** *nm* 'eighteen hundred'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **mdaaswi-shi-niizh** *nm* 'twelve.'

More often the year date is expressed with English.

(187) Aaniish pii gaa-ndaadziyin? | 'What year were you born?' (MC)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **gaa-ndaadziyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG were born.'

1. W (Walpole Island, Ontario), BC (Bay City, Michigan), and CL (Curve Lake, Ontario) are abbreviations for Ojibwe-speaking communities where the forms specified were attested (Rhodes 1985).

(188) ***1975*** ngii-ndaadiz. | 'I was born in ***1975***.' (MC)

> **ngii-ndaadiz** *vai ind 1s* 'I was born.'

EXPRESSING THE MONTH. The month is expressed on Manitoulin Island using the English term and the VII verb of being, *aawan*. This usage is particularly interesting in that the months were traditionally of animate gender. As borrowed terms, however, the names of the months are often grammatically inanimate, though not invariably, as I have also heard *maaba October*, 'this (an.) October.'

(189) June aawan. | 'It's June.' (MC)

> **aawan** *vii ind 0s* 'INSG is.'

(190) March ngii-bwaachhaa ngwis. | 'I visited my son in March.' (MC)

> **ngii-bwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I visited ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

Andrew Medler used a more traditional strategy for expressing the month, using *agoozi*, 'hang,' in reference to the appearance and phase of the moon. In this usage, the names of the months are animate.

(191) Pii dash menookmig, ***Ziisbaakdoke-giizis e-goojing***, gii-gsinaamgad.

'Then when the spring was at hand, ***when the Sugar-Making moon (i.e., March) hung aloft***, there was cold weather.' (AM10.2)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **menookmig** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when spring came'; **Ziisbaakdoke-giizis** *na 3sProx* '(month of) March'; **e-goojing** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg was hanging'; **gii-gsinaamgad** *vii ind 0* 'the weather was cold.'

EXPRESSING THE DAY OF THE MONTH. The day of the month is expressed by means of a verb of date, which has a number initial and the final complex, /-gonagizi/, 'be so many days old' (VAI). The date is expressed in this way because traditionally the month was cast in lunar terms, with each day being a function of the number of days "old" that a given new moon was. There are special VAI verbs used for the first and last day of the month, respectively *maadgiza* (or *maadgizo*), 'be the first day of the month,' with root /maad-/, 'begin' and *shkwaagza* (or *shkwaagzo*), 'be the last day of the month,' with root /shkwaa-/, 'after, last.' Both of these forms have a VAI final complex /-agi(n)zo/, 'be counted.'

(192) Nongo ***maadgiza***. | 'Today ***is the first of the month***.' (MC)

> **Nongo** *av* 'today'; **maadgiza** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is starting day (of month).'

(193) ***Niizhgon'gizi*** nongo. | 'Today ***is the second of the month***.' (MC)

| **Niizhgon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is two days old'; **nongo** *av* 'today.'

(194) ***Mdaasgon'gizi*** nongo. | 'Today ***is the tenth of the month***.' (MC)

(195) ***Mdaaswi-shi-niizhgon'gizi*** nongo. | 'Today ***is the twelfth of the month***.' (MC)

(196) ***Niizhtana nsognagzi*** nongo. | 'Today ***is the twentieth of the month***.' (MC)

| **Niizhtana** *nm* 'twenty'; **nsognagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is so many days old'; **nongo** *av* 'today.'

(197) ***Niizhtana-shi-niizhgon'gizi*** nongo. | 'Today ***is the twenty-second of the month***.'

| **Niizhtana-shi-niizhgon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is twenty two days old'; **nongo** *av* 'today.'

(198) ***Nsimdana nsognagzi*** nongo. | 'Today ***is the thirtieth of the month***.' (MC)

| **Nsimdana** *nm* 'thirty'; **nsognagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is thirty days old'; **nongo** *av* 'today.'

(199) ***Shkwaagzo*** nongo. | 'Today ***is the last day of the month***.' (MC)

| **Shkwaagzo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is the last'; **nongo** *av* 'today.'

Another verb expressing the last day of the month is *shkwaayaasge*, VAI, 'be the end of a month'

The following sentences provide additional examples of various date expressions.

(200) Aaniish ensognagzid (nongo)? | 'What's the date (today)?' (MC)

| **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ensognagzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg is so many days old'; **nongo** *av* 'today.'

(201) Mdaaswi-shi-niishzwaaswi nongo nsognagzi June. | 'Today is June seventeenth.'

| **Mdaaswi-shi-niizhwaaswi** *nm* 'seventeen'; **nongo** *av* 'today'; **nsognagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is so many days old.' (MC)

(202) Aaniish pii gaa-niibwiyeg? | 'When were you (pl.) married?' (MC)

| **Aaniish pii** *av* 'when'; **gaa-niibwiyeg** *vai ic conj 2p* '(CCNJ) you (pl) married.'

(203) E-mdaaswi-shi-niiwgon'gizid October ngii-niibwimi.

'We were married on the fourteenth of October.' (MC)

| **E-mdaaswi-shi-niiwgon'gizid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg was 14 days old'; **ngii-niibwimi** *vai ind 1p* 'we married.'

(204) Aaniish pii e-dbishkaayin? | 'What day is your birthday?' (MC)

| **Aaniish pii** *av* 'when'; **e-dbishkaayin** *vai ic vai 2s* '(CCNJ) when you SG have a birthday.'

(205) Niizhtana-shi-zhaangsognagzid May ndibshkaa.

'My birthday is the twenty-ninth of May.' (MC)

| **Niizhtana-shi-zhaangsognagzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is 29 days old'; **ndibshkaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I have my birthday.'

RELATIVE DATE EXPRESSIONS. Specific constructions exist to allow the expression of months, weeks, and days relative to the moment of speaking. The following charts provide the formulas.

Expressing Months Ago			
eko-	number	giisagak	
eko-	ngo-giisagak		'last month'
eko-	niizh-giisagak		'two months ago'

(206) ***Nongo maanda ngo-giizis e-ni-bmiseg*** nwii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I'm going to visit my son ***this month*** (lit., this one month coming up).' (MC)

| **Nongo** *av* 'today'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **ngo-giizis** *ni 0s* 'one month'; **e-ni-bmiseg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN passes'; **nwii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will visit ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(207) ***Eko-ngo-giisagak*** ngii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I visited my son ***last month*** (lit., a month ago).' (MC)

| **Eko-ngo-giisagak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was extent of one month'; **ngii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I visited ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(208) ***Eko-niizh-giisagak*** ngii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I visited my son ***the month before last***.' (MC)

Eko-niizh-giisagak *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was two months in extent'; **ngii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I visited ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(209) ***Eko-niizh-namhe-giizhgak*** ngii-bwaachhaa ngwis.

'I visited my son ***the week before last***.' (MC)

Eko-niizh-namhe-giizhgak *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was two weeks ago'; **ngii-bwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I visited ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

Expressing Months Ahead			
ni-	number	giisagak	
ni-	ngo-giisagak		'next month'
ni-	niizh-giisagak		'two months from now'

(210) ***Ni-ngo-giisagak*** nwii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I'm going to visit my son ***next month*** (lit., in a month's time).' (MC)

Ni-ngo-giisagak *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be one month'; **nwii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will visit ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(211) ***Ni-niizh-giisagak*** nga-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I will visit my son ***the month after next***.' (MC)

Ni-niizh-giisagak *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be ahead two months'; **nga-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will visit ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

The same system is used for weeks ago and weeks before, using *namhe-giizhgak*, 'be Sunday' (VII) as the expression for week. Weeks are reckoned in terms of a cycle demarcated by Sundays.

(212) ***Eko-ngo-namhe-giizhgak*** ngii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I visited my son ***last week***.' (MC)

Eko-ngo-namhe-giizhgak *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN be one week ago'; **ngii-bwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I visited ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(213) ***Ni-ngo-namhe-giizhgak*** nwii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I'm going to visit my son ***next week***.' (MC)

Ni-ngo-namhe-giizhgak *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) one week ahead'; **nwii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will visit ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(214) ***Maanda ngo-namhe-giizhgak waa-ni-bmiseg*** nwii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I'm going to visit my son ***this week***.' (MC)

Maanda *pr 0s* 'this'; **ngo-namhe-giizhgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be one week'; **waa-ni-bmiseg** *vii ic conj 0* 'next week'; **nwii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will visit ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(215) ***Ni-niizh-namhe-giizhgak*** nga-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I will visit my son ***the week after next***.' (MC)

Ni-niizh-namhe-giizhgak *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be two weeks ahead'; **nga-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will visit ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

Andrew Medler uses a slightly different system for expressing weeks ahead, using RELATIVE ADVERB *nji*, 'from,' rather similarly to English 'a week from now.'

(216) Noongo giizhgak ndibaajim aazhi besho wii-yaamwaad iw fair maa Waabow Island ***ngo-namhe-giizhig noongo nji***.

'Today I am telling about the fair they are going to hold very soon now on Walpole Island, ***a week from today***.' (AM16.2)

Noongo *av* 'now'; **giizhgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) it is day'; **ndibaajim** *vai ind 1s* 'I tell the news'; **aazhi** *av* 'already'; **besho** *av* 'soon'; **wii-yaamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will have IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ngo-namhe-giizhig** *ni 0s* 'one Sunday (week)'; **noongo** *av* 'today'; **nji** *av* 'from.'

(217) ***Ngo-namhe-giizhgak noongo maanda giizhgak*** mii wii-webkamgak.

'***A week from today*** is when it will begin.' (AM18.3)

Ngo-namhe-giizhgak *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be one week'; **noongo** *av* 'today'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **giizhgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) it is day'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **wii-webkamgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN will begin.'

Medler also used a different system for expressing 'last week' and 'next week,' using demonstrative adverb *wedi*, 'over there,' and VII verb *bmise*, 'pass (of weeks),' with the directional preverb *bi-*, 'toward' and past tense for 'last week,' and directional preverb *ni-*, 'away,' and future tense for 'next week.'

(218) ***Wedi gaa-bi-bmiseg*** ngii-giiwe widi Walpole Island gaa-bi-wnjibaayaan.

'***This last week*** I went home to Walpole Island where I come from.' (AM11.2)

> **Wedi** *ni 0* 'over there'; **gaa-bi-bmiseg** *vii ic conj 0 part* '(CCNJ) which IN passed'; **ngii-giiwe** *vai ind 1s* 'I went home'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **gaa-bi-wnjibaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I come from.'

(219) ***Wedi waa-ni-bmiseg*** mii iw fair wii-yaamwaad giw Nishnaabeg maa Waabow Island.

'***Next week*** the Indians on Walpole Island are going to hold a fair.' (AM17.1)

> **Wedi** *ni 0* 'that over there'; **waa-ni-bmiseg** *vii ic conj 0* 'IN will pass'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wii-yaamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will have IN'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **maa** *av* 'there.'

The expression of "years ago" and "years ahead" uses a slightly different strategy from those outlined above. The term for year is modeled on *bboon*, 'winter.' The term for 'last year' is *bboonong*, and the year before uses *wasi-*, 'one beyond,' *wasi-bboonong*, 'the year before last year.' To express one year beyond, *gchi-was-bboonong*, 'the year before the year before last,' is used (see following section for discussion of these relative temporal terms). For years in the future, *ni-* is used with *ngo-bboon'gad*, 'be one year' VII.

(220) ***Bboonong*** ngii-nbwaachhaa ngwis. | 'I visited my son ***last year***.' (MC)

> **Bboonong** *av* 'last winter'; **ngii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I visited ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(221) ***Ni-ngo-bboon'gak*** nwii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I'm going to visit my son ***next year***.' (MC)

> **Ni-ngo-bboon'gak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is coming year'; **nwii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will visit ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(222) ***Nongo maanda ngo-bboon e-ni-bmiseg*** nwii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I'm going to visit my son ***this year***.' (MC)

> **Nongo** *av* 'today'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **e-ni-bmiseg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN passes'; **nwii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will visit ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(223) ***Wasi-bboonong*** ngii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I visited my son ***the year before last***.' (MC)

> **Wasi-bboonong** *av* 'year before last'; **ngii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I visited ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(224) ***Ni-niizho-bboon'gak*** nwii-nbwaachhaa ngwis.

'I will visit my son ***the year after next***.' (MC)

> **Ni-niizho-bboon'gak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is two years ahead'; **nwii-nbwaachhaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will visit ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

EXPRESSING DAYS RELATIVE. Distinct expressions exist for yesterday, today, and tomorrow. The day after tomorrow is expressed by adding *was-*, 'beyond,' to *waabang*, 'tomorrow,' *was-waabang*. The day after the day after tomorrow can be expressed by adding *gchi-*, 'great,' to *was-waabang*, and days beyond that by repeating *gchi-*, though, obviously, in practice this is not common. An analogous pattern exists for days before, using what appears to be a reduced form of adverb *jiinaagwa*, 'yesterday.' The following chart lays out these forms.

waabang	'tomorrow'
was-waabang	'the day after tomorrow'
gchi-was-waabang	'the day after the day after tomorrow'
gchi-gchi-was-waabang	'the day after the day after the day after tomorrow'

jiinaago	'yesterday'
was-naago	'the day before yesterday'
gchi-was-naago	'the day before the day before yesterday'
gchi-gchi-was-naago	'the day before the day before the day before yesterday'

Some examples of the usage of various temporal adverbials.

(225) ***Jiinaago*** ngii-waabmaa ngwis. | 'I saw my son ***yesterday***.' (MC)

> **Jiinaago** *av* 'yesterday'; **ngii-waabmaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I saw ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(226) ***Nongo*** nwii-waabmaa ngwis. | 'I'm going to see my son ***today***.' (MC)

> **Nongo** *av* 'today'; **nwii-waabmaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will see ANsg'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(227) Aa! Mii sa giizhiitaayang, mii go ***was-waabang*** wii-maajaayang.

'Okay! We are all prepared, and we'll leave ***on the day after tomorrow***.'

> **Aa** *av* 'okay'; **Mii** *av* 'so'; **giizhiitaayang** *vai conj 21* '(CONJ) we are finished'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **was-waabang** *av* 'the day after tomorrow'; **wii-maajaayang** *vai conj 21* '(CONJ) we will leave.' (SO6.102)

There is also a verbal expression for the next day, based on VII verb *waaban*, 'be dawn.'

(228) ***Miinwaa gaa-waabang*** eshkam gii-aabwaa.

'***The next day*** the weather was warmer.' (AM10.18)

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'next'; **gaa-waabang** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN was morning'; **eshkam** *av* 'gradually'; **gii-aabwaa** *vii ind 0* 'the weather was warm.'

DURATIONS AND EXTENTS OF SPECIFIC UNITS OF TIME. Durations of time are often expressed with numbers associated with temporal nouns.

(229) ***Ngo-bboon*** ngii-yaa widi. | 'I was there ***for one year***.' (AM39.11)

> **Ngo-bboon** *ni temp* 'one year'; **ngii-yaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I was there'; **widi** *av* 'over there.'

(230) ***Nso-bboon*** ngii-gkinoohmaagoz. | 'I have had ***three years'*** schooling.' (AM39.22)

> **Nso-bboon** *ni temp* 'three years'; **ngii-gkinoohmaagoz** *vai ind 1s* 'I was in school.'

(231) ***Nshwaasmidna dso-bboon*** gii-bmaadzi. | 'He lived ***eighty years***.' (AM39.99)

> **Nshwaasmidna** *nm* 'seventy'; **dso-bboon** *ni temp* 'so many years'; **gii-bmaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg lived.'

(232) ***Nso-bboon shkwaaj*** maanpii gaa-***ko***-nakiid ngwis.

'My son hasn't worked here ***for three years***.' (MC)

> **Nso-bboon** *ni temp* 'three years'; **shkwaaj** *av* 'last'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **gaa-ko-nakiid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) since ANsg worked'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.'

(233) ***Nso-giizis*** gii-nakii maanpii ngwis. | 'My son worked here ***for three months***.'

> **Nso-giizis** *ni* 'three months; **gii-nakii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg worked'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son.' (MC)

(234) Bangii gii-dbahmawaawag miinwaa aapji-sh gii-wyezhmaawag, giishpin nsogon nokiid mii enaad aw zhaagnaash, "Gaawiin ***nsogon*** ggii-nokiisii, mii go eta ***niizhgon***."

'They were paid little and they were much taken advantage of, if he works three days the white man tells him, "You didn't work ***three days***, it's only ***two days***."' (AK17.13)

> **Bangii** *av* 'a little'; **gii-dbahmawaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were paid'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gii-wyezhmaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were cheated'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **nsogon** *av* 'three days'; **nokiid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg work'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **enaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **zhaagnaash** *na 3sProx* 'white person'; **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **nsogon** *av* 'three days'; **ggii-nokiisii** *vai ind 2s neg* 'you SG did not work'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **niizhgon** *av* 'two days.'

(235) Nwaj giiwenh gbeyhiing gii-ndendi wa; ***ngo-naawkweg*** gii-ndendi.

'He was gone for a much longer time; he was away for ***a full half-day***.' (SO5.66)

> **Nwaj** *av* 'more'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **gii-ndendi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was away'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **ngo-naawkweg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is one noon'; **gii-ndendi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was away.'

(236) ***Ngo-naawkwe*** nga-dzhitaa ***waabang***, mii go naawkweg gchi-waakaahgan ji-biingeshkmaan.

'It will take me ***half a day tomorrow***, and at noon I will enter the fort.' (SO6.151)

> **Ngo-naawkwe** *ni 0s* 'one noon'; **nga-dzhitaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I will be busy'; **waabang** *av* 'tomorrow'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **go naawkweg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) it is noon'; **gchi-waakaahgan** *ni 0s* 'fort'; **ji-biingeshkmaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I will enter IN.'

There are also specific numeric verbs dealing with such concepts as 'days absent,' or 'be an X number of years.'

(237) ***Gii-niizhgonendi-sh*** giiwenh wa. | 'He was ***gone for two full days***.' (SO5.70)

> **Gii-niizhgonendi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was absent two days'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this.'

(238) Mii-sh go iidig zhiwi ***gaa-nji-nso-bboon'gadnig***. 'So he stayed there ***for three years***.'

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **gaa-nji-nso-bboon'gadnig** *vii ic 0obv* '(CCNJ) INobv be from three years.' (FF4.16)

PARTS OF THE DAY. A variety of preverb, adverbial, and verbal expressions exist to designate the parts of the day, or activities related to specific parts of the day. The table below illustrates a few such expressions

Expressions for Parts of the Day		
mskwaaban	vii	'be the red glow of dawn'
waaban	vii	'be dawn, be day'
ggizhebaawgad	vii	'be morning'
ggizhebaa-wiisni	vai	'eat breakfast'
ggizhebaawii	vai	'get up early'
gchi-gizheb	av	'very early in the morning'
ggizheb, gizheb	av	'in the morning'
zhebaa	av	'this past morning'
naawkwe	vii	'be noon'
naawkwe-wiisni	vai	'eat the noon meal'
naawkweyaagmiingwe	vai	'have one's eyes be in a noonday state'
noongo(m) naawkwe	av+vii	'this noon'
shkwaa-naawkwe	vii	'be afternoon'
noongo(m) shkwaa-naawkweg	av+vii	'this afternoon'
naagshi	vii	'be evening'
naagshi-wiisni	vai	'eat the evening meal, eat supper'
noongo(m) naagshig	av+vii	'this evening'
dbikad	vii	'be night'
niibaa-dbik	av	'during the night'
aabtaa-dbik	av	'the middle of the night; at midnight'

(239) "Bjiinag go bi-bepeshaabang, ***bi-mskwaabang***, mii ji-baabiibaagndamaan," wgii-naan sa giiwenh.

> '"As soon as the streaks of light appear, ***as soon as the red glow of dawn shows***, I will shout," he said to them.' (SO6.155)

> **Bjiinag** *av* 'shortly'; **bi-bepeshaabang** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be streaks of light at dawn'; **bi-mskwaabang** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be red light of dawn'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **ji-baabiibaagndamaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I will scream at INsg'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly.'

(240) Mii go ***waabang*** go ji-maajaayang. | 'We will leave ***at dawn***.' (SO6.25)

> **Mii** *av* 'so'; **waabang** *av* 'tomorrow'; **ji-maajaayang** *vai conj 21* '(CONJ) we (incl) will leave.'

(241) Nga-bi-zhaami wadi ***gchi-gizheb***, nga-bi-nsaanaanig. (SO2.9)

> 'We will come over there ***very early in the morning***, we'll come kill them.'

> **Nga-bi-zhaami** *vai ind 1p* 'we will come'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **gchi-gizheb** *av* 'early in the morning'; **nga-bi-nsaanaanig** *vta ind 1p»3p* 'we will come kill ANpl'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those.'

(242) Ngoding go naa naabyaanh ***aabtaa-dbikad***.

> 'The next thing I know I look up and ***it's midnight***.' (FF2.5)

> **Ngoding** *av* 'once'; **naabyaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I look'; **aabtaa-dbikad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is midnight.'

SEASONS. There are terms for four seasons in Nishnaabemwin, as well as specialized vocabulary pertaining to particular seasons.

Terms Relating to Seasons		
bboon	vii	'be winter'
bboon'shi	vai	'over-winter; spend winter'
mnookmi	vii	'be springtime'
niibin	vii	'be summertime'
niibin	av	'in the summer'
dgwaagi	vii	'be autumn'
dgwaagshi	vai	'over-autumn; spend autumn'

(243) Gye aanind ***beboongin*** giiwsewag. | 'And some ***in winter*** go hunting.' (AM15.6)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **aanind** *av* 'some'; **beboongin** *vii ic conj 0 iter* '(CCNJ) whenever it is winter'; **giiwsewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl hunt.'

(244) Gii-nsaawaad niw nmegsan gii-zhiiwtaagnawaawaad wii-aabjihaawaad iw ***bboon***.

'They killed fish and salted them for use ***in the winter***.' (AK4.2)

> **Gii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl killed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **nmegsan** *na 3obv* 'trout'; **gii-zhiiwtaagnawaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl salted ANobv'; **wii-aabjihaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl will use ANobv'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bboon** *ni 0s* 'winter.'

(245) Gsinaamgad ***bboong***. | 'It is cold ***in winter***.' (AM39.531)

> **Gsinaamgad** *vii ind 0* 'INsg is cold weather'; **bboong** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is winter.'

(246) Mii dash gii-dagoshinowaad i'iw zaaga'igan gaye ogii-makaanaawaa iidog i'iw ***gaa-dazhi-dagwaagishid*** a'aw Anishinaabe.

'And when they arrived at that lake, they evidently found ***where*** that Indian ***had spent autumn***.' (GM6.11)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'when'; **gii-dagoshinowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl arrived'; **ihiw** *prnt 0s* 'that'; **zaagahigan** *ni 0s* 'lake'; **gaye** *av* 'and'; **ogii-makaanaawaa** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANpl found INsg'; **iidog** *av* 'it seems'; **ihiw** *prnt 0s* 'that'; **gaa-dazhi-dagwaagishid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) there ANpl would spend fall'; **a'aw** *prnt 3sProx* 'that'; **Anishinaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian.'

There are also specific adverbial forms to refer to the previous season.

Terms for Previous Seasons		
bboonong	av	'last winter'
mnookming	av	'last spring'
ziignong	av	'last spring'
niibnong	av	'last summer'
dgwaagong	av	'last fall'

EXPRESSING 'EVERY'. The concept of 'every' is expressed with *endso-* in conjunction with either a temporal adverb (or noun), such as *ggizheb*, 'morning,' or a verb. *Endso-* is the changed form of relative preverb *dso-*, 'so many,' so verbs having it as a preverb are always

inflected for conjunct order. The following three sentences illustrate uses with temporal adverbs/nouns and verbs.

(247) Mii-sh ***endso-aabta-bboon*** mii gii-miinndwaa iw zhoon'yaa, ***endso-ngo-bboongak*** gii-miinaawag iw bagoowyaan, …

'Then ***every six months*** they were given that money and ***every year*** they were given that cloth, …' (AK10.8)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **endso-aabta-bboon** *av/ni* 'every half year'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-miinndwaa** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money'; **endso-ngo-bboon'gak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is one year'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given Y'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bagoowyaan** *ni 0s* 'cloth.'

(248) Mii dash pii gii-yaawaawaad niw binoojiinyan ***endso-niizho-bboon'gak*** mii-sh gii-nbowaad giw binoojiinyag.

'And when they had the children, ***every two years***, those children died.' (AK11.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'that time'; **gii-yaawaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl had ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren)'; **endso-niizho-bboon'gak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) every IN be two years'; **mii-sh** *av* 'but then'; **gii-nbowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl died'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children.'

(249) ***Endso-waabminang*** maaba kwe gbaaphignaan.

'***Every time*** this woman sees us (inc.) she laughs at us.' (AM39.606)

> **Endso-waabminang** *vta ic conj 3s»21* '(CCNJ) every time ANsg sees us (INCL)'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **gbaaphignaan** *vta ind 3sProx»21* 'ANsg laughs at us .'

EXPRESSING THE NUMBER OF TIMES. One way of querying the number of times that something is done is with the expression *mnik dching*, 'so many times.'

(250) Aaniish ko ***mnik dching*** mBill e-waabmad enso-giizis?

'How ***many times*** a month do you see Bill?' (MC)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ko** *av* 'habitually'; **mnik** *av* 'amount'; **dching** *av* 'so many times'; **mBill** *na 3sProx* 'Bill'; **e-waabmad** *vta ic conj 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) you SG see ANsg'; **enso-giizis** *na 3sProx* 'every month.'

16.7 Expressing Time with Temporal Adverbs

GENERAL TEMPORAL ADVERBS. Many distinctly temporal adverbs exist to express durations of time. A lengthy list is provided in Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1, page 139. Here I present a few examples. As can readily be seen, such adverbs are very frequently initial in their clauses, though they can also be preceded by more strictly initial adverbs such as *gaa(wiin)*, 'not,' as in (256), below.

(251) ***Gbeyhii*** gii-bbaa-nendi. | 'He was out ***a long time***.' (AM39.107)

> **Gbeyhii** *av* 'for a long time'; **gii-bbaa-nendi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was away going about.'

(252) ***Gbeyhiing*** dash gii-bmaadzi miinwaa wgii-wiidookwaan wiiji-bmaadzi.

'***For a long time*** he lived and he helped his fellow man.' (AK5.8)

> **Gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bmaadzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg lived'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **wgii-wiidookwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg helped ANobv'; **wiiji-bmaadzi** *na 3sProx* 'ANsg's fellow human.'

(253) ***Jina*** dash eta teni maa shkodeng. | 'Only ***for a short time*** is it there in the fire.'

> **Jina** *av* 'a short time'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **teni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv is put'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **shkodeng** *ni 0 loc* 'in the fire.' (AM25.8)

(254) ***Ngoding*** giiwenh ***naagshig*** oodetoo. | '***One evening*** he went to town.' (FF4.22)

> **Ngoding** *av* 'once'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **naagshig** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is evening'; **oodetoo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg goes to town.'

Universality of time is expressed with the adverb *pane*, 'always,' and opposite concept, 'never,' with a verb inflected for negative and the adverb *wiikaa*, 'ever.'

(255) Aaniish naa mii sa go ***pane*** gzhaadged, gaa go naa maamda wii-wiijiiwwed, maajaawaad iidig gonda zaasbaakdokejig.

'Well, he ***always*** stayed home, as he couldn't go with others, when those who made sugar went off.' (SO4.5)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **pane** *av* 'always'; **gzhaadged** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg stays at home'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **maamda** *av* 'able'; **wii-wiijiiwwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg wants to accompany'; **maajaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl leave'; **iidig** *av* 'seems'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **zaasbaakdokejig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who make sugar.'

(256) ***Gaa*** dash miinwaa ***wiikaa*** ngii-zhaasiimin odi. | 'And we ***never*** went there again.'

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **ngii-zhaasiimin** *vai ind 1p neg* 'we didn't go'; **odi** *av* 'there.' (AK1.10)

(257) Endgwen ***wiikaa*** gaawsegwen. | 'I wonder if he ***ever*** goes hunting.' (AM39.675)

> **Endgwen** *av* 'whether'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **gaawsegwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg might hunt.'

TEMPORAL AND LOCATIVE ADVERBS. Several locative adverbs do extended service, in representing location in time as well as in space. These include especially *besho*, 'near,' *niigaan*, 'ahead, in front, in the future,' and *shkweyaang*, 'at the end, in the back, in the past.' The following examples juxtapose locative and temporal uses of these adverbs.

(258) Gaawiin waya maa kwe ***besho*** daa-yaasii..

'No woman should be ***near***.' (AK11.7, partial)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'no'; **waya** *pr indef 3* 'anyone'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **besho** *av* 'near'; **daa-yaasii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg should be (in location).'

(259) Miinwaa dash gnabaj ***besho*** ji-boontaayaang.

'But I daresay the time is ***near*** when we shall stop working.' (AM11.7)

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gnabaj** *av* 'perhaps'; **besho** *av* 'soon'; **ji-boontaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we will cease.'

(260) Mii-sh gii-waabndang iw nyaabkamnid, aabtoojiibzo, mii-sh maa ***niigaan*** goodenig iw mshkimdens tenig iw wmashkkiim.

'And he saw her belt, she has it around her waist, and even the little bag hanging ***in front*** holding her medicine.' (AK13.9)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-waabndang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg saw IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nyaabkamnid** *vti ic conj 3obv»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANobv wore around body'; **aabtoojiibzo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg wears around middle'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **niigaan** *av* 'in front'; **goodenig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) INobv hangs'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **mshkimdens** *ni 0s* 'little bag'; **tenig** *vii conj 0obv* 'INobv is there'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wmashkkiim** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsg's medicine.'

(261) "Mii iw maanda ge-ni-nendaagok ji-ni-bmaadziyan ***niigaan***.

'This is the way it will seem when you live ***in the future***.' (AK6.6)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **ge-ni-nendaagok** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN will seem'; **ji-ni-bmaadziyan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you SG will live'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future.'

(262) Gii-giimoozaabid maa waasechganing mii gii-waabndang nsawhigan gii-wzhitood maa ***shkweyaang*** maa wiigwaaming.

'She peeked out a window and saw that he had made a conical lodge there ***behind*** the house.' (AK11.9)

> **Gii-giimoozaabid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg peeked'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **waasechganing** *ni 0 loc* 'in the window'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-waabndang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg saw IN'; **nsawhigan** *ni 0s* 'conical lodge'; **gii-wzhitood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg made IN'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **shkweyaang** *av* 'behind'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wiigwaaming** *ni 0 loc* 'house (loc).'

(263) Mii maanda gaa-zhiwebak sa ***shkweyaang*** ge-giizhgak ge wiinwaa giw sa shkinweg wii-gkendmowaad gegoo gye go iw waa-mno-aabjitoowaad.

'This happened so that in the days ***to come*** the young men also might have some knowledge and something of which they could make good use.' (AM23.9)

> **Mii** *av* 'so'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **gaa-zhiwebak** *vii conj 0* '(CCNJ) what (IN) happened'; **shkweyaang** *av* 'following'; **ge-giizhgak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) will be day'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'they'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **shkinweg** *na 3pProx* 'young men'; **wii-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will know IN'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waa-mno-aabjitoowaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANpl will make good use of.'

DEMONSTRATIVE locational adverbs such as *maa,* 'there,' *zhiwi,* 'there,' and *wedi,* 'over there,' are often used with temporal meanings.

(264) ***Wedi gaa-bi-bmiseg*** ngii-giiwe widi Walpole Island gaa-bi-wnjibaayaan.

'***This last week*** I went home to Walpole Island where I come from.' (AM11.2)

> **Wedi** *ni 0* 'over there'; **gaa-bi-bmiseg** *vii ic conj 0 part* '(CCNJ) which IN passed'; **ngii-giiwe** *vai ind 1s* 'I went home'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **gaa-bi-wnjibaayaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) where I come from.'

(265) Mii go naa ***zhiwi*** gii-gkendmawaad iidig gii-zeghaawaad niwi mansoonyan.

'They knew ***then*** they had scared off those who had come sneaking around.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **gii-gkendmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg knew of ANobv'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **gii-zeghaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl frightened ANobv'; **niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'nao'; **mansoonyan** *na 3obv* 'sneak(s).' (SO1.43)

(266) Mii ***maa*** naa pii iw gaa-maadseg iw treaty gaa-wnji-miinndwaa niw zhoonyaan.

'It was ***then*** when the treaty started, that's why they were given those coins.'

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **maa** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-maadseg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN started'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wnji-miinndwaa** *vta ic conj x»3pProx* '(CCNJ) why ANpl were given Y'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhoon'yaan** *na 3obv* 'gold coin(s).' (AK10.10)

DEMONSTRATIVE + PII. The adverb *pii* functions NOMINALLY rather equivalently to the English word "time," when used with a DEMONSTRATIVE, e.g., *maanda pii,* 'this time,' and *iw pii* (or *pii iw*), 'that time.' The latter form is particularly common.

(267) Megwaa noongo sa ***maanda pii*** wnanaahtoonaawaa iw exhibit hall.

'Right now, ***at this very time***, they are putting the exhibit hall into shape.'

> **Megwaa** *av* 'at present'; **noongo** *av* 'now'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **wnanaahtoonaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0s* 'ANpl are preparing INsg'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that.' (AM18.12)

(268) Kina giw gimaag gii-wiindmawaawag ji-maajiinaazhkawaawaad niw mzhinwen ji-bbaa-wiindmawaawaad niw nishnaaben ji-bi-maajaanid ***iw*** sa ***pii*** ji-wzhibiihgewaad.

'All the chiefs were told that they should send the messengers to go about telling the Indians to get ready to go ***at the time*** for them to sign the treaty.' (AK9.8)

> **Kina** *av* 'all'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gimaag** *na 3pProx* 'chiefs'; **gii-wiindmawaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were told'; **ji-maajiinaazhkawaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl send ANobv out'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **mzhinwen** *na 3obv* 'messenger(s)'; **ji-bbaa-wiindmawaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl go around telling ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s)'; **ji-bi-maajaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv will soon go'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **ji-wzhibiihgewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl will sign.'

(269) Mii aw kwezens ntaawgid mii aw gimaa ***pii iw*** enaad …

'A girl first comes of age and the chief ***at that time*** says to her….' (AK6.1)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwezens** *na 3sProx* 'young woman'; **ntaawgid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg reaches maturity'; **mii** *av* 'then' **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that' **gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'chief'; **pii iw** *expr* 'that time'; **enaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg says to ANobv.'

SUBORDINATING TEMPORAL ADVERBS. A few temporal adverbs serve as COMPLEMENTIZERS, subordinating an associated clause, which results in its verb being inflected for CONJUNCT ORDER. The most important of these adverbs are *naangim*, 'until,' *megwaa*, 'while,' and *pii*, 'when.'

(270) Gbeyhiing gii-bbaa-nokii ***naangim go biimskwaabkagewnini gii-aawid***.

'He went around working for a long time ***until he became an engineer on a tug***.'

> **Gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **gii-bbaa-nokii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went around working'; **naangim** *av* 'until'; **biimskwaabkagewnini** *na 3sProx* 'engineer on a tugboat'; **gii-aawid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was/became.' (AK13.25)

(271) ***Megwaa-sh go maaba Niibaakhom gchi-miigaazwaad***, mii-sh gii-gkendmowaad.

'***While Nibakom (and his men) were fighting hard***, they realized something.'

> **Megwaa-sh** *av* 'while then'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **gchi-miigaazwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl greatly fought'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl realized IN.' (SO6.30)

The adverb *megwaa* also means, 'in the midst of, presently' in which case it does not function as a complementizer, and its associated verb is free to be inflected for independent order.

(272) ***Megwaa*** na gdankii? | 'Are you working now?' (AM39.32)

> **Megwaa** *av* 'in the midst'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gdankii** *vai ind 2s* 'you SG are working.'

When a clause headed by *pii* represents an act completed antecedent to the action of the main verb, or a specific instance of the event represented with *pii*, then the clause with *pii* shows INITIAL CHANGE, as in the following sentences.

(273) Mii dash pii beskaabiiyaang, kina iidog gaa-miijwaad iw ngoodaas giw pakneg mzi wgii-bagnendaanaawaa.

'But when we got back, having eaten almost all of my dress, the grasshoppers had made holes in various places.' (AK3.9)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **beskaabiiyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) when we (excl.) returned,' **kina** *av* 'all'; **iidog** *av* 'seems'; **gaa-miijwaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx>0* 'ANpl ate IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ngoodaas** *nid 1s(0s)* 'my dress'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **pakneg** *na 3pProx* 'grasshoppers'; **mzi** *av* 'all over'; **wgii-bagnendaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx>0s* 'ANpl made holes in IN.'

(274) Aaniish mii sa maaba shkiniigish gii-gkennmaad go iidig ***pii nebaanid***, mii sa wshiimenyan gii-majwebnaad.

'When the young man knew ***she was asleep***, he woke up his younger brothers.'

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **shkiniigish** *na 3sProx* 'youth'; **gii-gkenmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg knew of ANobv'; **iidig** *av* 'evidently'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **nebaanid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv sleep'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **wshiimenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's younger sibling'; **gii-majwebnaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg woke up ANobv.' (SO2.29)

When the clause with *pii* represents more general activity, multiple instances of the same event, or an event overlapping temporally with the action of the main verb, there is usually no initial change. When *pii* occurs in a clause headed by *mii*, there is often no initial change.

(275) ***Mii pii giw gwiiwzensag mdaas-bboon'gizwaad***, mii ndawenjgewaad giw nishnaabeg ndawaabmaawaad niw mskwaadeswan.

'***When the boys are ten years old***, the Indians go hunting and looking for turtles.' (AK5.2)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gwiiwzensag** *na 3pProx* 'boys'; **mdaas-bboon'gizwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were ten years old'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **ndawenjgewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl go hunting'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **ndawaabmaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl look for ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **mskwaadeswan** *na 3obv* 'turtle(s).'

(276) ***Mii dash pii gii-yaawaawaad niw binoojiinyan*** endso-niizho-bboon'gak mii-sh gii-nbowaad giw binoojiinyag.

'***And when they had children***, every two years, those children died.' (AK11.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **gii-yaawaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl had ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren)'; **endso-niizho-bboon'gak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) every two years'; **mii-sh** *av* 'but then'; **gii-nbowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl die'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children.'

In combination with *baamaa*, 'later,' *pii* does not usually induce initial change.

(277) ***Baamaa pii*** dash gii-wiindmawid, … | '***Later on*** she said to me, …' (AK8.12a)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **pii** *av* 'then'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gii-wiindmawid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg told me'

However, the associated verb can show initial change, as in the following.

(278) Mii dash aanwi gii-nda-waankaanaawaad ***baamaa pii dash eni-naagshig***.

'And doggedly they tried to dig him out ***right up until evening***.' (AK7.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aanwi** *av* 'doggedly'; **gii-nda-waankaanaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl sought to dig ANobv out'; **baamaa** *av* 'until'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **eni-naagshig** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) in time evening comes on.'

16.8 Temporal Relationships Between Clauses

Very often associated ADJUNCT clauses are not marked with any complementizer or other adverbial element, it is only by virtue of their verbs having conjunct order inflection that their adjunct status is formally represented. In (279), below, for example, *ziisbaakdokewaad*, '(conj) ANpl make sugar,' is loosely connected with the preceding clause, vaguely specifying purpose or contemporaneous time.

(279) Aaniish mii sa iidig ddanziwaad go naa [***ziisbaakdokewaad***].

'Well, they used to stay in a certain place [***as/when they made sugar***].' (SO1.2)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **ddanziwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were staying there'; **ziisbaakdokewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl made sugar.'

The clause *nmadbid zhiwi*, 'as/when ANsg sits there,' is similarly related to the preceding clause in the following:

(280) Mii go nendaajiihang wa kwe [***nmadbid zhiwi***].

'That is why this woman was stirring it [***as she sat there***].' (SO1.17)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **go nendaajiihang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg was beating IN'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this' **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **nmadbid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg sat'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there.'

Often linkage between clauses in narrative is extremely loose. In the following sentences, for example, the two clauses are loosely linked as successive *mii* clauses.

(281) [Mii-sh wa mdimooyenh bbaa-yaad], [mii gii-waabmaad ninwan, mansooyan].

'So (as) this old lady was wandering around, ***and/then*** she saw some men, strangers.' (SO2.3)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **bbaa-yaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg goes around'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-waabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx 3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg saw ANobv'; **ninwan** *na 3obv* 'man/men'; **mansooyan** *na 3obv* 'stranger(s).'

(282) ***[Mii sa giiwenh gaa-nbaawaad iidig nendang wa mdimooyenh]***, [mii sa giiwenh gii-nbaad iidig gewii bjiinag].

'***When that old woman believed that they were asleep***, it was only then that she went to sleep herself.' (SO2.28)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gaa-nbaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl slept'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **nendang** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg thinks'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-nbaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg slept'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wii** *pr pers 3s* 'ANsg'; **bjiinag** *av* 'soon.'

This is the customary kind of linkage found in running narrative, with very loose, implicit connections between clauses, especially those showing temporal relationships.

(283) [***Gegaa dash go kina e-ni-nsaad***] mii iw gii-gnjibhiwenid.

'[***When he had killed nearly all of them***] they fled.' (AM31.38)

> **Gegaa** *av* 'almost'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **e-ni-nsaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) when ANsg had killed ANobv in the course of time'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-gnjibhiwenid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv fled.'

Initial change can be used with temporal clauses to refer to specific, completed events or event groups considered as a unit, as in the following examples.

(284) ***Gaa-shkwaa-gganoon'god***, mii go zhaazhi go eta geyaabi ndib wii-giigoonywid.

'***By the time he had finished speaking to him***, there was only his head left to be changed to that of a fish.' (SO3.39)

> **Gaa-shkwaa-gganoon'god** *vta ic redup conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) after ANobv had talked with ANsg'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **geyaabi** *av* 'still'; **ndib** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANSG's head'; **wii-giigoonywid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg will be(come) a fish.'

(285) ***Mii dash gaa-shkwaa-waabndankaajganewaad***, mii dash gchi-mookmaanii-kiwewin Niibaakhom gii-niisaabiignang.

'***And so, after they had examined everything***, Nibakom then lowered the American flag.' (SO6.181)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-shkwaa-waabndankaajganewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) after ANpl had examined thoroughly'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gchi-mookmaanii-kiwewin** *ni 0s* 'American flag'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **gii-niisaabiignang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg lowered IN.'

16.9 Evidentiality

Another kind of meaning very commonly expressed in Nishnaabemwin sentences is that of the degree of certainty with which the speaker makes an assertion. There are two primary ways to express uncertainty, one, by using dubitative adverbs, and two, by means of inflectional suffixes belonging to the DUBITATIVE or PRETERIT DUBITATIVE modes.

16.9.1 Evidential (Dubitative) Adverbs

Several adverbs function to add an element of doubt or uncertainty to a predication. Chief among these are *giiwenh* and *iidig*. These adverbs are commonly translated with

English expressions such as 'it seems,' 'evidently,' 'they say,' or 'allegedly.' Typically these adverbs occur very early in their clauses, often as the second constituent. Verbs associated with them are often inflected for dubitative mode, as in (288), below. The following example illustrates the use of *iidig*.

(286) Mii sa ***iidig*** wadi gii-patood wiijkiwenyan yaanid.

'He had ***apparently*** run over to where his friends were.' (SO1.36)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **gii-patood** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg ran there'; **wiijkiwenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's friend(s)'; **yaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv be there.'

EVIDENTIAL ADVERBS are used extensively by some narrators, and in traditional stories, such narrators may use an evidential adverb with each of a majority of the sentences in their narration. To illustrate, the following example provides the first four sentences of a narration by Sam Osawamick, with an evidential adverb occurring with each one.

(287) 1 Ngoding sa ***giiwenh*** nishnaabeg ziisbaakdokewag, ngoji go naa noopming, waasa go naa noopming. 2 Aanii-sh mii sa ***iidig*** ddanziwaad go naa ziisbaakdokewaad. 3 Mii-sh ***giiwenh*** ko zhaazhi gaa-zhiwebak. 4 Gii-bbaa-yaawag ***giiwenh*** nishnaabeg, bebaa-nda-nshiwejig. 5 Ngoji-sh go naa wadi gii-yaadgenag giwi, gomaa go naa dshidgenag, mii-sh ***giiwenh*** bezhig gii-noonind: "Aa-sh ge naa! Bbaa-ndawaatoon."

'1 Once some people were ***evidently*** making sugar, somewhere inland, far inland. 2 They ***evidently*** used to stay in a certain place and make sugar. 3 This is ***evidently*** what generally happened long ago. 4 Some Indians ***evidently*** used to come around, bent on killing people. 5 There were apparently a number of them somewhere over there, and one of them was ***evidently*** appointed: "Come now: Go and get some information." '(SO1.1-5)

> (1) **Ngoding** *av* 'once'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **ziisbaakdokewag** *vai ind 3p* 'ANpl are making sugar'; **ngoji** *av* 'somewhere'; **noopming** *av* 'in the bush'; **waasa** *av* 'far'; **noopming** *av* 'in the bush.' (2) **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **ddanziwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were staying there'; **ziisbaakdokewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl made sugar.' (3) **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **ko** *av* 'used to'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **gaa-zhiwebak** *vii conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN happened.' (4) **Gii-bbaa-yaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl went around'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **bebaa-nda-nshiwejig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who seek to murder.' (5) **Ngoji** *av* 'somewhere'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **gii-yaadgenag** *vai ind dub 3pProx* 'ANpl were evidently there'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gomaa** *av* 'indeed'; **dshidgenag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are

so many'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **gii-noonind** *vta conj x»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was commissioned'; **Aa-sh ge naa** *expr* 'Hey!; Well!'; **Bbaa-ndawaatoon** *vai imp 2s* 'go around spying.'

16.9.2 Dubitative Mode

Dubitative mode inflectional marking on verbs is commonly used to express doubt, uncertainty, or speculation. Inflection is by means suffixation, with the element /dig/ (or /dog/) very common in the independent order, and /-en/ in the conjunct.

(288) Gnabaj waya wesiinh ***yaadig*** maa ndahbaaning.

'It seems as if ***there may be*** some creature in the spring.' (AM10.11)

Gnabaj *av* 'perhaps'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'some'; **wesiinh** *na 3sProx* 'creature'; **yaadig** *vai ind dub 3sProx* 'ANsg might be there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **ndahbaaning** *ni 0 loc* 'in the spring'

(289) Gaawiin gii-baatiin'siiwag gnimaa go naa ngodwaasmidna ***gii-dchidgenag*** bezhig iw gaa-bmi-dnizwaad.

'There were not many, ***perhaps sixty formed a group*** where they dwelled in one place.' (AK9.3)

Gaawiin *av* 'not'; **gii-baatiin'siiwag** *vai ind 3pProx neg* 'ANpl were not many in number'; **gnimaa** *av* 'perhaps'; **ngodwaasmidna** *nm* 'sixty'; **gii-dchidgenag** *vai ind dub 3pProx* 'ANpl might have been in number'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-bmi-dnizwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl lived there over time.'

The dubitative mode is especially common with dubitative pronouns, such as *wegwen*, 'whoever,' and dubitative adverbs, such as *manj*, 'however it may be,' almost obligatory with the former. In the conjunct, verbs having dubitative mode always show initial change.

(290) ***Wegwen*** dash aw ***ge-gshkitoogwen*** ji-zhngwaadzig mii aw gbeyhiing ge-bmaadzid, da-ntaa-ndawenjge da-nbwaakaa miinwaa gwyak da-zhi-yaa.

'And ***whoever may be able*** to keep it down he's the one who will live for a long time, he'll be a good hunter, he'll be clever and he'll behave right.' (AK5.6)

Wegwen *pr dub 3* 'whoever'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ge-gshkitoogwen** *vti ic conj dub 3sProx»0* 'ANsg might be able to do IN'; **ji-zhngwaadzig** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg keeps down'; **mii** *av* ' it's'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that one'; **gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **ge-bmaadzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg will live'; **da-ntaa-ndawenjge** *vai ind 3sProx* ' ANsg will be good at hunting'; **da-nbwaakaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be wise'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gwyak** *av* 'right'; **da-zhi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be thus.'

(291) Mii dash gii-maajii-aabjihaawaad niw semaan ***dbi iidog*** go ***gaa-zhaawaagwen*** mii go gii-gtigaanaawaad.

'And they began to use that tobacco ***wherever they might go*** and they cultivated it.' (AK16.5)

Mii *av* 'and'; **gii-maajii-aabjihaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl began to use ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **semaan** *na 3obv* ' tobacco'; **dbi** *av* ' wherever'; **iidog** *av* 'it seems'; **gaa-zhaawaagwen** *vai ic conj dub 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl might go'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-gtigaanaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl cultivated ANobv.'

(292) ***Manj*** go naa ***engokwaagwen*** ki zhaazhi go.

'No one knew how large the land had grown already.' (SO5.75)

Manj *av* 'however it may be'; **engokwaagwen** *vii ic conj dub 0* '(CCNJ) IN was evidently such size'; **ki** *ni 0s* 'land'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already.'

ENDGWENH CONSTRUCTIONS. The dubitative adverb *endgwenh* (also *endgwen*) indicates unresolved possibility among multiple situations, similar in usage to English 'whether.' This adverb is PREDICATIVE, requiring that an associated verb be inflected for CONJUNCT ORDER. The verb also customarily shows DUBITATIVE MODAL INFLECTION.

(293) Mii-sh giiwenh mndimooyenh ngoji go naa gewii zhngishnaadig jiigaatig, piichin-sh giiwenh go bbazgwii, dbaabmaad iidig niwi, ***endgwen naa ji-nbaannigwen***.[1]

'The old lady was lying down somewhere, apparently near the wall, and she kept getting up to look them over, ***wondering whether they were asleep***.' (SO2.26)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **ngoji** *av* 'somewhere'; **gewii** *cnj* 'also'; **zhngishnaadig** *vai ind dub 3sProx* 'ANsg is evidently lying'; **jiigaatig** *av* 'near the wall'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **bbazgwii** *vai redup 3sProx* 'ANsg keeps getting up'; **dbaabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg looks over ANobv'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'that/those'; **endgwen** *av* 'whether'; **ji-nbaannigwen** *vai conj dub 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv might be sleeping.'

1. This form is unusual in appearing to have a doubling of the obviative element /-ini/.

(294) Wgii-ggwejmigoon niw mshkikiiwninwan ***endgwen gaa-waabmaagwen niw shkinwen***.

'The doctor asked her ***whether she had seen the young man***.' (AM30.30)

Wgii-ggwejmigoon *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv asked ANsg'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **mshkikiiwninwan** *na 3obv* 'doctor(s)'; **endgwen** *av* 'whether'; **gaa-waabmaagwen** *vta ic conj dub 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg might have seen ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkinwen** *na 3obv* 'young man/men.'

Contemporary speakers have somewhat relaxed the requirement that endgwen-verbs be inflected for DUBITATIVE MODE. In the following sentences, the verbs associated with *endgwen* are not inflected for dubitative mode, but do have a MODAL PREVERB.

(295) Ngii-ke-nda-gkenmaag ntam ***endgwenh ji-wii-bbaa-wiijiindiwaad***.

'I wanted to find out first ***whether they were going out with each other***.' (DP)

Ngii-ke-nda-gkenmaag *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I wanted to find out about ANpl'; **ntam** *av* 'first'; **endgwenh** *av* 'whether'; **ji-wii-bbaa-wiijiindiwaad** *vta/vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were going around with each other.'

(296) Ngii-aabnaab wii-ndagkendmaanh ***wendgwenh gegii da-bi-aabnaabyin***.

'I looked back to see ***whether you were looking back***' (MC)

Ngii-aabnaab *vai ind 1s* 'I looked back'; **wii-ndagkenmaanh** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I know IN'; **wendgwenh** *pr dub 0* 'whether'; **gegii** *pr 2s* 'you (SG) also'; **da-bi-aabnaabyin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (SG) might be looking back (towards me).'

16.9.3 Preterit Dubitative Mode

This MODE is used in a variety of contexts where there is uncertainty with respect to events that took place in the past. It combines the concepts of PRETERIT and DUBITATIVE, and is commonly marked by a suffix element /(go)ban/ in the INDEPENDENT ORDER and /(go)banen/ in the CONJUNCT.

(297) Pii iw gaa-wiidged aw nmishoomis, niw oosan gii-zhaawan odi Sucker Creek mii odi ***gii-waabmaagbanen*** niw kwezensan gechi-gnaajwinjin.

'When my grandfather got married, his father had gone to Sucker Creek and there ***he must have seen*** this very beautiful girl.' (AK11.1)

Pii *av* 'when'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wiidged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg married'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **oosan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's father'; **gii-zhaawan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv went there'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-waabmaagbanen** *vta conj pdub 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg must have seen ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **kwezensan** *na 3obv* 'young woman'; **gechi-gnaajwinjin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) was very beautiful.'

(298) Mii dash gii-bi-maajaawaad mii dash iw gii-sweshkaawaad, Neyaashii-nagmiing gii-zhaa aw nmishoomis ***binoojiinswigban*** giiwenh iw pii…

'And so they went on and then they disappeared, my grandfather went to Cape Croker— ***he must have been an infant*** at the…' (AK15.13a)

Mii *av* 'and'; **gii-bi-maajaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) in time ANpl left'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-sweshkaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl dispersed'; **Neyaashii-nagmiing** *ni 0 loc* 'to Cape Croker'; **gii-zhaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went there'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **binoojiinswigban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg was evidently a child'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time.'

In narrative contexts, PRETERIT DUBITATIVE MODE is sometimes used in opening and closing sentences to frame an entire discourse as representing oral traditional knowledge. For example, in Sam Osawamick's account of a battle in the War of 1812, preterit dubitative forms are used in both the opening and closing sentences, as illustrated below. In such cases, the MODE markers are indexing the entire story, not necessarily the specific PREDICATES (verbs) that they occur with.

(299) Mii dash ***gaa-zhinaagdagbanen*** gchi-gindaaswin, ***gii-gchi-miigaadwangbanen*** ntam.

'This is an interpretation of ***what it must have been like***, the first time ***we were involved in a great war***.' (SO6.1)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-zhinaagdagbanen** *vii ic conj pdub 0* '(CCNJ) IN must have been like'; **gchi-gindaaswin** *ni 0s* 'great accounting'; **gii-gchi-miigaadwangbanen** *vii conj pdub 0* '(CONJ) there was allegedly a great war'; **ntam** *av* 'first.'

(300) Mii sa gii-giizhiitaamgak gchi-miigaadwin wi pii ***gaa-dgogbanen.***

'So that great battle ***which evidently took place*** at that time was over.' (SO6.188)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-gizhiitaamgak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN commenced'; **gchi-miigaadwin** *ni 0s* 'great battle'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **gaa-dgogbanen** *vii ic conj pdub 0* '(CCNJ) that (IN) evidently took place.'

PRETERIT DUBITATIVE IN CONTEXTS OF HYPOTHETICALITY. The PRETERIT DUBITATIVE MODE is also commonly used with assertions that represent hypothetical or conjectural possibilities.

(301) Mii dash pii giiwewaad giw niizh nishnaabeg, mii dash ekdod aw bezhig, "Aanii-sh ge-zhichgeyamban giishpin ***waabmaawgibnen*** gechi-gnaajwid kwe?"

'And when these two Indians were going home, one of them said, "What would you do if ***you should see*** a woman who is very beautiful?"' (AK4.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **giiwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl go home'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **niizh** *nm* ' two'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* ' Indians'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **ekdod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg said'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **waabmaawgibnen** *vta conj pdub 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you (SG) should see ANsg'; **gechi-gnaajwid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* ' (CCNJ) ANsg who is very beautiful'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman.'

(302) Aaniish mii sa giiwenh egod: "Giishpin wii-miizhyaang giwi ggwisag, giin go gdaa-wenaabnjige zhonda wene go naa ***ge-wiidgemaawdibnen***.

'They said to her, "If you give us your sons, you may choose anyone here ***that you might want to marry***."' (SO2.4)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **egod** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANobv said to ANsg'; **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ggwisag** *nad 2s(3pProx)* 'your sons'; **giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **gdaa-wenaabnjige** *vai ind 2s* 'you can choose'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **wene** *pr inter 3* 'who'; **ge-wiidgemaawdibnen** *vta ic conj pdub 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) you might marry ANsg.'

The preterit dubitative is also used with inferences about closed events that necessarily precede some current state of affairs, as in the following examples.

(303) *Nmetoo* sa wii gwa [***gaa-bi-zhaagbanen***].

'He has left traces which show [***that he must have come here***].' (AM39.709)

> **Nmetoo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg leaves tracks'; **wii** *av* 'indeed'; **gwa** *av* 'indeed'; **gaa-bi-zhaagbanen** *vai ic conj pdub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg must have come hither.'

(304) *Nmetoowag* [***gaa-bi-zhaagbanenag***].

'They have left traces that show [***that they must have come here***].' (AM39.710)

> **Nmetoowag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl leave tracks'; **gaa-bi-zhaagbanenag** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) that ANpl must have come hither.'

There is considerable variation in Nishnaabemwin (and other dialects of Anishinaabemowin) in the inflection of preterit dubitative forms.

16.10 Negation

Statements, questions and commands can be expressed either positively or negatively. This grammatical property is sometimes called POLARITY, and a given clause is said to have either positive polarity or negative polarity. Two primary grammatical devices are used in negation in Nishnaabemwin, negative adverbs and negative verbal inflection. Distinct negative adverbs are used with the different verbal orders, *gaa wii(n)* in the INDEPENDENT ORDER, and *gego* (or *gegwa)* in the IMPERATIVE ORDER. The CONJUNCT ORDER very commonly does not use an adverb, though *gaa wii* occasionally occurs. The form of VERBAL INFLECTION is different for each order. While the inflectional suffixes of the INDEPENDENT and CONJUNCT ORDERS are structurally related, being /-sii/ for the former and /-si(w)/ for the latter, the NEGATIVE SUFFIX of the IMPERATIVE ORDER, which is /-ke/, shows no structural relationship to the negative suffix of the other two orders (n.b. /-sii/ occurs with negative first person inclusive commands, however). The following chart lays out the basic components of negation in each verbal order. Negative inflectional forms are covered extensively in the chapters on verb inflection, 5 to 8.

Order	Negative Adverbs	Negative Inflection
Independent	gaa, gaa wii(n)	/-sii/
Conjunct	—	/-siw/
Imperative	gego, gegwa	/-ke(n)/, /-siidaa/

Although the negative adverb *gaa* can appear with and without the contrastive FOCUS element *wii(n)*, when together, they are often treated as a single word, which can be seen

from the failure of the EMPHATIC/CONTRASTIVE CLITIC element *dash*, and other such particles appearing in SECOND POSITION, to intervene between them.

(305) ***Gaa wii dash*** gii-naagzisii. | 'He was not visible.' (AM31.34)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **gii-naagzisii** *vai ind 3sProx neg* 'ANsg was not visible.'

(306) ***Gaawiin dash*** aw nookmis ngoji gii-zhaasii, shpimsagong odi gii-gaazod mii dash gii-gkendang iw nningsenig iw wiigwaam.

'And my grandmother didn't go outside, but she hid there upstairs, and she knew it when the house shook.' (AK11.8)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nookmis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **ngoji** *av* 'anywhere'; **gii-zhaasii** *vai ind 3sProx neg* 'ANsg did not go there'; **shpimsagong** *av* 'upstairs'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-gaazod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg hid'; **mii** *av* ' and'; **gii-gkendang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* ' (CONJ) ANsg knew IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nningsenig** *vii conj 0obv* ' (CONJ) INobv shakes'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wiigwaam** *ni 0s* 'house.'

The YES/NO QUESTION marker, *na*, also occurs after the combination *gaa+wii(n)*.

(307) ***Gaawii na*** geshkgwaaswining tesnoo? | 'Isn't it near the sewing machine?' (MC)

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **geshkgwaaswining** *ni 0 loc* 'by the sewing machine'; **tesnoo** *vii ind neg 0s* 'INsg is not there.'

Because of the close connection between *gaa* and *wii(n)*, they are often written as a single unit, as in the last two examples above.

NEGATION OF PROPOSITIONS. The adverbs *gaa (wiin)* or *kaa*, or these adverbs in combination with expressive elements, as in *kaahaa*, can be used to answer negatively or deny an entire proposition.

(308) Gdayekoz na?— ***Gaa,*** gaa wii ndayekozisii. 'Are you tired?— ***No***, I'm not tired.'

> **Gdayekoz** *vai ind 2s* 'you (SG) are tired'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **Gaa** *av* 'no'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **ndayekozisii** *vai ind neg 1s* 'I am not tired.' (AM39.428)

(309) Zhaazhi na ggii-ggwejmaa wii-wiidgemad wa kwe?— ***Kaahaa!***

'Did you ask that woman to marry you yet?— ***No way!***' (DP)

> **Zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **ggii-ggwejmaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you (SG) asked ANsg'; **wii-wiidgemad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you (SG) will marry ANsg'; **wa** *pr 3s* 'this/that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **Kaahaa** *av* 'no way.'

(310) A: "Gdoo-nji-waabndaan na ndoo-sapnigan? Ndoo-naajtoon."
B: "***Kaa.*** Gaawii na geshkgwaaswining tesnoo?"
A: "***Kaa,*** ngii-naab go zhiwi."

A: "Have you seen my scissors? I've lost them."
B: "No. Are they not around the sewing machine?"
A: "No, I looked there." (MC)

> **Gdoo-nji-waabndaan** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'have you seen INsg'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **ndoo-sapnigan** *ni 1s(0s)* 'my scissors.' **Ndoo-naajtoon** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I lost INsg.' **Kaa** *av* 'no.' **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **na** *av* 'yes/no q'; **geshkgwaaswining** *ni 0 loc* 'by the sewing machine'; **tesnoo** *vii ind neg 0s* 'INsg is not there.' **Kaa** *av* 'no'; **ngii-naab** *vai ind 1s* 'I looked'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there.'

AFFIRMATION WITH ENH. An entire proposition can be affirmed with the adverb *enh*, 'yes.'

(311) Giin dash, Zhenyep, ggii-bi-niibaw na wiikaa gii-shkiniigkwewyin?
Enh, Zhaagnaash ngii-niibwitwaaba.

'And you, Zhenyep (Virginia), did you ever marry when you were a young woman?— Yes, I married a white man.' (GS/EO)

> **Giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **Zhenyep** *na 2s* 'Virginia'; **ggii-bi-niibaw** *vai ind 2s* 'did you (SG) marry'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **gii-shkiniigkwewyin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (SG) were a young woman'; **Enh** *av* 'yes'; **Zhaagnaash** *na 3sProx* 'white person'; **ngii-niibwitwaaba** *vta ind pret 1s»3sProx* 'I married ANsg.'

NEGATION OF MAIN VERBS (INDEPENDENT ORDER). Negatives of MAIN VERBS, that is, verbs inflected with independent order inflection, are customarily made with the negative expression *gaa wii(n)*, which typically comes in one of two positions: either first in its clause, or immediately before the verb. The verb carries independent order negative inflection as well. The following examples have *gaa wii(n)* in initial position.

(312) ***Gaa wii*** ngoji nii-zhaasii. | 'I shall not go anywhere.' (AM39.426)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **ngoji** *av* 'anywhere'; **nii-zhaasii** *vai ind neg 1s* 'I will not go (there).'

(313) ***Gaa wii*** maampii gdaa-yaasiimi. | 'We (inc.) must not stay here.' (AM39.438)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **maampii** *av* 'here'; **gdaa-yaasiimi** *vai ind neg 21* 'we (INCL.) must not be.'

Examples of negatives with *gaa wii(n)* in immediately PRE-VERBAL POSITION:

(314) Nmishoomsinaanig ***gaa wii*** wgii-yaanziinaawaan baashkzignan.

'Our (exc.) grandfathers did not have guns.' (AM39.451)

> **Nmishoomsinaanig** *na 1p(3pProx)* 'our (EXCL.) grandfathers'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **wgii-yaanziinaawaan** *vti ind neg 3pProx»0p* 'ANpl did not have INpl'; **baashkzignan** *ni 0p* 'rifles.'

(315) Gonda dash maagaanaajig ***gaa wii*** wgii-waabmaasiiwaan.

'Those men who were fighting him did not see him.' (AM31.36)

> **Gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **maagaanaajig** *vta ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) were fighting ANobv'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **wgii-waabmaasiiwaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl did not see ANobv.'

However, it seems that *gaawii* can appear anywhere before the verb, and the following example is representative.

(316) «Aabdeg sa naa gnamaa ***gaawii*** geyaabi shpide-dbik gnamdabsiinaadig zhibiihgeyin computering.»

'Perhaps it's no longer necessary for you to sit up in the middle of the night writing on your computer.' (MC)

> **Aabdeg** *av* 'necessarily'; **gnamaa** *av* 'perhaps'; **gaawii** *av* 'not'; **geyaabi** *av* 'anymore'; **shpide-dbik** *ni 0s* 'middle of the night'; **gnamdabsiinaadig** *vai ind neg dub 2s* 'you (SG) must not sit'; **zhibiihgeyin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (SG) write'; **computering** *ni 0 loc* 'on the computer.'

CONTRASTIVE NEGATION. In contexts of contrast, the verb is sometimes not repeated, and *gaa* or *gaa wii(n)* is used to indicate negation of the salient proposition. Often the contrastive elements *dash…wiin* occur as well.

(317) Wgii-waabmaan gnebgoon, ***wiijkiwenyan dash gaa wiin;*** wiijkiwenyan wgii-dkamgoon niw gnebgoon.

'He saw the snake, ***but his friend did not.*** That snake bit his friend.' (AM39.359)

> **Wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **gnebgoon** *na 3obv* 'snake(s)'; **wiijkiwenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's friend(s)'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **gaa wiin** *av* 'not'; **wiijkiwenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's friend(s)'; **wgii-dkamgoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv bit ANsg'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **gnebgoon** *na 3obv* 'snake(s).'

(318) A: "Nbwaanwihaanaa wadi wii-nsangid bezhig mnidoo, mii sa gaa-zhi-mkwenmigooyan wii-bbaa-wiijiiwyaang, wii-wa-naadmawyaang."
B: "Oonh, oonh, ***gaa nii***!"

A: We have tried in vain to kill a monster over there, and we thought you would come along with us and help us."
B: "Oh, oh ***not me***!" (SO4.12)

> A: **Nbwaanwihaanaa** *vta ind 1p»3sProx* 'we tried in vain to do to ANsg'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **wii-nsangid** *vta conj 1p»3sProx* 'we want to kill ANsg'; **bezhig** *nm* 'a certain'; **mnidoo** *na 3sProx* 'manitou'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gaa-zhi-mkwenmigooyan** *vta ic conj 1p»2s* 'we thought of you (SG)'; **wii-bbaa-wiijiiwyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* 'you (SG) would come along with us'; **wii-wa-naadmawyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* 'you (SG) would go and help us.'
> B: **Oonh** *av* 'oh'; **oonh** *av* 'oh'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I.'

OMISSION OF GAA WII(N). The adverb *gaa wii* is sometimes omitted, evidently a feature of more casual speech.

(319) ***Gdebwesii***! | '***You're not telling the truth***!' (DP)

> **Gdebwesii** *vai ind neg 2s* 'you (SG) are not truthful.'

(320) A: Gbe-dbik gii-migi aw gdayensim.
B: Aaniin dash?
A: ***Ngikendziin***. Gnamaa go naa wiya gii-bi-zhaadog maage gii-bkadedog.
B: ***Ngii-noondwaasii*** niin. Mii go eta gii-gchi-nbaayaan.

'A: Your little dog barked all night. B: Why? A: ***I don't know***. Maybe someone came or maybe he was hungry. B: ***I didn't hear him***. I just slept. (LM)

> A: **Gbe-dbik** *av* 'all night'; **gii-migi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg barked'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gdayensim** *nad 2s(3sProx)* 'your (SG) little dog'; B: **Aaniin** *av* 'how'; **dash** *av* 'then'; A: **Ngikendziin** *vti ind neg 1s»0s* 'I don't know INsg.' **Gnamaa** *av* 'perhaps'; **wiya** *pr indef 3* 'someone'; **gii-bi-zhaadog** *vai ind dub 3sProx* 'ANsg might have come hither'; **maage** *av* 'or'; **gii-bkadedog** *vai ind dub 3sProx* 'ANsg might have been hungry'; B: **Ngii-noondwaasii** *vta ind neg 1s»3sProx* 'I did not hear ANsg'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I.' **Mii** *av* 'and'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **gii-gchi-nbaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I slept soundly.'

NEGATIVES WITH /ONJI-/. Negative statements in the past sometimes occur with the preverb /onji-/ attached to the negated verb.

(321) Miinwaa dash go gaa gnage ***ngii-nji-waabmaasii***.

'I did not see her again for a long time.' (AM9.37)

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **gnage** *av* 'at all'; **ngii-nji-waabmaasii** *vta ind neg 1s»3sProx* 'I did not see ANsg.'

GAAWII NJIDA. The expression *gaawii njida* is used for the equivalent of English "I'm sorry," and literally means, 'not on purpose.' Verbs used with it in this sense do not show negation.

(322) ***Gaawii njida,*** gchi-gbeyiing gii-njitaayaanh wii-nkwebiihmoonnaa.

'***Sorry***, it's been a long time since I've had a chance to write back to you.' (MC)

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **njida** *av* 'purposely'; **gii-njitaayaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I had the chance'; **wii-nkwebiihmoonnaa** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) I write you (SG) back.'

However, when *gaawii njida* is used to mean "not intentionally," the verb is negated:

(323) ***Gaawii go njida ngii-doodnzii***, bgaskijiishnaanh zhiwi mchisag.

'***I didn't do that on purpose***, falling smack on the floor.' (DP)

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **njida** *av* 'purposely'; **ngii-doodnzii** *vti ind neg 1s»0s* 'I did not do INsg'; **bgaskijiishnaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I fall smack down'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **mchisag** *av* 'on the floor.'

NEGATIVE CAPABILITY. The adverb *maamda*, 'be able,' occurs only with negatives, in constructions indicating negative capability.

(324) Gesge naa wdaano-gnahmawaan wiijkiwenyan wii-bwaa-mwaanid niwi, ***gaa sa giiwenh go maamda***.

'He really tried to persuade his friend not to eat it, but he couldn't.' (SO3.14)

> **Gesge** *av* really; **wdaano-gnahmawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg tries in vain to warn ANobv'; **wiijkiwenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANSG's friend(s)'; **wii-bwaa-mwaanid** *vta conj 3obv»3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv will not eat ANobv'; **niwi** *rn na 3obv 'that/those'*; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **maamda** *av* 'able.'

(325) ***Gaa wii gnabaj maamda***. | 'Perhaps nothing can be done.' (SO3.33)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **gnabaj** *av* 'perhaps'; **maamda** *av* 'able.'

Evidently because *maamda* is PREDICATIVE, verbs associated with it function as COMPLEMENTS and do not show negative inflection. These verbs also show future tense preverbs, even when the reference is to events and situations in the past.

(326) ***Gaa maamda wii-wiijiiwaad***$_{POS}$ zaasbaakdoken'jin, aaniish naa aakzi sa niinmizi, skanzi.

'***He couldn't go with those*** who made sugar, as he was so sick, so weak and gaunt.' (SO4.6)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **maamda** *av* 'able'; **wii-wiijiiwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg will accompany ANobv'; **zaasbaakdoken'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) those (ANobv) who were making sugar'; **aaniish** *av* 'because'; **aakzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is ill'; **niinmizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is weak'; **skanzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is gaunt.'

(327) Aapji giiwenh siniikaani ***gaa maamda ji-gtigewaapan***$_{POS}$ mii-sh gii-bskaabiiwaad.

'It was reportedly very rocky and ***it was not possible for them to farm*** and so they returned.' (AK15.5)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **siniikaani** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv was rocky'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **maamda** *av* 'able'; **ji-gtigewaapan** *vai conj pret 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl could farm'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **gii-bskaabiiwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl came back.'

MANJ (IIDIG). The element *manj*, or more commonly, *manj iidog* (or *manj iidig*), commonly occurs in complement clauses of negative verbs, and indicates doubt or uncertainty. Verbs associated with this construction are invariably in the dubitative mode.

(328) ***Manj go naa en'gokwaagwen ki zhaazhi go.***

'No one knew how large the land had grown already.' (SO5.75)

> **Manj** *av* 'however it may be'; **en'gokwaagwen** *vii ic conj dub 0* '(CCNJ) IN was evidently such size'; **ki** *ni 0s* 'land'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already.'

(329) Gye gaa wgii-gkenmaasiin ***manj iidig ge-kidgwen sa noos.***

'She did not know what my father would say.' (AM6.10)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wgii-gkenmaasiin** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv neg* 'ANsg did not know about ANobv'; **manj** *av* 'however it may be'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **ge-kidgwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg might say'; **sa** *av* 'indeed'; **noos** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my father.'

DBI IIDIG. The expression *dbi iidig* is used to state uncertain or unknown location.

(330) Dbi iidig bebaa-zhaagwenh. | 'I don't know where he might have gone. (MC)

> **Dbi** *av* 'wherever'; **iidig** *av* 'seems'; **bebaa-zhaagwenh** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg might be going around.'

VERBLESS NEGATIVES OF EXISTENCE OR POSSESSION. Tenseless statements of negative existence or negative possession often occur without a verb.

(331) Gkina ngii-bkinaag iw nzhoon'yaam, ***gaa dash gegoo noongwa zhoon'yaa.***

'He won all my money from me, and ***now (there is) no money left.***' (AM39.357)

> **Gkina** *av* 'all'; **ngii-bkinaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg beat me in contest'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nzhoon'yaam** *ni 1s(0s)* 'my money'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **noongwa** *av* 'now'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money.'

(332) Biinteni endaad aw kwe, ***gaa wii waya koojiishan.***

'That woman's house is clean; ***(there are) no lice.***' (AM39.596)

> **Biinteni** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv is clean'; **endaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) where ANsg lives'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'any'; **koojiishan** *na 3obv* 'louse/lice.'

CLEFTED NEGATIVES. Another common construction involves a FOCUSED NEGATIVE INDEFINITE PRONOUN, to which is appended a PARTICIPLE, with the entire construction expressing a meaning somewhat equivalent to English, 'there was no X that/who…' The participial verb is usually introduced with a future or modal preverb, and is usually positive, though negative forms occur as well, as in (335), below.

(333) ***Gaa gegoo waa-miijid***$_{POS}$. | 'There was nothing for him to eat.' (AM37.2)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **waa-miijid** *vti ic conj part 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANsg could eat IN.'

(334) ***Gaa dash gegoo waa-zhichged***$_{POS}$ sa ji-bmwaad.

'There was nothing he could do to shoot it.' (AM36.24)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **waa-zhichged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg could do so'; **sa** *av* 'indeed'; **ji-bmwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg would shoot ANobv.'

Negatives of this sort may occur in SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS as well.

(335) Mii iw gaa-wnji-baatiin'sigwaa iw gii-bmi-maawndoo-yaawaad ***gaa wiin waya ji-bkadesig***.

'The reason they weren't many living together was so nobody would go hungry.' (AK9.4)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wnji-baatiin'sigwaa** *vai ic conj 3pProx neg* '(CCNJ) why ANpl were not many in number'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-bmi-maawndoo-yaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were together over time'; **gaa wiin** *av* 'not'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **ji-bkadesig** *vai conj 3sProx neg* '(CONJ) ANsg would not be hungry.'

(336) Mii dash gaa-wnji-gtaamgozwaad gii-zgaknigewaad ***gaa wiin waya ge-penmondwaawaajin***.

'And the reason they worked hard when they harvested, there's nobody that they can depend on.' (AK17.14)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-wnji-gtaamgozwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) why ANpl strove'; **gii-zgaknigewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* ' (CONJ) ANpl harvested'; **gaa wiin** *av* 'not'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **ge-penmondwaawaajin** *vta ic conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) whom (ANobv) ANpl will depend on ANobv.'

NEGATION WITH INDEFINITE PRONOUNS. The negative element /gaa/ may also occur with the indefinite pronouns *gegoo*, 'something,' and *waya*, 'someone' (also *wiya*), to form indefinite negative constituents, equivalent to English *nothing* and *no one*. The verb always shows negative inflection as well.

(337) Gegpii giiwenh go ***gaa go wiya gii-bi-bkidaaktaasii***.

'After a while, no one else leaned over the wall.' (SO6.172)

> **Gegpii** *pc* 'finally'; **giiwenh** *adv* 'allegedly'; **gaa** *adv* 'not'; **wiya** *pr indef 3* 'anyone'; **gii-bi-bkidaaktaasii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg did not come leaning over wall.'

(338) ***Gaa*** go gnabaj ***gwaya gdaa-wiidgemgosii***.

'Probably no one would marry you.' (DP)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **gnabaj** *av* 'perhaps'; **gwaya** *pr indef 3* 'anyone'; **gdaa-wiidgemgosii** *vta ind neg 2s»3sProx* 'you (SG) could marry ANsg.'

(339) "***Gaa dash go gegoo ngii-naasii*** gaa-sh go miinwaa wiikaa ngii-zhaasii."

'But I didn't say anything to him, and I never went again.' (AK13.29)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **ngii-naasii** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I did not say to ANsg'; **gaa-sh** *av* 'not then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **ngii-zhaasii** *vai ind 1s neg* 'I didn't go there.'

The negative element *gaa* may be used with *wiikaa*, 'ever,' and *ngoji*, 'somewhere,' to form negative adverbials of time and place, respectively.

(340) ***Gaa*** dash miinwaa ***wiikaa*** ngii-zhaasiimin odi.

'And we ***never*** went there again.' (AK1.10)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **ngii-zhaasiimin** *vai ind 1p neg* 'we (excl.) didn't go'; **odi** *av* 'there.'

(341) "***Gaa*** go gnage ***ngoji*** ngii-mkanziin ki," kido sa giiwenh mik.

'"I didn't find earth ***anywhere***," said the beaver.' (SO5.22)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **go** *av* 'indeed'; **gnage** *av* 'at all'; **ngoji** *av* 'anywhere'; **ngii-mkanziin** *vti ind neg 1s»3sProx* 'I did not find INsg'; **ki** *ni 0s* 'land'; **sa** *av* ' indeed'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **mik** *na 3sProx* 'beaver.'

When such elements are negated in subordinate clauses, *gaa* does not occur, just as it customarily does not in the standard negation of verbs.

(342) Mii dash noongo iw wenji-yaawaad ***giw ngoji debendaagzisgog nishnaabeg***.

'And now that's why there are those Indians who don't belong anywhere.' (AK9.10)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **noongo** *av* 'nowadays'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wenji-yaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) why ANpl are'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ngoji** *av* 'anywhere'; **debendaagziSGog** *vai ic conj part 3pProx neg* '(CCNJ) who ANpl don't belong to a group'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians.'

NEGATION OF SPECIFIC CONSTITUENTS. To negate a specific, expressed, constituent, the INDEFINITE NEGATIVE PRONOUNS *gaa gegoo*, 'no(thing),' and *gaa waya*, 'no one,' are used in conjunction with the constituent. An associated verb shows negative inflection.

(343) Ge wiin dash zhaazhi go giw gaa-bi-nbojig ***gaa wii gegoo mzinhigan gii-yaasnoon***$_{\text{NEG}}$.

'Only when they died in ancient time there was no book.' (AM24.4)

> **Ge** *av* 'also'; **wiin** *pr pers 3s* 's/he'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gaa-bi-nbojig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who ANpl came to die'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'any'; **mzinhigan** *ni 0s* 'book'; **gii-yaasnoon** *vii ind 0 neg* 'there was no IN.'

(344) Gii-biinaad niw jiiskiiwninwan mii dash gaa-kidod aw, "***Gaawiin waya*** maa ***kwe*** besho ***da-yaasii***$_{\text{NEG}}$."

'He brought the shaking tent shaman, and this one said, "No woman is to be nearby."' (AK11.7)

> **Gii-biinaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg brought ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **jiiskiiwninwan** *na 3obv* 'shaker(s)'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* ' then'; **gaa-kidod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg said'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'any'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **besho** *av* 'nearby' **da-yaasii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg will not be.'

These indefinite negative pronominal expressions are invariant in form, so do not show agreement with an associated noun for features of NUMBER or OBVIATION. In both of the examples below, the associated NP is plural, but the pronominal is unchanged.

(345) ***Gaawii*** go ***waya***$_{\text{SG/PL}}$ ***giwig*** gwiiwzensag gii-mwaasiiwaan mshiimnan.

'None of the boys ate apples.' (MC)

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **giwig** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gwiiwzensag** *na 3pProx* 'boys'; **gii-mwaasiiwaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl did not eat ANobv'; **mshiimnan** *na 3obv* 'apple(s).'

(346) ***Gaa*** go gnigenh ***waya***$_{\text{SG/PL}}$ ***giwig*** mshiimnag gii-mogaazsiiwag.

'None of the apples were eaten.' (MC)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **gnigenh** *av* 'at all'; **waya** *pr indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **giwig** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **mshiimnag** *na 3pProx* 'apples'; **gii-mogaazsiiwag** *vai ind neg 3pProx* 'ANpl were not eaten.'

GAA WII GEGOO AS NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL. The expression *gaa wii (sa/go) gegoo* can be used in a verbless predication to produce a negative EXISTENTIAL used in contexts of dismissal.

(347) ***Gaa wii*** sa ***gegoo*** wi. | 'That's nothing (to worry about).' (DP)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that.'

(348) ***Gaa wii gegoo*** noonde-nboyan, gga-bmaajhin miinwaa, mookseyan."

'***It doesn't matter*** if you die in the attempt, for I will restore you to life again, when you surface."' (SO5.18)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'anything'; **noonde-nboyan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (SG) die before the goal is reached'; **gga-bmaajhin** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'I will revive you (SG)'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **mookseyan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (SG) surface.'

(349) ***Gaa wii gegoo*** zhiwi niin bbaamziwin, ggii-izh niinaa.

'***It was none*** of my business, you told me.' (DP)

> **Gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'any'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **niin** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **bbaamziwin** *ni 0s* 'business'; **ggii-izh** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you (SG) told me'; **niinaa** *av* 'to be sure.'

NEGATION IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES (CONJUNCT ORDER). There are two strategies of negation in subordinate clauses, though they may also occur together. In the first, negative inflection appears on the verb, and there is usually no associated negative adverb.

(350) Mii dash gii-gnoonaawaad, ***Miinwaa maanda da-zhichgesgwaa*** waawiindmaw giw Nishnaabeg gaa-bi-njibaayan, ***miinwaa da-zhichgesgwaa wiikaa maanda***.

'Then they spoke to him: "Go tell those people at the place whence you have come that they are not to do this way again, that they must never do this thing again."'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-gnoonaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl spoke to ANobv'; **Miinwaa** *av* ' again'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **da-zhichgesgwaa** *vai conj 3pProx neg* ' (CONJ) ANpl should not do so'; **waawiindmaw** *vta redup imp 2s»3* 'tell AN all around'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gaa-bi-njibaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) where you sg come from'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **da-zhichgesgwaa** *vai conj 3pProx neg* '(CONJ) ANpl should not do so'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this.' (AM31.49)

(351) Mii dash niw gaa-gnahmawaawaajin giw getzijig niw sa wdooshkniigiimwaan ***ji-daapnaasnig***.

'That's the one that those old people warned the young people not to accept .'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **gaa-gnahmawaawaajin** *vta ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) whom (ANobv) ANpl warned'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **getzijig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) were old'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wdooshkniigiimwaan** *na 3pProx(3obv)* 'ANpl's youth(s)'; **ji-daapnaasnig** *vta conj neg 3obv»3* '(CONJ) ANobv should not accept ANobv.' (AM23.18)

In some cases the particle *gaa wii(n)* occurs with negated subordinate verbs. In both of the examples which follow, the negative subordinate verbs appear in complements of verbs of speaking.

(352) Mii dash gaa-naad aw getzid ***gaa wiin aw mandaagnini da-daapnaasig sa sha waa-wiindmaagod***.

'And the old person would tell him not to accept that fine gentleman and what he would tell him.' (AM23.12)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **getzid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* ' (CCNJ) ANsg who is old'; **gaa** *av* 'not then'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **mandaagnini** *na 3sProx* 'gentleman'; **da-daapnaasig** *vta conj neg 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg should not take ANobv'; **waa-wiindmaagod** *vta ic conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANobv will tell ANsg.'

(353) Gye go wgii-ggiikmaan maaba aw e-bgidenmaad nonda sa noosan gii-wiindmawaad ***gaa wiin da-aabnaabsinig gaa-bi-wnjibaanid…***

'And he who held the burial rites for my father exhorted him, telling him not to look back from where he had come...' (AM24.7)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **wgii-ggiikmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg exhorted ANobv'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **e-bgidenmaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg held a funeral for ANobv'; **nonda** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **noosan** *nad 1s(3obv)* 'my father'; **gii-wiindmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg told ANobv'; **gaa wiin** *av* 'not'; **da-aabnaabsinig** *vai conj 3obv neg* '(CONJ) ANobv should not look back'; **gaa-bi-wnjibaanid** *vai ic conj 3obv* ' (CCNJ) where ANobv had come from.'

CONSTRUCTIONS WITH BWAA-. In the second strategy of negation in subordinate clauses, used almost exclusively by some speakers nowadays, the preverbal element *bwaa-* is used, sometimes in combination with the future/modal preverbs /wii-/ or /ji-/, and the

verb is inflected with the positive conjunct. Often, constructions with *bwaa-*, especially those with *wii-bwaa-*, have a meaning equivalent to English 'lest,' in other words, indicating 'so that not…' Constructions with *ji-bwaa-* sometimes translate into English with a meaning 'before…,' in the sense of 'not yet.'

(354) Gesge naa wdaano-gnahmawaan wiijkiwenyan ***wii-bwaa-mwaanid niwi***, gaa sa giiwenh go maamda.

'He really tried to persuade his friend ***not to eat it***, but he couldn't.' (SO3.14)

> **Gesge** *av* 'really'; **wdaano-gnahmawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg tries in vain to warn ANobv'; **wiijkiwenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's friend(s)'; **wii-bwaa-mwaanid** *vta conj 3obv»3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv will not eat ANobv N'; **niwi** pr *na 3obv* 'that/those'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **maamda** *av* 'able.'

(355) ***Gye go wii-bwaa-zaagjisenid niw gaagon*** gii-gbankahge bezhig maaba iw wmanjgoodenh.

'***Lest the porcupine run out***, one of them stopped up the hole with her skirt.' (AM38.20)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **go** *av* 'indeed'; **wii-bwaa-zaagjisenid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) lest ANobv would come out'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **gaagon** *na 3obv* ' porcupine(s)'; **gii-gbankahge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg stopped up a hole in a tree'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wmanjgoodenh** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsg's dress.'

(356) Zhaazhi go gaa-zhichgewaad ge-wiinwaa giw gii-bgidendwaad ***ji-bwaa-dgoshing aw yaabshkiiwed***.

'The way they did when they held burial rites ***before the white man came***.'

> **Zhaazhi** *av* 'long ago'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **ge-wiinwaa** *pr 3p* 'as for ANpl'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **gii-bgidendwaad** *vta/vai recip conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl held funerals in relation to one another'; **ji-bwaa-dgoshing** *vai conj 3sProx* ' (CONJ) before ANsg arrive'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **yaabshkiiwed** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) is white in race.' (AM24.1)

Especially in clauses beginning with the conditional particle, *giishpin*, 'if,' *bwaa-* can occur without a MODAL PREVERB.

(357) Gwii-mkamgoomi gdakiimnaa, ***giishpin bwaa-naadmawngwaa*** gonda gwiijkiwenynaanig.

'Our land will be taken from us, ***if we fail to help*** these friends of ours.' (SO6.18)

> **Gwii-mkamgoomi** *vta ind x»1p* 'we will be robbed of Y'; **gdakiimnaa** *ni 21(0s)* 'our land'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bwaa-naadmawngwaa** *vta conj 21»3pProx* '(CONJ) we fail to help ANpl'; **gonda** *pr na 3pProx* 'these'; **gwiijkiwenynaanig** *nad 21(3pProx)* 'our (INCL.) friends.'

(358) ***Giishpin bwaa-bi-yaad*** gaa wii go naa gga-baabiihaasiinaan.

'***If he does not come*** we (incl.) will not wait for him.' (AM39.476)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bwaa-bi-yaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg fails to come'; **gaa wiin** *av* 'not'; **gga-baabiihaasiinaan** *vta ind neg 21»3sProx* 'we (INCL.) will not wait for ANsg.'

Some speakers have three distinct negative conjunct forms, one using *bwaa-* with a positive form of the verb (355a, below), another using a conjunct negative without *bwaa-* (355b), and a third doubly negated with both *bwaa-* and a conjunct negative (355c), as in the following example:

(359) Gegoo na gga-nendam giishpin… (a) bwaa-wiijiiwyin?
(b) wiijiiwsiwan?
(c) bwaa-wiijiiwsiwan?

'Would you mind if I didn't accompany you?' (MC)

> **Gegoo** *pn* 'something'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gga-nendam** ***vai ind 2s*** 'you (sg) think so of Y'; **giishpin** ***av*** 'if'; **bwaa-wiijiiwyin** ***vta conj 1s»2s*** '(CONJ) I fail to go with you (sg)'; **wiijiiwsiwan** *vta conj neg 1s»2s* '(CONJ) I do not go with you'; **bwaa-wiijiiwsiwan** *vta conj neg 1s»2s* '(CONJ) I do not go with you.'

In Odawa, the verbs *bwaanwihaad*, 'try in vain to do something to s.o.' VTA, and the equivalent VTI, *bwaanwitood*, appear to have a root form, /bwaanwi/, related to *bwaa-*.

(360) ***Nbwaanwihaanaa*** wadi wii-nsangid bezhig mnidoo, mii sa gaa-zhi-mkwenmigooyan wii-bbaa-wiijiiwyaang, wii-wa-naadmawyaang.

'***We have tried in vain*** to kill a monster over there, and we thought you would come along with us and help.' (SO4.11)

> **Nbwaanwihaanaa** *vta ind 1p»3sProx* 'we tried in vain to do to ANsg'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **wii-nsangid** *vta conj 1p»3sProx* 'we want to kill ANsg'; **bezhig** *nm* 'a certain (one)'; **mnidoo** *na 3sProx* 'manitou'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gaa-zhi-mkwenmigooyan** *vta ic conj 1p»2s* 'we thought of you (SG)'; **wii-bbaa-wiijiiwyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* 'you (SG) would come along with us'; **wii-wa-naadmawyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* 'you (SG) would go and help us.'

NEGATIVE QUESTIONS. Both yes/no and content questions can be negative. Negative yes/no questions invariably have the negative element first, either *gaa* or *gaa wii*, followed by the yes/no question particle *na*. Like their English equivalents, such questions are typically rhetorical.

(361) ***Gaa*** na ggikendnziin dbikak? | 'Don't you know that it's dark (outside)?' (DP)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **ggikendnziin** *vti ind neg 2s»0s* 'you (SG) do not know INsg'; **dbikak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be night/dark.'

(362) ***Gaawiin*** na bdakjihgan gwii-miizhsii? | 'Aren't you going to give me a fork?'

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **bdakjiihgan** *ni 0s* 'fork'; **gwii-miizhsii** *vta ind neg 2s»1s* 'you (SG) will not give me.' (IT)

(363) Nkwetwishin; ***aaniish bwaa-nkwetwiyan?***

'Answer me. Why don't you answer me?' (AM39.802)

> **Nkwetwishin** *vta imp 2s»1s* 'answer me'; **aaniish** *av* 'why'; **bwaa-nkwetwiyan** *vta conj 2s»1s* '(CONJ) you (SG) fail to answer me.'

NEGATION IN IMPERATIVES (PROHIBITIVES). Negative imperatives are called PROHIBITIVES. These constructions use the negative adverb *gego* (or *gegwa*), and specific negative imperative (prohibitive) verbal inflections. The negative adverb is usually in CLAUSE INITIAL POSITION, though it may follow an INTERJECTION such as *shkenaa*, expressing mild exasperation, or *aahaaw*, 'okay.'

(364) Shkenaa, ***gegwa kidke*** wi. | 'Oh for Pete's sake, don't say that.' (DP)

> **Shkenaa** *av* 'for Pete's sake'; **gegwa** *av* 'don't'; **kidke** *vai imp neg 2s* 'don't say'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that.'

(365) ***Gegwa wiindmawaake*** gii-wiindmoonaanh. | 'Don't tell her that I told you!' (DP)

> **Gegwa** *av* 'don't'; **wiindmawaake** *vta imp neg 2s»3* 'don't you (sg) tell AN'; **gii-wiindmoonaanh** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) I told you (SG).'

(366) ***Gego nsaaken*** mii go eta go iw gegoo ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig.

'And my grandfather said to him, "Don't kill it, but only something so it won't have power." (n.b., in reference to harmful manitou) (AK11.20)

> **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **nsaaken** *vta imp neg 2s»3s* 'don't you sg kill ANsg'; **mii** *av* 'but'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig** *vai conj 3sProx neg* '(CONJ) ANsg would not be powerful'; **mii** *av* 'that's'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **jiiskiiwninwan** *na 3obv* 'shaker/diviner.'

In one textual example involving an indirect prohibition, *gego* is used with a negative verb inflected for INDEPENDENT ORDER that has HORTATIVE force.

(367) ***Gego*** gnagen waasa wiya ***da-njigaabwisii!***

'Let no one dare stand too far away.' (SO6.166)

> **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **gnagen** *av* 'at all'; **waasa** *av* 'far'; **wiya** *pr indef 3* 'anyone'; **da-njigaabwisii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg will not stand from.'

The adverb *gego* can occur with EMPHATIC PARTICLES such as *wiin* and *dash*, as in the following examples.

(368) Wgii-naan niw sa shkiniigkwen, ***Gego dash*** zhgadenmaaken maaba shkinwe.

'He said to the young woman, "And don't be impatient to have that young man.'

> **Wgii-naan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg said to ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **shkiniigkwen** *na 3obv* 'young woman'; **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **zhgadenmaaken** *vta imp 2s»3sProx neg* 'do not (2s) be impatient with AN'; **maaba** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **shkinwe** *na 3sProx* 'young man.' (AM29.6)

(369) Wgii-naan dash wshiimenyan, ***Gego wiin*** zegziken.

'Then he said to his young brother, "Do not be afraid.' (AM31.30)

> **Wgii-naan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg said to ANobv'; **wshiimenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's younger sibling'; **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **zegziken** *vai imp 2s neg* 'don't you sg be afraid.'

PREVERB AANO-. The preverb *aano-* is used to indicate attempts that do not succeed in their goals, that is, that are undertaken in vain.

(370) "Aaniish ***mii sa aano-nji-gnahmoonaan,*** aaniish mii sa gaa go maamdaa."

'Well ***that's why I tried (in vain) to stop you***, but you wouldn't stop.' (SO3.30)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'that's'; **aano-nji-gnahmoonaan** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) why I tried to warn you against'; **aaniish** *av* 'but'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **maamda** *av* 'possible.'

(371) ***Mii-sh aano-wepdawaawaad iidig giwi Nimkiig niwi,*** mii giiwenh go maanda neyaab miinwaa spokmigseg negwaki, mii sa gaa go maamda gashkhaasiiwaan.

'***Those Thunderers had tried in vain to hit him*** (the monster), but the sandy ground just opened and closed again and they were unable to get at him.' (SO4.28)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **aano-wepdawaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) in vain ANpl struck at ANobv'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **Nimkiig** *na 3pProx* 'Thunderers'; **niwi** *pr na 3obv* 'that/those'; **mii** *av* 'but'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **neyaab** *av* 'back'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **spokmigseg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN opened and closed'; **negwaki** *ni 0s* 'sandy ground'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **sa** *av* 'indeed'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **maamda** *av* 'able'; **gashkhaasiiwaan** *vta ind neg 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl were not able to get at ANobv.'

This preverb is exceptional in having no distinct INITIAL CHANGED form. For example, in the following sentence, the presence of RELATIVE preverb *nji-*, 'from, source,' in a MII-CLAUSE should induce initial change, but *aano-* shows no change of form.

(372) Mii sa nii ***aano-nji-gnahmoonaan*** wii-mod wa giigoonh.

'That's why I tried to stop you from eating that fish.' (SO3.20)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **nii** *pr pers 1s* 'I'; **aano-nji-gnahmoonaan** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) why I tried to warn you against'; **wii-mod** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you eat ANsg'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish.'

THE ROOT /AANW/. The morpheme /aanw/ also occurs as the ROOT in a few verbs, such as *aanwewzi*, 'try in vain, be unable to manage' VAI, ***aanwihaad***, 'try in vain to do something to AN' VTA, *aanwitood*, 'try in vain to do something to IN.' VTI, and *aanwitoo*, 'be unable to move' VAI. The following example illustrates the use of the last verb.

(373) ***Gmaapii-sh giiwenh iidig gaa-ni-aanwitood wa,*** aanii-sh mii go naa iidig gii-zhaabwaakzod zhiwi wbaknaang, gii-bgaskjiihwind wi ziisbaakod.

'Shortly after, he could not continue the journey, as he had deep burns on his back where he had been plastered with the sugar.' (SO1.38)

> **Gmaapii-sh** *av* 'after awhile then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **gaa-ni-aanwitood** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg tried in vain to do IN'; **wa** *pr 3sProx* 'this'; **aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'for'; **iidig** *av* 'evidently'; **gii-zhaabwaakzod** *vai conj 3sProx* 'ANsg was burned through'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **wbaknaang** *nid 3sProx(0) loc* 'on ANSG's back'; **gii-bgaskjiihwind** *vta conj x 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg had been plastered'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ziisbaakod** *ni 0s* 'sugar.'

THE ADVERB AANO. This root also occurs in the free adverb, *aano*, 'although,' used to indicate a concession.

(374) ***Aano dash go ngii-kawaabmigoog iw pii nakmigziwaad*** bekish sa bwahmowaad maanda mnoomin.

'Although they kept an eye on me as they were busy, at the same time, they were gathering rice.' (AM6.2)

> **Aano** *av* 'in vain'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ngii-kawaabmigoog** *vta 3pProx»1* 'ANpl watched over me'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **nakmigziwaad** *vai conj 3p* '(CONJ) ANpl were busy'; **bekish** *av* 'at the same time'; **bwahmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl knocked IN down'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'rice.'

LEXICAL NEGATIVES. A few lexical items are formed from verbs carrying negative inflection, for example, *nsidwi-yaasik*, 'be in a daze' (VAI) and *ntaa-debwesik*, 'be a habitual liar' (VAI).

16.11 Logical Relations

In this section I will discuss four LOGICAL RELATIONS, those which specify PURPOSE, REASON, RESULT, and CONDITION.

16.11.1 Purpose

The logical relation of purpose indicates the intended result of a verbal action or event. In Nishnaabemwin purpose relations are usually expressed by means of subordinate clauses, often headed by the COMPLEMENTIZER *iw*, 'that.' Often the preverb *wii-*, indicating future intent, occurs with the subordinated verb of the purpose clause, or the modal preverb *ji-*, indicating possibility.

(375) Aapji dash gii-mkadekewag naan'godnong giw dash shkinweg gye go shkiniigkweg ***iw gegoo wii-gkendmowaad iw waa-bwaadmowaad.***

'Sometimes they fasted very much, those young men and women, ***in order to obtain that knowledge which they were to get in a dream.***' (AM23.5)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-mkadekewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl fasted'; **naan'godnong** *av* 'sometimes'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **shkinweg** *na 3pProx* 'young men'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **shkiniigkweg** *na 3pProx* 'young women'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **wii-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl will know IN'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **waa-bwaadmowaad** *vti ic conj 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANpl will dream IN.'

(376) Gii-bi-znagtoowag ge wiinwaa sa [***gegoo ji-gkendmowaad ge sa waa-mno-bmaadziwaad***].

'They too went to great pains [***so that they might obtain knowledge and lead a good life***].' (AM23.21)

> **Gii-bi-znagtoowag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl endured hardship'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wiinwaa** *pr pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **ji-gkendmowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) to ANpl know IN'; **ge** *av* ' and'; **waa-mno-bmaadziwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl will live well.'

(377) Miinwaa wgii-giishpnadoon [***iw bagoowyaan ji-wzhitmaagooyaan iw wshki-goodaas***].

'And she bought some material [***so that a new dress could be made for me***].'

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **wgii-giishpnadoon** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg bought INsg'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **bagoowyaan** *ni 0s* 'cloth'; **ji-wzhitmaagooyaan** *vta conj x»1* '(CONJ) Y will be made for me'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wshki-goodaas** *ni 0s* 'new dress.' (AK3.13)

Other means of expressing purpose exist, as in the following two sentences, which use a subordinate clause headed by *giishpin*, 'if' and a verb inflected for DUBITATIVE MODE (n.b., conjunct dubitative obligatorily shows INITIAL CHANGE).

(378) Nbi-zhaa endaayeg [***giishpin eyaawegwen***].

'I came to your (pl.) house [***(to see) if you (pl.) were there***].' (AM39.669)

> **Nbi-zhaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I am coming'; **endaayeg** *vai ic conj 2p* '(CCNJ) where you (PL) live'; **giishpin** *av* 'if/whether'; **eyaawegwen** *vai ic conj dub 2p* '(CCNJ) you (PL) might be there.'

(379) Ngii-zhaa endaawaad [***giishpin eyaawaagwen***].

'I went to their house [***(to see) if they were there***].' (AM39.670)

> **Ngii-zhaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I went'; **endaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl lived'; **giishpin** *av* 'if/whether'; **eyaawaagwen** *vai ic conj dub 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl might be there.'

16.11.2 Reason

The logical relation of REASON expresses the grounds for a verbal action, event, or state, that is, the logical source or cause of some consequence. In Nishnaabemwin, reasons are expressed by clauses in conjunction with the relative element /ond/, which may occur as a free adverb, *nji*, as a preverb, *nji-* (also spelled «wnji-»), or root, /ond/. The most common usage is with the preverb.

(380) Mii wi ***nji***! | 'That's why (I did what I did)!' (MC)

> **Mii** *pc foc* 'It's'; **wi** *pr 0s* 'that'; **nji** *av* 'from; reason.'

(381) Aapji gii-zegzi aw sa ngashi [***nji iw gii-bzhineyaan da-gii-daapneyaambaan***].

'My mother was very much frightened [***because when I fell out of the canoe I might well have got drowned***].' (AM6.11)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **gii-zegzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was frightened'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother'; **nji** *av* 'on account of'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-bzhineyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I had a close call'; **da-gii-daapneyaambaan** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) I might have drowned.'

(382) Mii dash noongo iw ***wenji-yaawaad giw ngoji debendaagzisgog nishnaabeg.***

'And now ***that's why there are those Indians who don't belong anywhere.***'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **noongo** *av* 'nowadays'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wenji-yaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) why ANpl are'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ngoji** *av* ' anywhere'; **debendaagzisgog** *vai ic conj part 3pProx neg* '(CCNJ) who ANpl don't belong to a group'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians.' (AK9.10)

(383) Mii niinaa [***gaa-nji-ninaanh gbe-zhebaa wii-maajtaayin***]. Zhaazhi gdaa-giizhiitaanaaba.

'That's [***why I told you all morning to get started***]. You would have been finished by now.' (DP)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **niinaa** *av* 'to be sure'; **gaa-nji-ninaanh** *vta ic conj 1s»2s* '(CCNJ) why I said to you sg'; **gbe-zhebaa** *av* 'all morning'; **wii-maajtaayin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you sg will start.' **Zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **gdaa-giizhiitaanaaba** *vai ind pret 2s* 'you sg could have been finished.'

Another, more archaic construction uses the DUBITATIVE PRONOUN *wegdagwen(h)* with RELATIVE PREVERB *(w)nji-*. The dubitative pronoun requires that an associated verb be inflected for dubitative mode. This construction occurs in my data in embedded reason questions.

(384) Waaboozoonh gii-ggwejmaa [***wegdagwen wenji-bshkizgwen***].

'Rabbit was asked [***however it might be white of colour***].' (AM34.2)

> **Waaboozoonh** *na 3sProx* 'rabbit'; **gii-ggwejmaa** *vta ind x»3sProx* 'ANsg was asked'; **wegdagwen** *pr dub 0* 'whatever'; **wenji-waabshkizgwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) why might ANsg be white in color.'

(385) Miinwaa gii-ggwejmaa [***wegdagwen wenji-niizhootwagegwen***].

'Again it was asked [***however it might have two ears***].' (AM34.5)

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **gii-ggwejmaa** *vta ind x»3sProx* 'ANsg was asked'; **wegdagwen** *pr dub 0* 'whatever'; **wenji-niizhootwagegwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg might have two ears from.'

Questions of reason have the inanimate interrogative pronoun, *wegnen* (which often fuses with focus particle dash to *wegne-sh*), relative preverb *wnji-*, 'why, because, from,' and changed conjunct verbal inflection.

(386) "Waaboozoonh, [***wegne-sh wenji-zaawzideyan***]?"

'"Rabbit, [***why have you brown feet***]?"' (AM34.14)

> **Waaboozoonh** *na 3sProx* 'rabbit'; **wegne-sh** *pr 0* 'what'; **wenji-zaawzideyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) do you sg have brown feet from.'

(387) Mii dash [***wenji-zaawzideyaan***]. | 'That is [***why I have brown feet***].'" (AM33.14)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **dash** *av* 'then' **wenji-zaawzideyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) why I have brown feet.'

Negative reason-questions with preverb *bwaa-*, 'not' sometimes have *aanii-sh*, 'how,'

instead of *(w)nji-*, 'why.' These questions have a structure rather analogous to English question form, 'How is it that…'

(388) Nkwetwishin: [***aanii-sh bwaa-nkwetwiyan?***]

'Answer me. [***Why don't you answer me?***]' (AM39.802)

> **Nkwetwishin** *vta imp 2s»1s* 'answer me'; **bwaa-nkwetwiyan** *vta conj 2s»1s* '(CONJ) you (SG) fail to answer me.'

INDICATING REASONS WITH INITIAL CHANGE. In running narrative, logical connections are sometimes indicated by means of INITIAL CHANGE. This practice reflects a general tendency to leave inter-clausal relations implicit.

(389) Mii go ambe gii-giishkzhawaad, gii-bkwemaad. Iiyoo, gegaa maa gaa-bookwaabdeshing. ***Gaa-wnendmaang*** ji-konmaang siniinsan.

'So then right away he sliced it and took a bite. Oh my, he almost broke his teeth! ***Because we'd forgotten*** to take the stones out (of the chokecherries).' (IS)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **ambe** *av* 'immediately'; **gii-giishkzhawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg sliced ANobv'; **gii-bkwemaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg took a bite of ANobv.' **Iiyoo** *av* 'oh!'; **gegaa** *av* 'almost'; **maa** *av* 'then'; **gaa-bookwaabdeshing** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg broke tooth.' **Gaa-wnendmaang** *vti ic conj 1p»0* '(CCNJ) we (EXCL.) forgot IN'; **ji-konmaang** *vti conj 1p»0* '(CONJ) we (EXCL.) remove IN'; **siniinsan** *ni 0p* 'cherry pits.'

16.11.3 Results

INDICATING RESULT WITH ZHI-. A direct result of a preceding action can be indicated by RELATIVE PREVERB *zhi-* (/izhi-/, changed form *ezhi-*), which naturally induces INITIAL CHANGE. This construction is quite common.

(390) Pii dash gii-bizigwiiyaan, ***gaa-zhi-gnabseyaang***. ***Gaa-zhi-giikaamid*** nmishoomisimban.

But when I stood up, ***we capsized (as a result)***. And (as a result) my late grandfather ***yelled at me***. (LM)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **gii-bizigwiiyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I stood up'; **gaa-zhi-gnabseyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) we (EXCL.) thus capsized'; **Gaa-zhi-giikaamid** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANsg thus yelled at me'; **nmishoomisimban** *nad pret 1s(3sProx)* 'my late grandfather.'

(391) Mm… ***mii go ezhi-bkadeyaanh*** dbaajmodwaa giwi piniig. Ndaa-ke-wiisin na go?

'Mm… ***I'm getting hungry from*** your talking about the potatoes! Can I eat?'

> **mii** *av* 'well'; **ezhi-bkadeyaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) I thus (become) hungry'; **dbaajmodwaa** *vta conj 2s»3pProx* '(CONJ) you (SG) tell about ANpl'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **piniig** *na 3pProx* 'potatoes.' **Ndaa-ke-wiisin** *vai ind 1s* 'can I eat (first)'; **na** *av* 'yes/no ques.' (DP)

RESULT CONSTRUCTIONS WITH *DASH*. In the following example, the logical relation of RESULT is explicitly marked only by the presence of the adverb *dash*, 'then, as a result, so.' This type of construction is quite common.

(392) Maanoo, ziigniboojgan ngii-naadin taasoowgamgong. Nga-paa-ziigniboonaag zgimenyig gojiing, ***gaa dash gwaya nga-dkomgosii***.

'That's all right, I went and got the bug spray from the shed. I'll go spray the mosquitoes outside, ***so none will bite me***.' (DP)

> **Maanoo** *av* 'that's alright'; **ziigniboojgan** *ni 0s* 'bug spray'; **ngii-naadin** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I fetched INsg'; **taasoowgamgong** *ni loc 0* 'from the shed.' **Nga-paa-ziigniboonaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I will go around spraying ANpl'; **zgimenyig** *na 3pProx* 'mosquitoes'; **gojiing** *av* 'out of doors'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gwaya** *pr indef 3* 'anyone'; **nga-dkomgosii** *vta ind neg 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg will not bite me.'

16.11.4 Conditionals

CONDITIONALS specify contingency, hypotheticality, and such notions. In Nishnaabemwin, statements of condition are typically marked by the presence of a CLAUSE-INITIAL conditional adverb *giishpin*, 'if.' The verb associated with *giishpin* is invariably inflected for PLAIN (UNCHANGED) CONJUNCT ORDER, and not infrequently, DUBITATIVE MODE.

(393) Mii dash pii giiwewaad giw niizh nishnaabeg, mii dash ekdod aw bezhig, "Aanii-sh ge-zhichgeyamban [***giishpin waabmaawgibnen gechi-gnaajwid kwe***]?"

'And when these two Indians were going home, one of them said, "What would you do [***if you should see a woman who is very beautiful?***]"' (AK4.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **giiwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl go home'; **giw** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ekdod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg said'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **ge-zhichgeyamban** *vai ic conj pret 2s* '(CCNJ) you sg would do so'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **waabmaawgibnen** *vta conj pdub 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you sg were to see ANsg'; **gechi-gnaajwid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg who is very beautiful'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman.'

(394) Ki ndaa-zhitoon, ***giishpin naadmawyeg***," wdinaan giiwenh.

'"I can make some land, ***if you all help me***," he (Nenabush) told them.' (SO5.14)

> **Ki** *ni 0s* 'land'; **ndaa-zhitoon** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I can make INsg'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **naadmawyeg** *vta conj 2p»1s* '(CONJ) you (pl) help me'; **wdinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg says to ANobv'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly.'

Future tense preverb *wii-* may occur with verbs in *giishpin* clauses:

(395) Aaniish mii sa giiwenh egod: "Giishpin ***wii-miizhyaang*** giwi ggwisag, giin go gdaa-wenaabnjige zhonda wene go naa ge-wiidgemaawdibnen.

'They said to her, "If ***you (will) give us*** your sons, you may choose anyone here that you might want to marry."' (SO2.4)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **egod** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANobv said to ANsg'; **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **wii-miizhyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* '(CONJ) you give us (EXCL)'; **giwi** *pr 3pProx* 'those'; **ggwisag** *nad 2s(3pProx)* 'your sons'; **giin** *pr pers 2s* 'you'; **gdaa-wenaabnjige** *vai ind 2s* 'you can choose'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **wene** *pr inter 3* 'who'; **ge-wiidgemaawdibnen** *vta ic conj pdub 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) you might marry ANsg.'

As with so many interclausal relations, circumstance and contingency can be expressed without recourse to *giishpin*, as in the following examples, where simple conjunct verb forms are used, and the relation between clauses is signalled by the linkage provided by *mii*.

(396) [***Mii dash gegoo iw wii-gkendang aw gimaa***] mii maajiinaazhkawaad niw mzhinwen.

'[***And if the chief wanted to know something***] he sent the messenger.' (AK9.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **wii-gkendang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg wanted to know IN'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'chief'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **maajiinaazhkawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg sent ANobv away'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **mzhinwen** *na 3obv* 'messenger(s).'

(397) Wgii-gnahmawaan niw wgwisan gaa wii nkwetwaasig [***niw bi-ggwejmigod mandaagninwan iw ji-zhwenmigod***].

'He warned his son not to accept the elegant man [***if he should come and offer to bless him***].' (AM31.6)

> **Wgii-gnahmawaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg warned ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **wgwisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's son(s)'; **gaa wii** *av* 'not'; **nkwetwaasig** *vta conj neg 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg not answer ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **bi-ggwejmigod** *vta conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANobv come and ask ANsg'; **mandaagninwan** *na 3obv* ' gentleman'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **ji-zhwenmigod** *vta conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANobv will bless ANsg.'

Negative conditions are commonly expressed by *giishpin* in association with negative preverb *bwaa-* (398), or with a verb inflected for conjunct negative (399).

(398) Giishpin ***bwaa-nishkaad*** gaa wiin da-wiisnisii.

'If ***he does not get up*** he shall not eat.' (AM39.480)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bwaa-nishkaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg fails to get up'; **gaa wiin** *av* 'not'; **da-wiisnisii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg will not eat.'

(399) Giishpin ***noondwaaswag***. | 'If ***I do not hear him***.' (AM39.666)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **noondwaaswag** *vta conj neg 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I do not hear ANsg.'

COUNTERFACTUALITY. Statements that are contrary to fact, called COUNTERFACTUALS, are expressed by means of *giishpin*-clauses having verbs inflected for the preterit or preterit dubitative mode. The main verb usually has the modal preverb-plus-past tense combination, *daa-gii-*.

(400) Giishpin bwaa-ndamtaayaambaa ***ndaa-gii-zhaa***.

'If I were not busy ***I would go there***.' (AM39.691)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bwaa-ndamtaayaambaa** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) I were not busy'; **ndaa-gii-zhaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I would go there.'

(401) Giishpin baatiintooyaambaan zhoon'yaa ***ndaa-gii-giishpnadoon maanda wiigwaam***.

'If I had lots of money ***I would buy this house***.' (AM39.692)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **baatiintooyaambaan** *vti conj pret 1s»0* '(CONJ) I had lots of IN'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money'; **ndaa-gii-giishpnadoon** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I would buy INsg'; **maanda** *pr 0s* 'this'; **wiigwaam** *ni 0s* 'house.'

17

Quantity and Degree

This chapter examines the many ways that quantity and degree are expressed in Nishnaabemwin. Expressions of quantity, that is, those that specify "how many," customarily involve NUMBER ROOTS, which occur in several distinct parts of speech, including INTRANSITIVE NUMBER VERBS, PRENOUNS, PREVERBS, as well as independent number words. In (1) below, for example, an amount is indicated by means of the number preverb, *niizho-*, 'two,' which in (2) appears in a free number word, and in (3), as the root of an inanimate intransitive verb (VII) (with INITIAL CHANGE to /naazh/). Number roots and numeric expressions are treated in detail below.

(1) Mii dash pii gii-yaawaawaad niw binoojiinyan endso-***niizho***-bboon'gak mii-sh gii-nbowaad giw binoojiinyag.

'And when they had the children, every ***two*** years, those children died.' (AK11.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'then'; **gii-yaawaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl had ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren)'; **endso-niizho-bboon'gak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) every two years'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-nbowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl died'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children.'

(2) Mii dash giiwenh gii-waabndang aw sa gwiiwzens ***niizh*** jiimaanan biidaasninig gchi-mookmaan-zhmaagnishag giw wii-miigaanaawaad niw Canadians.

'And then reportedly this boy saw ***two*** boats sailing toward them, they were American soldiers intending to fight the Canadians.' (AK15.10)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-waabndang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg saw IN'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **sa** *av* 'indeed'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **jiimaanan** *ni 0p* 'boats'; **biidaasninig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) INobv come sailing'; **gchi-mookmaan-zhmaagnishag** *na 3pProx* 'American soldiers'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **wii-miigaanaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl intend to fight ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those.'

(3) Gaawiin gii-bskaabiisiiwag baamaa ***naazhgon'gak*** wgii-bminaazhkwaawaan niw waagshan, gii-biindgebhiwewan dash maa siniing.

'They didn't return, later for ***two days*** they went along chasing that fox, but he ran inside there in some rocks.' (AK7.4)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **gii-bskaabiisiiwag** *vai ind 3pProx neg* 'ANpl did not come back'; **baamaa** *av* 'later'; **naazhgon'gak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CONJ) IN was two days'; **wgii-bminaazhkwaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl chased ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **waagshan** *na 3obv* 'fox(es)'; **gii-biindgebhiwewan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv ran inside'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **siniing** *ni 0 loc* 'in rock.'

GENERAL QUANTIFIERS. Quantity can also be expressed with general quantifying adverbs, such as *kina*, 'all,' *niibwa* (or *niibna*), 'much, a lot, many,' and *bngii*, 'a few.' General quantifiers such as these are treated in more detail in Chapter 12 (beginning on p. 572), and are not mentioned further in this chapter. In the following sections I will first discuss several RELATIVE ROOTS pertinent to quantity and degree expressions, then examine the adverb *mnik*, '(such) amount,' which commonly occurs in expressions of quantity and degree. This is followed by a rather extensive account of various numeric expressions, followed by several sets of distinct quantitative expressions in the language. I end the chapter with a brief account of quantity-related uses of REDUPLICATION.

17.1 Relative Roots

Several RELATIVE ROOTS commonly appear in quantitative expressions, outlined in the following table.

Root Form	Preverb Form	Meaning
/dasw/, /dash/	/daso-/	'so many'
/akw/	/ako-/	'to such extent'
/apiit/, /apiich/, /apiis/	/apiichi-/	'to such extent'

/DASW/. The RELATIVE ROOT /daSw/ (also /dash/), 'so many,' or its associated RELATIVE PRE-FORM *dso-* (variably *nso-* in Odawa) often appears in expressions involving free numbers, especially, but not restricted to, numbers greater than ten, in association with words denoting some unit of measure, such as *dbahaabaan*, 'mile' in example (4) and *bboon'gizi*, 'be X years old' in example (5).

(4) Ji-gshkitoowaad ji-bmasewaad ***nsimdana dso-dbahaabaan*** ji-bi-giiwewaad.

'They'd be able to walk ***thirty miles*** to come home.' (AK7.10)

> **Ji-gshkitoowaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl would be able to do IN'; **ji-bmasewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl would walk along'; **nsimdana** *nm* 'thirty'; **dso-dbahaabaan** *ni 0* 'so many miles'; **ji-bi-giiwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl would come back home.'

(5) Pii dash aazhgo iw ***eni-mdaaso-shi-niizh-dso-bboon'gizid*** mii iw ngoding debkaag gii-gshkozid.

'And when he was getting to be ***twelve years old*** it happened one time that he woke up at night.' (AK13.7)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aazhgo** *av* 'now indeed'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **eni-mdaaso-shi-niizh-dso-bboon'gizid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg is twelve years old'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ngoding** *av* 'one time'; **debkaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was night'; **gii-gshkozid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg woke up.'

(6) ***Niizhwaak dso-bboon*** gaa-ko-zhiwebak maanda.

'It was ***two hundred years*** ago that this happened.' (AK18.8)

> **Niizhwaak** *nm* 'two hundred'; **dso-bboon** *ni 0* 'so many years'; **gaa-ko-zhiwebak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) since IN happened'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this.'

A common variant of *dso–*, used especially on Manitoulin Island, is *nso–*.

(7) Niizhtana-shi-naanan ***nso-dbaabaan*** ngii-ko-zhigaadese.

'I walked twenty-five ***miles***.'

> **Niizhtana-shi-naanan** *nm* 'twenty five'; **nso-dbaabaan** *meas* 'so many miles'; **ngii-ko-zhigaadese** *vai ind 1s* 'I walked to such extent.' (MC)

Number expressions can be used with *dso-*, with INITIAL CHANGE, to denote the repetition of some numerically specified span of time. Most commonly *dso-* is used with verbs, but may also occur with DEVERBAL NOUNS such as *bboon*, 'year, winter,' as in (9).

(8) Mii dash pii gii-yaawaawaad niw binoojiinyan ***endso-niizho-bboon'gak*** mii-sh gii-nbowaad giw binoojiinyag.

'And when they had the children, ***every two years***, those children died.' (AK11.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'that time'; **gii-yaawaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl had ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren)'; **endso-niizho-bboon'gak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) every two years'; **mii-sh** *av* 'but then'; **gii-nbowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl died'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children.'

(9) Mii-sh ***endso-aabta-bboon*** mii gii-miinndwaa iw zhoon'yaa, ***endso-ngobboon'gak*** gii-miinaawag iw bagoowyaan, ...

'Then ***every six months*** they were given that money and ***every year*** they were given that cloth,...' (AK10.8)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **endso-aabta-bboon** *av/ni* 'every half year'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-miinndwaa** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money'; **endso-ngobboon'gak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) every one year span'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given Y'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bagoowyaan** *ni 0s* 'cloth'...

However, *dso–* can also be used without specific numeral expressions, to designate kinds, as in (10), or exhaustive repetition, as in (11).

(10) Da-baatiinoog giigoonyag ***endso-zhinaagziwaad***.

'There will be lots of ***every kind*** of fish.' (SO3.36)

> **Da-baatiinoog** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl will be many'; **giigoonyag** *na 3pProx* 'fish (PL)'; **endso-zhinaagziwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl are of every appearance.'

(11) Pane dash go ***endso-waabmag*** ngii-gnoonaa gii-Nishnaabemtawag Wjibwe-nwewin.

'Always then ***every time I saw her*** I addressed her in the Indian language, in Ojibwe.' (AM9.36)

> **Pane** av 'always' **dash** *av* 'then'; **endso-waabmag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) everytime I saw ANsg'; **ngii-gnoonaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I spoke to ANsg'; **gii-Nishnaabemtawag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I spoke Indian to ANsg'; **Wjibwe-nwewin** *ni 0s* 'Ojibwe language.'

/APIIT/. The RELATIVE ROOT /apiit/, or its corresponding RELATIVE PREVERB, /apiichi-/, also occurs with expressions involving degree or extent, combining with many distinct final complexes to form quite specific verbs of degree. This is true of all six basic relative roots, and lists of forms such as the following, gleaned from Rhodes 1985, could be produced for every root.

piichaa	vii	'be a certain distance along'
piichgi	vai	'be grown a certain amount'
piichgidaazo	vai	'be angry to a certain extent'
piichgin	vii	'be grown a certain amount'
piichyaa	vii	'be a certain time'
piiskaa	vai	'be a certain distance along'
piisnaagod	vii	'seem to be a certain time'
piitaa	vii	'be a certain time'
piitaagnagaa	vii	'be snow of a certain depth'
piitaagnagii	vai	'walk in snow of a certain depth'
piitaapi	vai	'laugh to a certain extent'
piitaate	vii	'be hot out in the sun to a certain extent'
piitde	vii	'be cooked a certain amount'
piitendi	vai	'be away a certain length of time'
piitnige	vai	'lift a certain amount'
piitnigod	vii	'be of a certain weight'
piitoode	vai	'crawl a certain distance'

(12) Mii dash gaa-nendang iw pii, "Pii ***de-piitzid*** aw ngwis ji-wiidged mii aw ge-ndodmaageyaan ji-wiidgemaad niw ngwisan.

'And he thought at the time, "When my son ***gets old enough*** to be married, she is the one I'll ask for, for her to marry my son."' (AK11.2)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-nendang** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg thought thus'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **Pii** *av* 'when'; **de-piitzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is of sufficient age'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **ngwis** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my son'; **ji-wiidged** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg can marry'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **ge-ndodmaageyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) I will ask for Y'; **ji-wiidgemaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg would marry ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **ngwisan** *na 1s(3obv)* 'my son(s).'

(13) Mii dash ***epiichi-yaad*** odi shpimsagong mii iw gii-ningsenig iw wiigwaam aapji dash gii-zegzi.

'And ***the whole time she was*** upstairs, the house was shaking and she was very much afraid.' (AK11.10)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **epiichi-yaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* 'the extent ANsg was there'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **shpimsagong** *av* 'upstairs'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gii-ningsenig** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) INobv shook'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wiigwaam** *ni 0s* 'house'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-zegzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was frightened.'

/AKW/. The RELATIVE ROOT /akw/ or its associated RELATIVE PREVERB, /ako-/ sometimes appear in expressions referring to degree and quantity, as in the following examples. As with other relative roots, /akw/ occurs with a variety of endings, e.g., *koozde*, 'be a certain number of feet in length' VAI, *koozi*, 'be a certain height' VAI, *koshin*, 'be a pile of a certain height' VAI. The following examples illustrate the use of this relative element.

(14) Nsing ***e-koozdeng*** gii-piitaagnagaa. | 'The snow was ***three feet deep.***' (AM10.4)

> **Nsing** *av* 'three times'; **e-koozdeng** *vai ic conj x* '(CCNJ) of such extent'; **gii-piitaagnagaa** *vii ind 0* 'IN was snow of a certain depth.'

(15) Niibwa go aazhgo giizhgadoon ***eko-baabiihog.***

'It's ***so many*** days, the time ***that I wait for him; I've been waiting for him for many*** days.' (PI1.2)

> **Niibwa** *av* 'lots'; **aazhgo** *av* 'already indeed'; **giizhgadoon** *ni 0p* 'days'; **eko-baabiihog** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) since I've been waiting for ANsg.'

(16) Mii dash gaa-naawaad, Biindig go maanoo da-yaayan ***eko-gshkihewziyan.***

'Then they told him, "Be sure to stay in there ***as long as you can stand it.***"'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-naawaad** *vta ic conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANpl said to ANobv'; **Biindig** *av* 'inside'; **maanoo** *av* 'by all means'; **da-yaayan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you 2s will be'; **eko-gshkihewziyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) to the extent you (SG) are able.' (AM19.6)

17.2 Degree Adverbs and Preverbs

General expressions of marked intensity are also expressed by means of DEGREE ADVERBS, such as *aapji*, 'really, extremely,' and *zaam*, 'too.' The preverb *gchi-*, 'extremely,' is also common.

(17) Gaawii nii, ***zaam niibna*** zhaazhi ngii-wiisin. | 'Not me, I already ate ***too much.***' (KK)

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **nii** *prn pers 1s* 'i'; **zaam** *av* 'too'; **niibna** *av* 'much'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **ngii-wiisin** *vai ind 1s* 'I ate.'

(18) ***Gchi***-mnise giiwenh, ***aapji*** go ***gchi***-nokii.

'He cut ***lots*** of wood, and he ***really*** works hard.' (SO4.54)

> **Gchi-mnise** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg gets lots of firewood'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **gchi-nokii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg works hard.'

17.3 Quantification with *Mnik*

The adverb *mnik*, 'so many,' is commonly used in contexts involving quantification. In the first set of examples, *mnik* occurs with specific quantificational expressions. In most cases, *mnik* immediately precedes the verb, or is separated from it only by emphatic particles.

(19) Giishpin mkoonsag biindgewaad, ngodwaaso-namhe-giizhgad ***mnik*** wii-gsinaamgad.

'If the cubs return to the den, there will be six more weeks of cold weather.' (KK)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **mkoonsag** *na dim 3pProx* 'bear cubs'; **biindgewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl enter'; **ngodwaaso-namhe-giizhgad** *ni 0* 'six weeks'; **mnik** *av* 'amount'; **wii-gsinaamgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg will be cold.'

(20) Aakzi-sh giiwenh maaba Nishnaabe; niizhwaaso-bboon giiwenh ***mnik*** aakzi.

'This man was very sick; he was sick for seven years.' (SO4.2)

> **Aakzi-sh** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is ill'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **Nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **niizhwaaso-bboon** *ni nm 0* 'seven years'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **mnik** *av* 'amount'; **aakzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is ill.'

Mnik can also be used to mean 'as many,' 'as much,' or 'as long.'

(21) ***Mnik*** go naa geshkhaad go naa zhiwi gii-maawndoonaadgenan, mii sa zhiwi gii-bkodbid.

'He piled up ***as many*** of them as he could and sat there on top of them.' (SO5.4)

> **Mnik** *av* 'as many as'; **geshkhaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg was able to do with ANobv'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **gii-maawndoonaadgenan** *vta ind dub 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg evidently piled up ANobv'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **sa** *av* 'indeed'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **gii-bkodbid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg sat on top.'

(22) "Mii-sh go eta go ***mnik*** gaa-gkendmaan," kido sa giiwenh wa zhashkoonh.

'That's ***as much*** as I am aware of," said the muskrat.' (SO5.41)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **mnik** *av* 'as much as'; **gaa-gkendmaan** *vti ic conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) that (IN) I know'; **kido** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg says'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **zhashkoonh** *na 3sProx* 'muskrat.'

(23) Mii dash go ***mnik*** gaa-bmaadzid gii-zgaswaa pii go naa jaanmendang.

'And for ***as long as*** she was alive she smoked whenever she was worried.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **mnik** *av* 'as much as'; **gaa-bmaadzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg lived'; **gii-zgaswaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg smoked'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **jaanmendang** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was worried.' (AK12.6)

Mnik can be used in conjunction with *dshing*, '(so many) times.'

(24) Aaniish manj go naa iidig ***mnik dshing*** gaa-googiigwen wa, de-mnik sa go iidig ogii-maawnjitoon wi kiins.

'Well, it's not known ***how many times*** he dived, probably as often as was necessary to gather up the little bits of earth.' (SO5.46)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **manj** *av* 'however it may be'; **iidig** *av* 'evidently'; **mnik** *av* 'amount'; **dshing** *av* 'so many times'; **gaa-googiigwen** *vai ic conj dub 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg may have dived'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **de-mnik** *av* 'sufficient amount'; **iidig** *av* 'evidently'; **ogii-maawnjitoon** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg gathered up INsg'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **kiins** *ni 0s* 'bit of earth.'

Mnik is also used in questions that ask 'how much' or 'how many.'

(25) ***Aaniish mnik*** binoojiinyag waa-boozwaad?

'***How many*** children will be getting on?' (KK)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children'; **waa-boozwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl will board.'

(26) ***Aaniish mnik*** ziitaagan menezyin? | '***How much*** salt do you need?' (MC)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'much'; **ziitaagan** *ni 0* 'salt'; **menezyin** *vaio ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you (SG) are in need of Y.'

Mnik can occur with the COMPARATIVE ELEMENT *nwaj*, 'more.'

(27) Aaniish mii sa giiwenh gii-googiid zhashkoonh, ***nwaj*** dash giiwenh weweni wgii-biidoon ***mnik*** ki, gii-bi-mooksed miinwaa.

'So the muskrat went down again, and, when he surfaced, he brought back ***much more*** earth.' (SO5.45)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-googiid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg dove'; **zhashkoonh** *na 3sProx* 'muskrat'; **nwaj** *av* 'more'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **weweni** *av* 'proper'; **wgii-biidoon** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg brought INsg'; **mnik** *av* 'amount'; **ki** *ni 0s* 'land'; **gii-bi-mooksed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg surfaced'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again.'

17.4 Numbers and Number Expressions

CARDINAL NUMBERS. The following charts lay out the traditional number system of Nishnaabemwin. In the left column are common PREVERB and PRENOUN forms; in the second, ROOT forms, and the third, the free number.

Pre-Form	Root Form	Number	
ngo-	/ngod/[1]	bezhig	'one'
niizhoo-	/niizh/	niizh	'two'
nso-	/nis/	nswi	'three'
niiwoo-	/niiw/	niiwin	'four'
naano-	/naan(an)/	naanan, naanin	'five'
ngodwaasoo-	/ningodwaas(w)/	ngodwaaswi	'six'
niizhwaasoo-	/niizhwaas(w)/	niizhwaaswi	'seven'
nshwaasoo-	/nishwaas(w)/	nshwaaswi	'eight'
zhaangsoo-	/zhaangs(w)/	zhaangswi	'nine'
mdaaso-	/midaas(w)/	mdaaswi	'ten'

1. The root form in other dialects is /ningod-/, and Rhodes gives some examples which use this form, e.g., with first person prefixes, as in *nningdwewaan'giz,* 'I form a single group.' In common usage, the short /i/ in the first SYLLABLE would SYNCOPATE, and the two /n/'s in sequence then simplify to a single segment.

The number system is presently BASE TEN (also called decimal), and begins recounting at eleven, using *mdaaswi,* 'ten,' with CONJUNCTIVE element *-shi,* 'and,' to which is then added the appropriate number, as in the following examples.

mdaaswi-shi-bezhig	'eleven'
mdaaswi-shi-niizh	'twelve'
mdaaswi-shi-nswi	'thirteen'

There are remnants of a BASE FIVE (also called quintenary) system in the numbers six through eight, in that six appears to contain a traditional ROOT for one, seven that of two, and eight that of three. The FINAL /(w)aaswi/, 'five,' that appears in these numbers is also found in *mdaaswi,* 'ten,' and perhaps vestiges in *zhaangswi,* 'nine.' The following chart lays out these relationships.

ngodwaaswi	'six'	ngod	'one'
niizhwaaswi	'seven'	niizh	'two'
nshwaaswi	'eight'	nswi	'three'

The tens from twenty through ninety are formed by addition of a FINAL element /-midana/, 'tens,' to the numbers for two through nine, with small adjustments in some cases. The word *niizhdana,* 'twenty,' lacks the /mi/ of /midana/, for example.

niizhdana	'twenty'
nsimdana	'thirty'
niimdana	'forty'
naanmidna	'fifty'
ngodwaasmidna	'sixty'
niizhwaasmidna	'seventy'
nshwaasmidna	'eighty'
zhaangsimdana	'ninety'

EXAMPLES OF USAGE OF NUMBERS.

(28) ***Bezhig*** eta ngii-nsaa saawe. | 'I caught (killed) only ***one*** perch.' (AM39.269)

> **Bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **ngii-nsaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I killed ANsg'; **saawe** *na 3sProx* 'perch.'

(29) ***Ngodwaaswi*** noodewziwaad mii dash go naa gii-bi-gbaawaad gii-bi-ndawenjgewaad wii-shamaawaad niw binoojiinyan.

'They were ***six*** families and they stopped along the way and went hunting intending to give food to the children.' (AK15.7)

> **Ngodwaaswi** *nm* 'six'; **noodewziwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were such families'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gii-bi-gbaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl disembarked'; **gii-bi-ndawenjgewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl hunted'; **wii-shamaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl wanted to feed ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren).'

(30) ***Zhaangsimdana-shi-niiwin*** gii-dso-bboon'gizi aw nookmis pii nembod.

'My grandmother was ***94*** years old when she died.' (AM2.2)

> **Zhaangsimdana-shi-niiwin** *nm* '94'; **gii-dso-bboon'gizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was so many years old'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nookmis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **nembod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg died.'

The hundreds are formed by adding final /-(w)aak/, 'hundred' to the NUMERAL ROOTS. Multiples of thousands are formed by using the repetition, "times," form of integers.

ngodwaak	'one hundred'
niizhwaak	'two hundred'
nswaak	'three hundred'
niiwaak	'four hundred'
naanwaak	'five hundred'
ngodwaaswaak	'six hundred'
niizhwaaswaak	'seven hundred'
nshwaaswaak	'eight hundred'
zhaangswaak	'nine hundred'
mdaaswaak	'one thousand'
nswaak shi aabta	'three hundred and fifty' (W)
niizhing mdaaswaak	'two thousand'
nsing mdaaswaak	'three thousand'

EXAMPLE SENTENCES WITH HUNDREDS.

(31) ***Ngodwaak***-sh go ngii-ggwejmaa. | 'I asked him for ***100*** (dollars).' (FF2.11)

> **Ngodwaak-sh** *nm* 'one hundred'; **ngii-ggwejmaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I asked ANsg (for).'

(32) ***Ngodwaak-shi-naanmidna*** nso-dbaabiishkoojgan ndapiitnigoz.

'I weigh ***150*** lbs.' (MC)

> **Ngodwaak-shi-naanmidna** *nm* 'one hundred and fifty'; **nso-dbaabiishkoojgan** *ni 0* 'so many pound(s)'; **ndapiitnigoz** *vai ind 1s* 'I weigh that much.'

HALF. The only fractional amount consistently referred to is *aabta*, 'half.' But *aabta* is very common, as an independent word, as a prenoun and preverb, and as a root. The following examples illustrate its usage.

(33) ***Aabta*** bookbidoon. | 'Break it ***in half*** with your hand.' (AM39.746)

> **Aabta** *av* 'in half'; **bookbidoon** *vii imp 2s»0* 'break IN with (your) hand(s).'

(34) Gii-baabiiho dash ***aabta-dbahgan*** mii-sh gii-goyaangid iw ji-bi-mookaakhomaang mii dash gii-ni-maajaayaang.

'She waited ***half an hour*** and then said to us that we could come out of the bush, and we left.' (AK8.7)

> **Gii-baabiiho** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg waited'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aabta-dbahgan** *ni quant* 'half hour'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-goyaangid** *vta conj 3sProx»1p* '(CONJ) ANsg said to us'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ji-bi-mookaakhomaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we (excl) could come out of bush'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-ni-maajaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we (excl) went away.'

(35) Otahaa! Mii giiwenh zhaazhi go ***aabta-giigoonywid*** wa!

'Goodness! ***He is*** already ***half-fish***!' (SO3.29)

> **Otahaa** *av* 'oh my!'; **Mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **aabta-giigoonywid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is half become a fish.'

(36) Maanoo dash go naa bangii ***aabtooshkin*** niimbaagning ngii-gwaabhaan.

'Nevertheless I dipped up a little, ***half a pailful***, in the pail.' (AM10.9)

> **Maanoo** *av* 'nevertheless'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **bangii** *av* 'a little'; **aabtooshkin** *av* 'half full'; **niimbaagning** *ni 0 loc* 'in water pail'; **ngii-gwaabhaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I dipped IN.'

(37) Maa dash e-ndhamaang dkibi ***aabtawdaaki*** yaamgad, besho yaag nbis.

'The spring from which we got the water was ***halfway up a hill***, near a lake.' (AM10.6)

> **Maa** *av* 'there'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **e-ndhamaang** *vti ic conj 1p»0* '(CCNJ) where we got IN from'; **dkibi** *ni 0s* 'spring of water'; **aabtawdaaki** *av* 'halfway up a hill'; **yaamgad** *vii ind 0s* 'IN is'; **besho** *av* 'near'; **yaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is there'; **nbis** *ni 0s* 'lake.'

REPETITION ("TIMES") NUMBERS. REPETITION NUMBERS are formed by adding final /-ing/ to number roots. While repetition numbers can be generated for almost any number, in actual practice they tend to be used only for numbers below five or so, and expressions such as *dching*, 'so many times' with a general quantifier are used, as in (42), below, for higher numbers.

ngoding, ngwading	'once'
niizhing	'twice'
nsing	'three times'
niiwing	'four times'
naaning	'five times'
ngodwaaching	'six times'
niizhwaaching	'seven times'
nshwaaching	'eight times'
zhaangching	'nine times'
mdaaching, mdaasing	'ten times'
dching, nching	'such times…'

Examples of usage of REPETITION NUMBERS.

(38) ***Niizhing*** kosing mtigoon, ***niizhing*** kosing msan.

'***Two*** cords of wood; ***two*** cords of firewood.' (AM39.536)
[lit., 'pieces of wood piled twice; pieces of firewood piled twice']

> **Niizhing** *av* 'twice'; **kosing** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is in a pile'; **mtigoon** *ni op* 'wood (PL)'; **niizhing** *av* 'twice'; **kosing** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is in a pile'; **msan** *ni 0s* 'firewood.'

(39) ***Nsing*** gii-mdwezge. | 'He shot ***three times***.' (AM39.64)

> **Nsing** *av* 'three times'; **gii-mdwezge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg shot.'

(40) ***Nsing*** e-koozdeng gii-piitaagnagaa. | 'The snow was ***three*** feet deep.' (AM10.4)
[lit., 'three times the measure of a foot the snow was of such extent']

> **Nsing** *av* 'three times'; **e-koozdeng** *vai ic conj x* '(CCNJ) of a certain number of feet deep'; **gii-piitaagnagaa** *vii ind 0* 'IN was snow of a certain depth.'

(41) Mii-sh gii-zhi-bbaabtood maa nsawhigning ***mdaaching***, gii-bmi-ngamo gii-bmi-dkonang iw biiwaabik gechi-giinaag.

'Then he ran around the tepee ***ten times***, he was singing and carrying a very sharp metal spear point.' (AK11.12)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-zhi-bbaabtood** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg ran around there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **nsawhigning** *ni 0 loc* 'conical lodge (loc)'; **mdaaching** *nm* 'ten times'; **gii-bmi-ngamo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went along singing'; **gii-bmi-dkonang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg went along holding IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **biiwaabik** *ni 0s* 'piece of metal'; **gechi-giinaag** *vai ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) IN which is very sharp.'

(42) Niibna ***dching*** ngii-noondaagoz, gaa wiin dash ngii-noondaagsii.

'I called out many ***times***, but he did not hear me.' (AM39.447)

> **Niibna** *av* 'many'; **dching** *av* 'so many times'; **ngii-noondaagoz** *vai ind 1s* 'I shouted'; **gaa wiin** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **ngii-noondaagsii** *vta ind neg 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg did not hear me.'

Repetition numbers are also used to specify the number of slices of various kinds of food, such as *bkwezhgan*, 'bread,' *mbaloney*, 'balogna,' and *pie*.

(43) Niizhing nakdeg bkwezhgan ngii-miijin. | 'I ate two slices of bread.' (MC)

> **Niizhing** *nm* 'twice (two times)'; **nakdeg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is sliced so'; **bkwezhigan** *ni 0(s)* 'bread'; **ngii-miijin** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I ate INsg.'

(44) Naaning nakdeg mbaloney naa gnamaa daa-debse.

'Five slices of baloney should probably be enough.' (MC)

> **Naaning** *av* 'five times'; **nakdeg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is sliced so'; **mbaloney** *ni 0(s)* 'balogna'; **gnamaa** *av* 'probably'; **daa-debse** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg should be sufficient.'

(45) Ngoding nakzad pie geyaabi bi. | 'There's one slice of pie left.' (MC)

> **Ngoding** *nm* 'once; one time'; **nakzad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is sliced so'; **pie** *na* 'pie'; **geyaabi** *av* 'yet, still'; **bi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is there.'

ORDINAL NUMBERS. The ORDINAL NUMBERS are formed by adding the element *eko-*, 'time(s), repetition(s),' to the repetition form. The form for *first* is irregular, in that it adds *e-* to the adverb *ntam*, 'first.'

e-ntam, shki-ntam, aapji-ntam	'first'
eko-niizhing	'second'
eko-nsing	'third'
eko-niiwing	'fourth'

(46) ***Eko-nsing-sh*** giiwenh begskijiignaamaad wi ziisbaakod, mii giiwenh gii-gwekbagzod, gii-zaagjibtood.

'After she had plastered him with the sugar ***for the third time***, he spun around and ran outside.' (SO1.26)

> **Eko-nsing-sh** *av* 'third time'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **begskijiignaamaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) when ANsg had slapped ANobv hard'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ziisbaakod** *ni 0s* 'sugar'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-gwekbagzod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg turned around quickly'; **gii-zaagjibtood** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg ran out(side).'

'FIRST' WITH PREVERB SHKI-. The concept of "first" is also commonly expressed with preverb *shki-* /oshki-/, as in the following examples.

(47) ***E-shki-dgoshnaan*** maa Walpole Island iw enweyaan ngii-nji-mbashaabhigoog.

'When ***I first came*** to Walpole Island, they made fun of me on account of the way I spoke.' (AM1.1)

> **E-shki-dgoshnaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) when I first arrived'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **enweyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) way which I speak'; **ngii-nji-mbashaabhigoog** *vta ind 3p»1s* 'ANpl made fun of me on account of.'

(48) Eko-ngo-bboon'gak ***gii-shki-zhwendaagzi*** ndaanis.

'A year ago my daughter ***received first communion***.' (MC)

> **Eko-ngo-bboon'gak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) since one year'; **gii-shki-zhwendaagzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg first received communion'; **ndaanis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my daughter.'

DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS. DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS are formed by PREFIXAL REDUPLICATION, using the initial consonant of the stem and the vowel /e/.

bebezhig	'one each'
neniizh	'two each'
nenswi	'three each'
neniiwin	'four each'
nenaanan	'five each'
nen'godwaaswi	'six each'

Sentence (50), below, illustrates the use of a CLASSIFIER, in this case /-aabik/, with a DISTRIBUTIVE number. Classifier /-aabik/ is used with numbers representing dollar amounts.

(49) Mii dash maaba gimaa ***bebezhig*** shamaad iw wdehens maajiimgad go iw.

'Then this chief gives them to eat, ***one by one***, a little heart while it's beating (n.b., a turtle's heart given to young men to eat as a test of courage.)' (AK5.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'chief'; **bebezhig** *av* 'one by one'; **shamaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg feeds ANobv'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wdehens** *ni x(0s)* 'little heart'; **maajiimgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg moves'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that.'

(50) ***Nenaanwaabik*** gga-miinnim wii-bbaa-yaayeg pow-wow.

'I'll give ***each*** of you ***five dollars*** to go around at the pow-wow.' [or]
'I'll give you ***five dollars each*** to go around at the pow-wow.' (MC)

> **Nenaanwaabik** *ni 0s* 'five dollars each'; **gga-miinnim** *vta ind 1s»2p* 'I will give you (PL)'; **wii-bbaa-yaayeg** *vai conj 2p* '(CONJ) you (PL) will go around.'

VERBS OF NUMBER. There are verbs specifying numeric amounts for both animate and inanimate subjects. The VAI forms have final /-i/, and the VII forms, final /-in/. The stem bezhig appears to have a final /w/, which coalesces with the finals to produce /o/.

vai	vii	
dchi, nchi, dshi	dchin	'be so many…'
bezhgo	bezhgon	'be one'
niizhwag	niizhnoon	'be two'
nsiwag	nsinoon	'be three'
niiwwag	niiwnoon	'be four'
naanniwag	naanninoon	'be five'
ngodwaachwag	ngodwaachnoon	'be six'
niizhwaachwag	niizhwaachnoon	'be seven'
nshwaachwag	nshwaachnoon	'be eight'
zhaangchiwag	zhaangchinoon	'be nine'
mdaachwag	mdaachnoon	'be ten'

Many contemporary speakers use verbs of number in relatively limited contexts. One speaker, for example, suggested that they tend to be more commonly used without explicit nominal subjects, such as in answer to specific questions of number. They are especially

common, however, in some usages, such as expressions enumerating the number of one's children, as in (51).

(51) Mdimooyenh sa go naa ***gii-naanniwan*** niwi wgwisan, shkinwensag, shkinweg.

'There was (among them) an: old woman whose sons ***were five (in number)***, little boys and young men.' (SO2.2)

Mdimooyenh *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **sa** *av* 'indeed'; **gii-naanniwan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv were five in number'; **niwi** *prn na 3obv* 'nao'; **wgwisan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's son(s)'; **shkinwensag** *na 3pProx* 'very young men'; **shkinweg** *na 3pProx* 'young men.'

(52) Mii-sh miinwaa gii-dgoshnowaad zhaagnaashag bemoomgojig ***gii-bi-niiwwag***.

'And more white men came, they were ***four*** horsemen.' (AK2.9)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **gii-dgoshnowaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl arrived'; **zhaagnaashag** *na 3pProx* 'whitemen'; **bemoomgojig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANpl) were on horseback'; **gii-bi-niiwwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were four in number.'

(53) Gaawiin gii-baatiin'siiwag gnimaa go naa ngodwaasmidna ***gii-dchidgenag*** bezhig iw gaa-bmi-dnizwaad.

'There were not many, perhaps sixty ***formed a group*** where they dwelled in one place.' (AK9.3)

Gaawiin *av* 'not'; **gii-baatiin'siiwag** *vai ind 3pProx neg* 'ANpl were not many in number'; **gnimaa** *av* 'probably'; **ngodwaasmidna** *nm* 'sixty'; **gii-dchidgenag** *vai ind dub 3pProx* 'ANpl might have been in number'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaa-bmi-dnizwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl lived there over time.'

(54) Mii-sh go iidig zhiwi ***gaa-nji-nso-bboon'gadnig***.

'So ***he stayed there for three years***.' (FF4.16)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **gaa-nji-nso-bboon'gadnig** *vii ic 0obv* '(CCNJ) INobv be from three years.'

(55) Ashi-bezhig nchiwag. | 'There's eleven of them.'

Ashi-bezhig *nm* 'eleven' (shortened form of **mdaaswi-ashi-bezhig**); **nchiwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are so many in number.'

CLASSIFIERS. Traditional Nishnaabemwin has a set of CLASSIFIERS which classify objects according to their physical properties. The most common classifiers are /-aatig/, 'wooden, pole-like,' /-eg/, 'clothlike,' /-aabik/, 'metal, glass, plastic, stone,' and /-aabiig/, 'stringlike,' though others exist as well (see discussion in Chapter 9, beginning on page 331). These classifiers are used in counting in the traditional language, basically by adding the appropriate classifier to a NUMERAL ROOT to produce a classifier-sensitive number. Nowadays the most commonly used classifier is /-aabik/, used in counting money. The following table provides examples of CLASSIFICATORY NUMERALS.

	stick	cloth	metal, glass, coin	string, row
one	ngodwaatig bezhgwaatig	ngodweg bezhgweg	ngodwaabik bezhgwaabik	ngodwaabiig bezhgwaabiig
two	niizhwaatig	niizhweg	niizhwaabik	niizhwaabiig
three	nswaatig	nsweg	nswaabik	nswaabiig
four	niiwaatig	niiweg	niiwaabik	niiwaabiig
five	naanwaatig	naanweg	naanwaabik	naanwaabiig
six	ngodwaaswaatig	ngodwaasweg	ngodwaaswaabik	ngodwaaswaabiig
seven	niizhwaaswaatig	niizhwaasweg	niizhwaaswaabik	niizhwaaswaabiig
eight	nshwaaswaatig	nshwaasweg	nshwaaswaabik	nshwaaswaabiig
nine	zhaangswaatig	zhwaangsweg	zhaangswaabik	zhaangswaabiig
ten	mdaaswaatig	mdaasweg	mdaaswaabik	mdaaswaabiig

Classifiers, in the form of CLASSIFICATORY MEDIALS, can be combined with numbers and intransitive verb finals to produce verbs of number that are sensitive to the classification of the objects being counted. For example, NUMERAL ROOT /niizhw-/, 'two,' plus classificatory medial /-aakw/, 'wooden, pole-like,' plus VAI FINAL /-izi/, produces *niizhwaakziwag*, 'be two pole-like objects' (VAIP). The corresponding VIIP form is *niizhwaakodoon*.

	stick	cloth	metal, glass	string, row
two	niizhwaakzi	niizhwegzi	niizhwaabkizi	niizhwaabiigzi
three	nswaakzi	nswegzi	nswaabkizi	nswaabiigzi

A variety of other classifying finals occur which are used with numeral roots. The following list has been culled from Rhodes 1985. Categories of classification include, among others, body-part units of measurement (hand, arm, foot), containers (bags, barrels, cups, boats), and temporal durations (day, night, year).

Final	Gloss	Example	Example Gloss
/-ooshkin/	'bagful, pailful'	ngodooshkin	'one bagful/pailful'
/-b(i)boon	'year'	ngo-bboon	'one year'

Final	Gloss	Example	Example Gloss
/-biih(i)gan/	'card'	ngodwaasbiihgan	'six (in cards)'
/-d(i)bahaabaan/	'mile'	ngodbahaabaan	'one mile'
/-d(i)bik/	'night'	ngodbik	'for one night'
/-gamig/	'houseful, roomful'	ngodgamig	'one house/roomful
/-gon/	'day'	niiygon	'four days ago'
/-(a)kiins/	'acre'	niizhkiins	'two acres'
/-naagaans/	'cup'	ngodnaagaans	'one cupful'
/-nik/	'armspan'	ngodnik	'one armspan'
/-ninj/	'hand-width'	ngodninj	'one handwith'
/-oode/	'family, household'	ngodoode	'one family/household'
/-oonag/	'boatload'	niizhoonag	'two boatloads'
/-(i)sag/	'barrelful'	ngodsag	'one barrelful'
/-waabik/	'dollars'	niizhwaabik	'two dollars'
/-waakwaagan/	'handspan'	ngodwaakwagan	'one handspan'
/-(w)ewaan/	'pair, team, set'	niizhwewaan	'two pairs'
/-zid/	'foot'	ngodzid	'one foot'

EXAMPLE SENTENCES WITH NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS.

(56) Wgii-gnoonaan maanda niw ndoodooman, wgii-miinaan neyaab aaning iw bagoowyaan, miinwaa ***ngodwewaan*** wgii-miinaan niw mkiznan.

'She talked to my mother about this, and she [my mother] gave her back some of the cloth and gave her ***one pair*** of shoes.' (AK3.14)

Wgii-gnoonaan *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg spoke to ANobv'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **ndoodooman** *nad 1s(3obv)* 'my mother'; **wgii-miinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg gave Y to ANobv'; **neyaab** *av* 'back'; **aaning** *av* 'some'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bagoowyaan** *ni 0s* 'cloth'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **ngodwewaan** *ni 0* 'one pair'; **wgii-miinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg gave Y to ANobv'; **niw** *prn 0p* 'those'; **mkiznan** *ni 0p* 'shoes.'

(57) Maanoo dash go naa bngii ***aabtooshkin*** niimbaagning ngii-gwaabhaan.

'Nevertheless I dipped up a little, ***half a filling***, in the pail.' (AM10.9)

Maanoo *av* 'nevertheless'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **bngii** *av* 'a little'; **aabtooshkin** *av* 'half full'; **niimbaagning** *ni 0 loc* 'in water pail'; **ngii-gwaabhaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I dipped INsg.'

(58) Mii-sh giiwenh gii-biinaad wa mdimooyenh niwi bnewan, ***ngodooshkin***, gii-dgoshing.

'So the old lady brought back those partridges, ***one bagful***, and arrived home.'

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-biinaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg brought ANobv'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **niwi** *prn na 3obv* 'that/those'; **bnewan** *na 3obv* 'partridge(s)'; **ngodooshkin** *ni nm* 'one bagful'; **gii-dgoshing** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg arrived.' (SO2.12)

(59) ***Ngo-dbahgaans*** nwii-bbaa-nend. | 'I will be gone ***one hour***.' (AM39.23)

Ngo-dbahgaans *ni nm* 'one hour'; **nwii-bbaa-nend** *vai ind 1s* 'I will be absent going around.'

(60) Gnimaa ***niiwgon*** wgii-gkendaan wii-bi-dgoshninid.

'He knew that they were going to come ***in four days***.' (AM31.20)

Gnimaa *av* 'perhaps'; **niiwgon** *av* 'four days'; **wgii-gkendaan** *vti 3sProx»0sg* 'ANsg knew INsg'; **wii-bi-dgoshninid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv would arrive here.'

(61) ***Niizhtana-shi-naanwaabik*** eta ndayaan. | 'I only have ***25 dollars***.'

Niizhtana-shi-naanwaabik *ni nm* 'twenty-five dollars'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **ndayaan** *vti ind 1s»0* 'I have INsg.'

(62) Mii go eta ***niizhwaabik*** miinwaa niizhdana zhoomaankenh yaamaanh.

'I've only got ***two dollars*** and twenty cents left.' (FF2.6)

Mii *av* 'and'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **niizhwaabik** *ni nm* 'two dollars'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **niizhdana** *nm* 'twenty'; **zhoomaankenh** *na* 'change (coins)'; **yaamaanh** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I have IN.'

VERBS TAKING NUMBER ROOTS. Nishnaabemwin has a rich array of verb finals that either standardly take numeral roots or are capable of taking them. The following list is representative, as each word represents a template with which any number can be used.

nen'godooshkne	vai	'be a maximum of one to each'
ngodoon'gad	vii	'be a (single) boatload'
ngodoon'gizi	vai	'be a (single) boatload'
ngodoopwin'gad	vii	'be a (single) tableful'

ngodoopwin'gizi	vai	'be a (single) tableful'
ngodooshkne	vai, vii	'be a (single) container ful'
niizhgonendi	vai	'be absent for two days'
niizhgon'gad	vii	'be two days ago, two days later'
niizhoobhidwag	vaip	'be a group of two running together'
niizhooshin	vai	'be two lying together'
niizhwaabgonii	vii	'be two growing together' (e.g., flowers)
niizhwewaan'gizi	vai	'be in two groups, be paired'
niizhwewaan'gizwag	vaip	'be in two sets, be two families'

EXAMPLES OF NUMERAL ROOT VERBS:

(63) ***Gga-niizhwewaan'gizmi*** ji-mookiitmang. | '***We will be in two groups*** as we attack.'

> **Gga-niizhwewaan'gizmi** *vai ind 21* 'we (incl.) will be in two groups'; **ji-mookiitmang** *vai conj 21* '(CONJ) we (incl.) will attack.' (SO6.101)

(64) Gii-bi-mdaaswi-shi-niizhdaabaan'gizwag. | 'They came in twelve carloads.' (MC)

> **Gii-bi-mdaaswi-shi-niizhdaabaan'gizwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl came in twelve carloads.'

(65) ***Nsognagak*** da-bi-bskaabii aw kwe. | '***In three days*** that woman will be back.'

> **Nsognagak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be three days'; **da-bi-bskaabii** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will come back'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman.' (AM39.511)

(66) Mii dash ekdod, ***Jibwaa-niizhgon'gak*** wii-bi-gchi-nimkiikaa.

'This was what he said: "***Before two days have passed*** there will be a big thunderstorm."' (AM10.16)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ekdod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg said'; **Jibwaa-niizhgon'gak** *vai conj 0* '(CONJ) before IN will be two days'; **wii-bi-gchi-nimkiikaa** *vii ind 0s* 'there will come a great thunderstorm.'

17.5 Various Expressions of Quantity and Degree

In this section I provide examples of many common quantitative or degree expressions.

EXPRESSING AGE. Age is expressed with VAI verb *bboon'gizi*, /biboonagizi/, for animates, and *bboon'gad* /biboonagad/ VII, for inanimates, in combination with an appropriate number preverb, or alternatively, they can be analyzed as having number ROOTS and a

MEDIAL derived in some way from /biboon/, 'winter,' by the addition of POST-MEDIAL /-ag/. Preverbs and roots behave differently under syncope, in that the final vowels of preverbs are not subject to syncope, which should theoretically allow one to distinguish their use as preverbs or roots—but in these words the tests yield conflicting results. For example, in (67), below, *mdaas-bboon'gizwaad*, 'ANpl are ten years old,' should have either the final vowel of /midaaso/ or the initial vowel of /biboonagizi/, but here has neither.

For numbers larger than ten, *dso-*, 'so many,' typically occurs directly before the verb, as in (69) and (70), below. In (69), the number *mdaaso-shi-niizh*, 'twelve,' is preceded by a changed form of the preverb *ni-* (/ani-/), *eni-*, enclosing the number within the verb.

(67) Mii pii giw gwiiwzensag ***mdaas-bboon'gizwaad***, mii ndawenjgewaad giw nishnaabeg ndawaabmaawaad niw mskwaadeswan.

'When the boys ***are ten years old***, the Indians go hunting and looking for turtles.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **gwiiwzensag** *na 3pProx* 'boys'; **mdaas-bboon'gizwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl were ten years old'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **ndawenjgewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) VAI CONJ 3pPROX'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **ndawaabmaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl look for ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **mskwaadeswan** *na 3obv* 'turtle(s).' (AK5.2)

(68) Mii dash iw gii-bchinaajgaazod aw nmishoomis maa wninjiing, ***niiyo-bboon'gizgoban*** giiwenh iw pii.

'And my grandfather was struck by accident there on his hand, he was reportedly ***four years old*** at the time.' (AK10.14)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gii-bchinaajgaazod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was shot accidentally'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **wninjiing** *ni 3sProx(0) loc* 'on ANSG's hand'; **niiyo-bboon'gizgoban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg was evidently four years old'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time.'

(69) Pii dash aazhgo iw ***eni-mdaaso-shi-niizh-dso-bboon'gizid*** mii iw ngoding debkaag gii-gshkozid.

'And when he was ***getting to be twelve years old*** it happened one time that he woke up at night.' (AK13.7)

Pii *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'and'; **aazhgo** *av* 'already indeed'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **eni-mdaaso-shi-niizh-dso-bboon'gizid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg was twelve years old'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ngoding** *av* 'one time'; **debkaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN was night'; **gii-gshkozid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg woke up.'

(70) Mii dash gaa-zhichgewaad mewnzha gii-wi-wiidookaadwaad iw gtigewaad, mii dash aazhgo iw ***mdaaswi-shi-naanan dso-bboon'gizid*** maaba gwiiwzens mii-sh gaa-nankiid aw mdimooyenh gii-mko-bmased.

'This is what they did long ago, they helped each other when they farmed, and when the boy ***was fifteen years old***, this was how the old woman worked: she bear-walked (was a witch).' (AK14.7)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **gii-wi-wiidookaadwaad** *vta/vai recip 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl went and helped each other'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gtigewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl farmed'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'so'; **aazhgo** *av* 'now indeed'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mdaaswi-shi-naanan** *nm* 'fifteen'; **dso-bboon'gizid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg was so many years old'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gaa-nankiid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg worked so'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **gii-mko-bmased** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg bear-walked.'

(71) ***Niizhwaak dso-bboon*** gaa-***ko***-zhiwebak maanda.

'It was ***two hundred years ago*** that this happened.' (AK18.8)

Niizhwaak *nm* 'two hundred'; **daso-bboon** *ni* 'so many years'; **gaa-ko-zhiwebak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) such extent IN happened'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this.'

EXPRESSIONS OF DRY WEIGHT. Expressions of dry weight are made with verbs having the RELATIVE ROOT /apiit/. The number expression constituting the weight almost always appears before the verb[1].

1. Unless otherwise indicated in this chapter, examples are from MC.

(72) Aaniish epiitnigok wi mkak? | 'How much does that box weigh?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiitnigok** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN weighs such extent'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mkak** *ni 0s* 'box.'

(73) Niizho-dbaabiishkoojgan piitnigod maanda. | 'This (box) weighs two lbs.'

Niizho-dbaabiishkoojgan *ni nm 0* 'two pounds'; **piitnigod** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg weighs such'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this.'

(74) Mdaaswi-shi-naano-dbaabiishkoojgan piitnigod maanda.

'This (box) weighs 15 lbs.'

Mdaaswi-shi-naano-dbaabiishkoojgan *ni nm 0* 'fifteen pounds'; **piitnigod** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg weighs such'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this.'

(75) Niizhtana-shi-naano-dbaabiishkoojgan piitnigod maanda. | 'This weighs 25 lbs.'

Niizhtana-shi-naano-dbaabiishkoojgan *ni nm 0* 'twenty-five pounds'; **piitnigod** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg weighs such'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this.'

(76) Ngodwaak nso-dbaabiishkoojgan piitnigod maanda. | 'This weighs 100 lbs.'

Ngodwaak *ni nm 0* 'one hundred'; **nso-dbaabiishkoojgan** *ni 0* 'so many pound(s)'; **piitnigod** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg weighs such'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this.'

(77) 6 oz. piitnigod maanda mshkimad. | 'This bag weighs 6 oz.'

piitnigod *vii ind 0s* 'INsg weighs such'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **mshkimad** *ni 0s* 'bag.'

(78) Wegnesh washme e-gzigong, maanda maage oodi wi?

'Which box is heavier, this one or that one?'

Wegnesh *prn inter 3/0* 'what'; **washme** *av* 'more'; **e-gzigong** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is heavy'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **maage** *av* 'or'; **oodi** *av* 'there'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that.'

(79) Wegnesh washme e-naangang, maanda maage oodi wi?

'Which box is lighter, this one or that one.'

Wegnesh *prn inter 0* 'what'; **washme** *av* 'more'; **e-naangang** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is light in weight'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **maage** *av* 'or'; **oodi** *av* 'there'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that.'

(80) Aaniish epiitnigziyin? (*or* e-piitnigziyin) | 'How much do you weigh?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiitnigziyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) weigh such extent.'

(81) Ngodwaak-shi-naanmidna nso-dbaabiishkoojgan ndapiitnigoz. | 'I weigh 150 lbs.'

Ngodwaak-shi-naanmidna *nm* 'one hundred and fifty'; **nso-dbaabiishkoojgan** *ni 0* 'so many pound(s)'; **ndapiitnigoz** *vai ind 1s* 'I weigh that much.'

(82) 70 kiyograms ndapiitnigoz. | 'I weigh 70 kg.'

ndapiitnigoz *vai ind 1s* 'I weigh that much.'

(83) Ngodwaaso-dbaabiishkoojgan gii-piitnigzi giigoonh gaa-debnag.

'The fish I caught weighed 6 lbs.'

Ngodwaaso-dbaabiishkoojgan *ni nm 0* 'six pounds'; **gii-piitnigzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg weighs that much'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish'; **gaa-debnag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) which (ANsg) I caught.'

(84) Washme (*or* ooshme) gzigon maanda mkak pii dash wi bezhig.

'This box is heavier than that one.'

Washme *av* 'more'; **ooshme** *av* 'more'; **gzigon** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is heavy'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **mkak** *ni 0s* 'box'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one.'

(85) Washme naangan maanda mkak pii dash wi bezhig.

'This box is lighter than that one.'

Washme *av* 'more'; **naangan** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is lightweight'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **mkak** *ni 0s* 'box'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one.'

(86) Naano-dbaabiishkoojgan noondaash piitnigod maanda mkak pii dash wi bezhig.

'This box is 5 lbs lighter than that one.'

Naano-dbaabiishkoojgan *ni nm 0* 'five pounds'; **noondaash** *av* 'less'; **piitnigod** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg weighs such'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **mkak** *ni 0s* 'box'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one.'

(87) Gaawii naasaab aapiitnigsinoon nanda mkakoon. 'These boxes don't weigh the same.'

Gaawii *av* 'not'; **naasaab** *av* 'the same'; **aapiitnigsinoon** *vii redup ind neg 0p* 'INpl do not weigh such amount'; **nanda** *prn 0p* 'these'; **mkakoon** *ni 0p* 'boxes.'

(88) Naasaab aapiitnigdoon nanda mkakoon. | 'These boxes weigh the same.'

Naasaab *av* 'the same'; **aapiitnigdoon** *vii redup ind 0p* 'INpl weigh such amount'; **nanda** *prn 0p* 'these'; **mkakoon** *ni 0p* 'boxes.'

(89) Gaawii wiikaa ngwiidnanziin wi epiitnigok mkak!

'I never lifted a box that weighs that much.'

Gaawii *av* 'not'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **ngwiidnanziin** *vti ind neg 1s»0s* 'I do not lift INsg'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **epiitnigok** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN weighs such extent'; **mkak** *ni 0s* 'box.'

(90) Aaniish epiichi-gzigong wi mkak?

'How heavy is that box?' (n.b., assuming that it is heavy)

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiichi-gzigong** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is of such heaviness'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mkak** *ni 0s* 'box.'

(91) Aaniish epiichi-gzignid wa giigoonh?

'How heavy is that fish? (Assuming that it is heavy.)'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiitnigzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg weighs such amount'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish.'

(92) Zaami-gzigon maanda mkak. | 'This box is too heavy.'

Zaami-gzigon *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is too heavy'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **mkak** *ni 0s* 'box.'

(93) Gdoo-zaami-gzigon. | 'You're too heavy.'

Gdoo-zaami-gzigon *vai ind 2s* 'you (SG) are too heavy.' /ozaami-gozigoni/

(94) Dbaabiishkoozan. | 'Weigh yourself.' or 'Measure your weight.'

Dbaabiishkoozan *vai imp 2s* 'weigh yourself.'

EXPRESSIONS OF DISTANCE. Distance is expressed with relative elements, such as *piichi-*, 'to such extent' (root /apiit/), *ko-*, 'so far' (root /ako/), and /iN/, 'there, to, thus.'

(95) Aaniish piichi-waasa gaa-ko-zhigaadeseyin? | 'How far did you walk?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-waasa** *av* 'so far'; **gaa-ko-zhigaadeseyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG walked such extent.'

(96) Aaniish piichi-waasa gaa-ko-patooyin? | 'How far did you run?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **gaa-ko-patooyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG walked such extent.'

(97) Nso-dbaabaan ngii-ko-zhigaadese. | 'I walked three miles.'

Nso-dbaabaan *ni 0* 'three miles'; **ngii-ko-zhigaadese** *vai ind 1s* 'I walked to such extent.'

(98) Niizhtana-shi-naanan nso-dbaabaan ngii-ko-zhigaadese. 'I walked twenty-five miles.'

Niizhtana-shi-naanan *nm* 'twenty five'; **nso-dbaabaan** *ni 0* 'so many miles'; **ngii-ko-zhigaadese** *vai ind 1s* 'I walked to such extent.'

(99) Waasa ngii-ko-zhigaadese. | 'I walked a long way.'

Waasa *av* 'far'; **ngii-ko-zhigaadese** *vai ind 1s* 'I walked to such extent.'

(100) Wiikwemkoong ngii-bi-njigaadese. | 'I walked (all the way) from Wikwemikong.'

Wiikwemkoong *ni place* 'Wikwemikong'; **ngii-bi-njigaadese** *vai ind 1s* 'I walked from.'

(101) Niizhtana nso-dbaabaan nji maanpii (te Mnidoo-mnis).

'It's twenty miles to Manitoulin Island.'

Niizhtana *nm* 'twenty'; **nso-dbaabaan** *ni 0* 'so many miles'; **nji** *av* 'from'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **Mnidoo-mnis** *ni 0* 'Manitoulin.'

(102) Nsimdana nso-dbaabaan nji Mchigiing temgad Wiikwemkoong.

'Wikwemikong is thirty miles from West Bay.'

Nsimdana *nm* 'thirty'; **nso-dbaabaan** *ni 0* 'so many miles'; **nji** *av* 'from'; **Mchigiing** *ni place* 'West Bay'; **temgad** *vii ind 0s* 'be there'; **Wiikwemkoong** *ni place* 'Wikwemikong.'

(103) Washme waasa wiin Bill gii-zhigaadese (pii dash niin). 'Bill walked farther than me.'

Washme *av* 'more' **waasa** *av* 'far' **wiin** *prn 3s* 'ANsg' **gii-zhigaadese** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg walked'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'as for'; **niin** *prn* 1s 'I.'

(104) Niizhwaak nso-dbaabaan nji maanpii (te Toronto). | 'It's 200 miles to Toronto.'

Niizhwaak *nm* 'two hundred'; **nso-dbaabaan** *ni 0* 'so many miles'; **nji** *av* 'from'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **te** *vii 0s* 'INsg is there.'

(105) Bill ewaanji-waasa gaa-ko-zhigaadesed. | 'Bill walked the farthest.'

ewaanji-waasa *av* 'most far'; **gaa-ko-zhigaadesed** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg walked such extent.'

(106) Aaniish piichi-waasa gaa-ko-zhaayin? | 'How far did you go?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-waasa** *av* 'so far'; **gaa-ko-zhaayin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) went such extent.'

(107) Aaniish piichi-waasa geyaabi Wiikwemkoong?

'How much farther is it to Wikwemikong?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-waasa** *av* 'so far'; **geyaabi** *av* 'yet'; **Wiikwemkoong** *ni place* 'Wikwemikong.'

(108) Aaniish epiichaag Wiikwemkoong? | 'How far is it to Wikwemikong?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiichaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is so far'; **Wiikwemkoong** *ni place* 'Wikwemikong.'

(109) Aaniish piichi-waasa geyaabi waa-zhaaying aabdeg?

'How much farther do we (inclusive) have to go?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-waasa** *av* 'so far'; **geyaabi** *av* 'yet'; **waa-zhaaying** *vai ic conj 21* '(CCNJ) we (incl.) will go'; **aabdeg** *av* 'necessarily.'

(110) Aaniish piichi-waasa eko-namak miikan? | 'How far does the road go?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-waasa** *av* 'so far'; **eko-namag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is a road leading there to such distance'; **miikan** *ni 0s* 'road.'

(111) Washme waasa (temgad) Toronto pii dash North Bay.

'Toronto is farther (away) than North Bay'

Washme *av* 'more'; **waasa** *av* 'far'; **temgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is there'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'then.'

(112) Aaniish piichi-gbeyiing zhaazhi bemseyin?

'How long have you been walking (already)?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-gbeyiing** *av* 'to whatever long length of time'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **bemseyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) have walked.'

(113) Nsogon zhaazhi nbimse. | 'I've been walking for three days (already).'

Nsogon *av* 'three days'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **nbimse** *vai ind 1s* 'I walk.'

EXPRESSIONS WITH MONEY. The following sentences provide examples of sentences involving monetary amounts. Such expressions frequently use noun final /(w)aabik/.

(114) Aaniish en'gizod maaba mshiimin? | 'How much does this apple cost?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **en'gizod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) that ANsg costs'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **mshiimin** *na 3sProx* 'apple.'

(115) Bezhgwaabik nangzo (maaba). | 'This (anim.) costs one dollar.'

Bezhgwaabik *ni* 'one dollar'; **nangzo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg costs'; (**maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this.'

(116) Naanmidna-shi-naanan zhoomaankenh nangzo. | 'It (anim.) costs fifty-five cents.'

Naanmidna-shi-naanan *nm* 'fifty-five'; **zhoomaankenh** *na nm* 'change (coins)'; **nangzo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg costs.'

(117) Aabtawaabik ngii-dbawaa wa mshiimin. | 'I paid half a dollar for that apple.'

Aabtawaabik *ni meas* 'half-dollar'; **ngii-dbawaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I paid ANsg for Y'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **mshiimin** *na 3sProx* 'apple.'

(118) Aaniish maanda mzinigan en'gindeg? | 'How much does this book cost?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **mzinigan** *ni 0s* 'book'; **en'gindeg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) that IN costs.'

(119) Mdaaswi-shi-naanwaabik nangde. | 'It (inan.) costs 15 dollars.'

Mdaaswi-shi-naanwaabik *ni nm* 'fifteen dollars'; **nangde** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg costs.'

(120) Ten thousand ngii-zhi-dbawaa wa daabaan. | 'I paid 10,000 (dollars) for that car.'

ngii-zhi-dbawaa *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I paid ANsg for Y'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **daabaan** *na 3sProx* 'vehicle.'

(121) Aaniish mnik zhoon'yaans eyaaman? | 'How much money do you have?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'much'; **zhoon'yaans** *ni 0s* 'money'; **eyaaman** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you (SG) have IN.'

(122) Niizhtana-shi-naanwaabik eta ndayaan. | 'I only have 25 dollars.'

Niizhtana-shi-naanwaabik *ni nm* 'twenty-five dollars'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **ndayaan** *vti ind 1s»0* 'I have INsg.'

(123) Aaniish mnik gaa-bkinaageyin mbingo? | 'How much did you win at bingo?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'much'; **gaa-bkinaageyin** *vaio ic conj 2s»y* '(CCNJ) you (SG) won Y'; **mbingo** *ni 0* 'at bingo.'

(124) Niizhtana-shi-naanwaabik ngii-bkinaagen mbingo-taageyaanh.

'I won twenty-five dollars playing bingo.'

Niizhtana-shi-naanwaabik *ni nm* 'twenty-five dollars'; **ngii-bkinaagen** *vaio 1s»0s* 'I won INsg'; **mbingo-taageyaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I play bingo.'

(125) Niizhtana-shi-naanwaabik ngii-naachtoon mbingo-taageyaanh.

'I lost twenty-five dollars playing bingo.'

Niizhtana-shi-naanwaabik *ni nm* 'twenty-five dollars'; **ngii-naachtoon** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I lost INsg'; **mbingo-taageyaanh** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I play bingo.'

The following table provides additional examples of monetary amounts. Amounts for one through ten can be found in the table on page 883.

mdaaswi-shi-bezhgwaabik	'eleven dollars'
mdaaswi-shi-niizhwaabik	'twelve dollars'
mdaaswi-shi-nswaabik	'thirteen dollars'
niizhtana nswaabik	'twenty dollars'
niizhtana-shi-bezhgwaabik	'twenty-one dollars'
niizhtana-shi-niizhwaabik	'twenty-two dollars'

nsimdana nswaabik	'thirty dollars'
ngodwaak (nswaabik)	'one hundred (dollars)'
niizhwaak (nswaabik)	'two hundred (dollars)'
naanwaak-shi-naanmidna (nswaabik)	'five hundred and fifty (dollars)'
niizhwaasmidna-shi-naanan zhoomaankenh	'seventy five cents'
aabtawaabik	'half dollar, fifty cents'
niishining	'twenty five cents'
niizhtana-shi-naanan zhoomaankenh	'twenty five cents'
mdaaswi zhoomaankenh	'ten cents'
naanan zhoomaankenh	'five cents'
zhoomaankenh	'one cent; a penny'

EXPRESSIONS OF TEMPERATURE. In this section I list a few expressions pertaining to degree of temperature.

(126) Aaniish epiichi-gsinaag? | 'How cold is it (the weather)?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiichi-gsinaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is to such extent cold weather.'

(127) 20° piichi-gsinaa. | 'It's 20° cold.'

piichi-gsinaa *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is cold weather to such extent.'

(128) -20 nongo aawan. | 'It's presently twenty degrees below zero.'

nongo *av* 'today'; **aawan** *vii ind 0s* 'IN is.'

(129) Washme nongo gsinaa pii dash jiinaago. | 'It's colder today than it was yesterday.'

Washme *av* 'more'; **nongo** *av* 'today'; **gsinaa** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is cold'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'as for'; **jiinaago** *av* 'yesterday.'

(130) Aaniish epiichi-gsinaagba gii-zaagjiitman? 'How cold was it when you went out?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiichi-gsinaagba** *vii ic pdub 0* '(CCNJ) IN (weather) was evidently cold to such degree'; **gii-zaagjiitman** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you SG went out.'

(131) Aaniish epiitaateg? | 'How hot is it (weather)? (assumes sun is shining)'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiitaateg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN (weather) is hot such degree.'

(132) Aaniish epiichi-gzhaateg? | 'How hot is it (weather)? (assumes sun is shining).'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiichi-gzhaateg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is hot weather to such degree.'

(133) Aaniish epiichi-gzhinaamdeg? | 'How hot is it? (suggests overcast but muggy)'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiichi-gzhinaamdeg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN (weather) to such extent is warm and muggy.'

(134) Aaniish epiitaabkideg gzhaabkizgan? | 'How hot is the oven?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiitaabkideg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is hot metal to such extent'; **gzhaabkizgan** *ni 0s* 'stove.'

(135) 150 piitaabkide. | 'It (the oven) is 150 (degrees).'

piitaabkide *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (metal) is hot to such extent.'

(136) Aapji go mno-piitaabkide. | 'The oven is just the right temperature.'

Aapji *av* 'really'; **mno-piitaabkide** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is nicely hot (metal).'

(137) Zaami-bedaabkide gzhaabkizgan.

'The stove isn't hot enough (i.e., 'too slow,' in reference to stove, oven element).'

Zaami-bedaabkide *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (metal) is too slow to heat'; **gzhaabkizgan** *ni 0s* 'stove.'

(138) Aaniish epiitaagmideg mbiish? | 'How hot is the water?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiitaagmideg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN (liquid) is hot to such degree'; **mbiish** *ni 0s* 'water.'

(139) Zaamaabkide gzhaabkizgan. | 'The stove's too hot.'

Zaamaabkide *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (metal) is too hot'; **gzhaabkizgan** *ni 0s* 'stove.'

(140) Zaami-gzhaabkide. | '(The stove) is too hot.'

Zaami-gzhaabkide *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (metal) is too hot.'

(141) Gaawii de-piitaabkidesnoo gzhaabkizgan. | 'The stove isn't hot enough.'

Gaawii *av* 'not'; **de-piitaabkidesnoo** *vii ind neg 0s* 'INsg is not hot to sufficient degree'; **gzhaabkizgan** *ni 0s* 'stove.'

(142) Gzhaagmide nbiish. | 'The water is hot.'

Gzhaagmide *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (liquid) is hot'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water.'

(143) Dkaagmi nbiish. | 'The water is cold.'

Dkaagmi *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (liquid) is cool/cold'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water.'

(144) Dkaagmisin nboob. | 'The soup has gone cold; the soup has cooled off.'

Dkaagmisin *vii ind 0s* 'INsg cools off (of liquid)'; **nboob** *ni 0s* 'soup.'

(145) Aaniish ge-piitaabkibdoowaanh gzhaabkizgan?

'At what temperature should I set the oven?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **ge-piitaabkibdoowaanh** *vti ic conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) I should set IN (oven) to such degree'; **gzhaabkizgan** *ni 0s* 'stove.'

(146) Aapji go mno-piitaagmide. | 'The water is just the right temperature.'

Aapji *av* 'really'; **mno-piitaagmide** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (liquid) is a good temperature.'

(147) 150 degrees piitaabkibdoon gzhaabkizgan mnazwad cake.

'Bake the cake at 150 (lit., set the oven at 150 to (you) bake the cake (anim.)).'

piitaabkibdoon *vti imp 2s»0(s)* '(you SG) set INsg to such degree'; **gzhaabkizgan** *ni 0s* 'stove'; **mnazwad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you SG cook ANsg.'

EXPRESSIONS OF TEMPORAL DURATION.

(148) Aaniish piichi-gbeyiing maanpii eko-nakiiyin?

'How long have you been working here?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-gbeyiing** *av* 'to whatever long length of time'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **eko-nakiiyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG work here to such extent.'

(149) Aaniish piichi-gbeyiing zhaazhi maanpii enkiiyin?

'How long is it since you've been working here?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-gbeyiing** *av* 'to whatever long length of time'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **maanpii** *av* 'here'; **enkiiyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG work.'

(150) Aaniish piichi-gbeyiing gaa-ndendyin? | 'How long were you gone?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-gbeyiing** *av* 'to whatever long length of time'; **gaa-ndendyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG were away.'

(151) Aaniish mnik nsogon gaa-ndendyin? | 'How many days were you gone?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **nsogon** *av* 'so many days'; **gaa-ndendyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG were away.'

VARIOUS EXPRESSIONS OF DEGREE. These sentences illustrate the diverse ways in which quantity and degree are expressed. In (152), for example, the relative root /apiit/, 'to such extent,' occurs with a final specific to eating, while in (153), the relative occurs as a preverb.

(152) Aaniish epiitnaandman? | 'How hungry are you?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiitnaandman** *vai? ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) are hungry to such extent.'

(153) Aaniish epiichi-yekziyin? | 'How tired are you?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiichi-yekziyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) are tired to such extent.'

(154) Aaniish gaa-piichibiisaag? | 'How heavy did it rain?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **gaa-piichibiisaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN rained to such extent.'

(155) Aaniish piichi-gbeyhiing gaa-gmiwang? | 'How long did it rain?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-gbeyhiing** *av* 'such length of time'; **gaa-gmiwang** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) (that) IN rained.'

(156) Aaniish piichi-gbeyiing ge-gshkitoowmba wii-neseswan?

'How long can you hold your breath?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-gbeyiing** *av* 'to whatever long length of time'; **ge-gshkitoowmba** *vti ic pret 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you SG would be able to do IN'; **wii-neseswan** *vai conj neg 2s* '(CONJ) you SG could not breathe.'

(157) Aaniish piichi-gbeyiing zhaazhi e-niibwiyeg?

'How long have you (pl.) been married?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-gbeyiing** *av* 'to whatever long length of time'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **e-niibwiyeg** *vai ic conj 2p* '(CCNJ) you (PL) married.'

(158) Aaniish mnik mzinhignan gaa-gindman? | 'How many books did you read?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **mzinhignan** *ni 0p* 'books'; **gaa-gindman** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you SG read IN.'

(159) Aaniish mnik dching gaa-zhaayin daawegamgong?

'How many times did you go to the store?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **dching** *av* 'so many times'; **gaa-zhaayin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG went there'; **daawegamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'to the store.'

(160) Aaniish epiichi-bshigenmad Maanii Aan? | 'How much do you like Mary Ann?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiichi-bshigenmad** *vta ic conj 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) you SG like ANsg to such extent.'

(161) Aaniish epiichi-bshagiish-dbikak? | 'How dark is it now?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiichi-bshagiish-dbikak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is pitch dark to such extent.'

(162) Aaniish piichi-wiikaa gaa-oo-nbaayin? | 'How late did you go to sleep?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **piichi-wiikaa** *av* 'degree of lateness'; **gaa-oo-nbaayin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG went to sleep.'

EXPRESSIONS OF LINEAR EXTENT. Concepts such as height and length are commonly expressed by means of constructions with the RELATIVE ROOT /akw/, in combination with an appropriate final and optional, but common, medial.

(163) Aaniish ekoozyin? | 'How tall are you?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **ekoozyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG are such height.'

(164) Naan'zid-shi-aabta ndakooz. | 'I'm five foot six.'

Naan'zid-shi-aabta *ni meas 0* 'five and a half'; **ndakooz** *vai ind 1s* 'I am such height.'

(165) Aaniish ekwaakzid bsagaak? | 'How long is the board?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **ekwaakzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg (sticklike) is so long'; **bsagaak** *na 3sProx* 'board.'

(166) Naan'zid kwaakzi bsagaak. | 'The board is five feet long.'

Naan'zid *ni meas 0* 'five feet'; **kwaakzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg (sticklike) is so long'; **bsagaak** *na 3sProx* 'board.'

(167) Zaami-dkwaakzi maaba bsagaak. | 'This board is too short.'

Zaami-dkwaakzi *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg (sticklike) is too short'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **bsagaak** *na 3sProx* 'board.'

(168) Zaami-gnwaakzi maaba bsagaak. | 'This board is too long.'

Zaami-gnwaakzi *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg (sticklike) is too long'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **bsagaak** *na 3sProx* 'board.'

(169) Gaawii de-kwaakzisii maaba bsagaak. | 'This board isn't long enough.'

Gaawii *av* 'not'; **de-kwaakzisii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg (sticklike) is not of sufficient length'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **bsagaak** *na 3sProx* 'board.'

(170) Aaniish ekwaakok zhibiihganaatig? | 'How long is the pencil?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **ekwaakok** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN (sticklike) is of such length'; **zhibiihganaatig** *ni 0s* 'pencil.'

(171) Nso-dbahgaans kwaakod maanda zhibiihganaatig.

'This pencil is three inches long.'

Nso-dbahgaans *ni 0s* 'three inches'; **kwaakod** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (sticklike) is of such length'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **zhibiihganaatig** *ni 0s* 'pencil.'

(172) Aaniish ekwaabiigak sabaabiins? | 'How long is the string?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **ekwaabiigak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN (stringlike) is of such length'; **sabaabiins** *ni 0s* 'string.'

(173) Enwek sa naa gnwaabiigad. | 'The string(like object) is long.'

Enwek *av* 'assuredly'; **gnwaabiigad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (stringlike) is long.'

(174) Ngodwaaso-dbahgaans kwaabiigad sabaabiins. | 'The string is six inches long.'

Ngodwaaso-dbahgaans *ni* 'six inches'; **kwaabiigad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (stringlike) is of such length'; **sabaabiins** *ni 0s* 'string.'

(175) Zaami-dkwaabiigad maanda sabaabiins. | 'This string is too short.'

Zaami-dkwaabiigad *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (stringlike) is too short'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **sabaabiins** *ni 0s* 'string.'

(176) Zaami-gnwaabiigad maanda sabaabiins. | 'This string is too long.'

Zaami-gnwaabiigad *vii ind 3sProx* 'INsg (stringlike) is too long'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **sabaabiins** *ni 0s* 'string.'

(177) Mno-kwaabiigad na sabaabiins? | 'Is the string long enough (lit., a good length)?'

Mno-kwaabiigad *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (stringlike) is of suitable length'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **sabaabiins** *ni 0s* 'string.'

(178) Aaniish ekoozid wa mtig? | 'How tall is that tree?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **ekoozid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) such length ANsg is'; **mtig** *na 3sProx* 'tree.'

(179) Naanmidna nso-zid koozi mtig. | 'The tree is fifty feet tall.'

Naanmidna *ni nm 0* 'fifty'; **nso-zid** *ni meas 0* 'so-many feet'; **koozi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is such height'; **mtig** *na 3sProx* 'tree.'

(180) Aaniish epiitaagnagaag? | 'How deep is the snow?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiitaagnagaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) snow is of such depth.'

(181) Nsozid piitaagnagaa(mgad). | 'The snow's three feet deep.'

Nso-zid *ni meas 0* 'three feet'; **piitaagnagaa(mgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is snow of such depth.'

(182) Aaniish ekwiindgwaag? | 'How deep is the water?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **ekwiindgwaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) be a body of water of such depth.'

(183) Nsozid kwiindgwaanh. | 'The water's three feet deep.'

Nso-zid *ni meas 0* 'three feet'; **kwiindgwaanh** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (body of water) is of such depth.'

(184) Gnwiindgwaanh. | 'The water's deep.'

Gnwiindgwaanh *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (body of water) is deep.'

(185) Aaniish epiichi-shpaag aazhbik? | 'How high is the mountain?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiichi-shpaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is high to such extent'; **aazhbik** *ni 0s* 'mountain.'

(186) Aaniish epiitdinaag? | 'How high is the hill?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **epiitdinaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is a hill of such extent.'

EXPRESSIONS OF DRY MEASURE.

(187) Aaniish mnik ziizbaakod menezyin? | 'How much sugar do you need?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'much'; **ziizbaakod** *ni 0s* 'sugar'; **menezyin** *vai ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you (SG) are in need of Y.'

(188) Niizh-naagaans ziizbaakod ngii-nakaazan pie-ing.

'I used two cups of sugar in the pie.'

Niizh-naagaans *ni meas 0* 'two cups'; **ziizbaakod** *ni 0s* 'sugar'; **ngii-nakaazan** *vaio ind 1s»0s* 'I used INsg'; **pie-ing** *ni 0 loc* 'in the pie.'

(189) Niizhwemkwaanens ziitaagan ngii-nakaazan. | 'I used two teaspoonsful of salt.'

Niizhwemkwaanens *ni meas 0* 'two teaspoonsful'; **ziitaagan** *ni 0* 'salt'; **ngii-nakaazan** *vaio ind 1s»0s* 'I used INsg.'

(190) Wegnesh niizhwemkwaanens waa-toowaanh?

'What do I put in two teaspoonsful of?'

Wegnesh *prn inter 0* 'what'; **niizhwemkwaanens** *ni meas 0* 'two teaspoonsful'; **waa-toowaanh** *vti ic conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) I should put IN in.'

(191) Aaniish mnik nswaatig menwaagmig ge-biidoowaanh?

'How many bottles of soda-pop should I bring?'

Aaniish *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **nswaatig** *ni meas 0* 'so many bottles'; **menwaagmig** *ni (participle) 0s* 'soda pop'; **ge-biidoowaanh** *vti ic conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) I should bring IN.'

(192) Niizhwaatig biidoon. | 'Bring two bottles.'

Niizhwaatig *ni meas 0* 'two bottles'; **biidoon** *vti imp 2s»0* 'bring (you SG) IN.'

(193) Mdaaswaatig biidoon. | 'Bring ten bottles.'

Mdaaswaatig *ni meas 0* 'three bottles'; **biidoon** *vti imp 2s»0* 'bring (you SG) IN.'

17.6 Comparison

COMPARATIVE constructions typically use the following formula. The examples which follow illustrate.

washme (or ooshme)	<standard>	**pii dash**	<NP>
washme more	waasa (temgad) Toronto farther INsg.is Toronto	pii dash than	North Bay
washme more	mBill gnoozi Bill is tall	pii dash than	niin I

(194) Washme ndoo-gnooz pii dash mBill. | 'I am taller than Bill.' (DP)

Washme *av* 'more'; **ndoo-gnooz** *vai ind 1s* 'I am tall'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **mBill** *na 3sProx* 'Bill.'

(195) Washme mBill dkoozi pii dash niin. | 'Bill is shorter than me.'

Washme *av* 'more'; **mBill** *na 3sProx* 'Bill'; **dkoozi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is short'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niin** *prn pers 1s* 'I.'

(196) Washme ndoo-dkooz pii dash mBill. | 'I am shorter than Bill.'

Washme *av* 'more'; **ndoo-dkooz** *vai ind 1s* 'I am short'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **mBill** *na 3sProx* 'Bill.'

(197) Niin go ooshme ngii-agaj pii dash giin. | 'I was more embarrassed than you (sg.)'

Niin *prn pers 1s* 'i'; **ooshme** *av* 'more'; **ngii-agaj** *vai ind 1s* 'I was embarrassed'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giin** *prn pers 2s* 'you.' (DP)

(198) Washme wiin kiwenziinywi. | 'He is a still older man.' (AM39.109)

Washme *av* 'more'; **naangan** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is light(weight)'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **mkak** *ni 0s* 'box'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one.'

Just as in English, much of this construction can be omitted if it is understood from context.

(199) A: "Wiindmawshin," kida, aapji go gdoo-nda-gkenjigeshkiw, mamaa.
B: Gegii nii go naa. A: ***Giin go ooshme***.

'A: "Tell me," she says— you're so nosy, momma.
B: And so are you. A: ***And you are more!***' (DP)

Wiindmawshin *vta imp 2s»1s* 'tell me'; **kida** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg says'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **gdoo-nda-gkenjigeshkiw** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you (sg) are chronically nosy with regard to me'; **mamaa** *na(d)* 'momma'; **Gegii** *prn pers 2s* 'you (sg) too'; **nii go naa** *expr* 'for sure'; **Giin** *prn pers 2s* 'you' **ooshme** *av* 'more.'

Another way of expressing the comparative is with *nwanj*, 'more' (also *nwaj*). Note that as well as modifying verbal expressions, *nwanj* can be associated with (predicative) nominals in verbless clauses, such as in (202) and (203).

(200) ***Nwanj*** maanda gchi-doopwin, maanda ***nwanj*** gaachin.

'This table is bigger, and this one is smaller.' (AM39.228)

Nwanj *av* 'more'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **gchi-doopwin** *ni 0s* 'big table'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **nwanj** *av* 'more'; **gaachin** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is small.'

(201) ***Nwanj*** bngii ddaakzidewag. | 'They have smaller feet.' (AM39.133)

Nwanj *av* 'more'; **bngii** *av* 'a little'; **ddaakzidewag** *vai redup ind 3pProx* 'ANpl have short feet.'

(202) ***Nwanj*** shkiniigi. | 'He is younger.' (AM39.85)

> **Nwanj** *av* 'more'; **shkiniigi** *na 3sProx* 'young man.'

(203) Maantaanshiinyi ***nwanj*** niibna nagnde. | 'Woolen things cost more.' (AM39.208)

> **Maantaanshiinyi** *ni 0s* 'woolen thing'; **nwanj** *av* 'more'; **niibna** *av* 'much'; **nagnde** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg cost such.'

(204) Aaniish mii sa giiwenh gii-googiid zhashkoonh, ***nwaj*** dash giiwenh weweni wgii-biitoon mnik ki, gii-bi-mooksed miinwaa.

'So the muskrat went down again, and, when he surfaced, he brought back much ***more*** earth.' (SO5.45)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **gii-googiid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg dove'; **zhashkoonh** *na 3sProx* 'muskrat'; **nwaj** *av* 'more'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **weweni** *av* 'properly'; **wgii-biidoon** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg brought INsg'; **mnik** *av* 'amount'; **ki** *ni 0s* 'land'; **gii-bi-mooksed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg surfaced'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again.'

EQUATION. Equality according to some standard of reference is indicated as in the following, with the adverb *naasaab*, 'same (way).'

(205) ***Naasaab*** aapiitnigdoon nanda mkakoon. | 'These boxes weigh ***the same***.' (MC)

> **Naasaab** *av* 'equivalently'; **aapiitnigdoon** *vii redup ind 0p* 'INpl weigh such amount'; **nanda** *prn 0p* 'these'; **mkakoon** *ni 0p* 'boxes.'

(206) Gaawii ***naasaab*** aapiitnigsinoon nanda mkakoon.

'These boxes don't weigh ***the same***.'

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **naasaab** *av* 'equivalently'; **aapiitnigsinoon** *vii redup ind neg 0p* 'INpl do not weigh such amount'; **nanda** *prn 0p* 'these'; **mkakoon** *ni 0p* 'boxes.'

Comparisons involving specific expressions of measure can also be made, as in the following example.

(207) Naano-dbaabiishkoojgan noondaash piitnigod maanda mkak pii dash wi bezhig.

'This box is 5 pounds lighter than that one.' (MC)

> **Naano-dbaabiishkoojgan** *ni nm 0* 'five pounds'; **noondaash** *av* 'less'; **piitnigod** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg weighs such'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **mkak** *ni 0s* 'box'; **pii** *av* 'than'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one.'

SUPERLATIVES. The SUPERLATIVE expresses the concept of most extreme degree. Often in Nishnaabemwin this concept is expressed indirectly, by pointing out the extremeness of someone or something within some reference group.

(208) ***Aapji shkwaaj egaachiinynijin***, Aanii dash giin ezhnikaazyan? wgii-naan.

'***To the smallest one***, in the end, he said, "And what is your name, you?"' (AM35.6)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **shkwaaj** *av* 'last'; **egaachiinynijin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who ANobv was small'; **Aanii** *av* 'how'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giin** *prn pers 2s* 'you'; **ezhnikaazyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG are so named'; **wgii-naan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg said to ANobv.'

(209) Aw ge wiinwaa sa widi Waabow Island ***netaa-pagdang*** iw bkwaakod mii ezhnikaazod Zhaagnaash.

'***The best pitcher*** among those players there on Walpole Island is named Shaganash [Englishman].' (AM18.10)

> **Aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **wiinwaa** *prn pers 3p* 'ANpl'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **netaa-pagdang** *vti ic conj part 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) who ANsg is good at throwing IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bkwaakod** *ni 0s* 'ball'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **ezhnikaazod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg is called'; **Zhaagnaash** *na 3sProx* 'Zhaagnaash.'

The adverb *maamwi*, 'taken together,' or its corresponding preverb *maamwi–*, are sometimes used to express superlatives.

(210) Mii dash niw ***myaamwi-mdidnijin*** bnensan gii-ggwejmaad ezhnikaaznid.

'So then he asked ***the biggest one*** of the young partridges what his name was.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **myaamwi-mdidnijin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANOBV) was big, taken together'; **bnensan** *na 3obv* 'nestling partridge(s)'; **gii-ggwejmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg asked ANobv'; **ezhnikaaznid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) how ANobv is named.' (AM36.3)

(211) Wiin ***maamwi*** siikzi. | 'He is the oldest of them all.' (AM39.96)

> **Wiin** *prn pers 3s* '3s'; **maamwi** *av* 'taken together'; **siikzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is oldest.'

(212) ***Maamwi*** shkiniigi. | 'He is the youngest of all.' (AM39.86)

> **Maamwi** *av* 'taken together'; **shkiniigi** *na 3sProx* 'young man.'

17.7 The Semantic Functions of Reduplication

Several related concepts are expressed by means of REDUPLICATION. These include PLURALITY, INTENSITY, REPETITION (ITERATION), and DISTRIBUTION in time or space. It is easy to see how these concepts are related, in that plural actors undertaking similar actions necessarily repeat the action, and typically distribute its occurrence through time. The application of multiple actors to the same action also produces added intensity. In many cases where reduplication is used, more than one of these concepts may be operative at the same time. The following examples illustrate some text-based uses of REDUPLICATION. Reduplicative forms are identified within the word-for-word annotations.

PLURALITY OF SUBJECT

(213) Kosmaanan aapji ***memaachaagin*** da-tenoon.

'Pumpkins ***which are very large*** will be there.' (AM16.12)

> **Kosmaanan** *ni 0p* 'pumpkins'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **memaachaagin** *vii ic conj part 0 redup* '(CCNJ) which IN are big' base form /michaa/; **da-tenoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl will be there.'

(214) Niidgemaagan ***nnanaamdabmi*** biindig wiigwaaming.

'My wife and I ***sat*** inside the house.' (AM39.41)

> **Niidgemaagan** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my spouse'; **nnanaamdabmi** *vai redup ind 1p* 'we are sitting' base form /namadabi/; **biindig** *av* 'inside'; **wiigwaaming** *ni 0 loc* 'house (loc).'

(215) Nwanj bngii ***ddaakzidewag***. | 'They have ***smaller feet***.' (AM39.133)

> **Nwanj** *av* 'more'; **bngii** *av* 'a little'; **ddaakzidewag** *vai redup ind 3pProx* 'ANpl have short feet' base form /dakizide/.

(216) ***Mmaanddowag*** na piniig? | 'Are the potatoes ***big***?' (AM39.146)

> **Mmaanddowag** *vai redup ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are big' base form /mindido/; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **piniig** *na 3pProx* 'potatoes.'

DISTRIBUTED LOCATION

(217) Mzi ***gii-baa-yizhaa*** gii-baa-waabmaad nishnaaben.

'***He went around all over*** seeing Indians.' (AK5.9)

> **Mzi** *av* 'everywhere'; **gii-baa-yizhaa** *vai ind 3sProx redup* 'ANsg went about over and over' base form /izhaa/, reduplicated to /ayizhaa/; **gii-baa-waabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg went about seeing ANobv'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s).'

REPETITIVE ACTION

(218) Mii dash ***gii-bpaktewaawaad,*** bmijwaagaakdoon wgii-aabjitoonaawaan.

'And ***they hit him repeatedly,*** they used hoes.' (AK14.13)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bpaktewaawaad** *vta conj redup 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl hit ANobv repeatedly' base form /bakitehw/, reduplicated to /bapakitehw/; **bmijwaagaakdoon** *ni 0p* 'hoes'; **wgii-aabjitoonaawaan** *vti ind 3pProx»0p* 'ANpl used INpl.'

(219) Mii dash gii-ni-giiwebzod mii dash gaa-ni-dgoshing gii-giiskang iw wmashkkiim, mii dash gegoo gii-nbod iw zaam maa naa ***gii-gchi-giikiishknaanjgaazo.***

'And then he went flying home and he arrived and took off his medicine, but he died anyway, ***indeed he had been cut too much.***' (AK14.16)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-ni-giiwebzod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg flew away home'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-ni-dgoshing** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg arrived there'; **gii-giiskang** *vti conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg took off IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wmashkkiim** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsg's medicine'; **mii** *av* 'but'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'something'; **gii-nbod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg died'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **zaam** *av* 'too'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gii-gchi-giikiishknaanjgaazo** *vta/vai redup ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was greatly cut and cut,' base form /giishknaanjgaazo/, reduplicated to /giikiishknaanjgaazo/.

(220) Mii dash ekdod maaba kwe, "Aabdeg sa ***ji-mmawzoyang*** maa dash gawaateg mii maa ji-nganang aw gookmisnaan."

'And then the woman said, "Certainly ***we can be picking berries*** and there where it's shady we can leave our grandmother."' (AK18.6)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ekdod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg said'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **Aabdeg** *av* 'necessarily'; **ji-mmawzoyang** *vai redup conj 21* '(CONJ) we INCL can pick berries' base form /mawinzo/, reduplicated to /mamawinzo/; **maa** *av* 'there'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gawaateg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is shady'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **ji-nganang** *vta conj 21»3sProx* '(CONJ) we INCL can leave ANsg'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **gookmisnaan** *na 21(3sProx)* 'our (incl) grandmother.'

Iteration of Repetitive Action

(221) Mii dash aabiignang gye go mii iw ***giikiishkodang***.

'Then she unwraps it and ***she slices it.***' (AM25.15)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aabiignang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg unrolls IN'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **giikiishkodang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg slices IN,' basic form /giishkodan/, reduplicated to /giikiishkodan/.

(222) Mii-sh giiwenh mdimooyenh ngoji go naa gewii zhngishnaadig jiigaatig, piichin-sh giiwenh go ***bbazgwii***, dbaabmaad iidig niwi, …

'The old lady was lying down somewhere, apparently near the wall, and ***she kept getting up*** to look them over, …' (SO2.26)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **ngoji** *av* 'somewhere'; **gewii** *cnj* 'also'; **zhngishnaadig** *vai ind dub 3sProx* 'ANsg is evidently lying'; **jiigaatig** *av* 'near the wall'; **giiwenh** *av* 'reportedly'; **bbazgwii** *vai redup 3sProx* 'ANsg keeps getting up' basic form /bazigwii/, reduplicated to /babazigwii/; **dbaabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg looks over ANobv'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **niwi** *prn na 3obv* 'that/those.'

(223) Mii dash gii-gnoonaawaad, Miinwaa maanda da-zhichgesgwaa ***waawiindmaw*** giw Nishnaabeg gaa-bi-njibaayan, miinwaa da-zhichgesgwaa wiikaa maanda.

'Then they spoke to him: "Go tell (***to one and all***) those people at the place whence you have come that they are not to do this again, that they must never do this thing again."' (AM31.49)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-gnoonaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl spoke to ANobv'; **Miinwaa** *av* ' again'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **da-zhichgesgwaa** *vai conj 3pProx neg* ' (CONJ) ANpl should not do so'; **waawiindmaw** *vta redup imp 2s»3* 'tell AN all around' basic form /wiindamaw/; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **gaa-bi-njibaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) where you sg come from'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **da-zhichgesgwaa** *vai conj 3pProx neg* '(CONJ) ANpl should not do so'; **wiikaa** *av* 'ever'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this.'

DISTRIBUTION IN TIME

(224) Mii dash iw pii gaa-dgoshnowaad giw naagaanzijig mii aazhgo ***gii-ddagshinwaad*** giw nishnaabeg aapji go kina gegoo shkahii gaa-wzhitoowaad waa-biiskamwaad aapji go gii-gnaajwiwag.

'And when the leaders arrived the Indians ***were starting to come in,*** having made everything they were going to wear brand new, and they were very splendid.'

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **gaa-dgoshnowaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) when ANpl arrived'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **naagaanzijig** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who were in charge'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **aazhgo** *av* 'now indeed'; **gii-ddagshinwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl kept arriving' base form /dagoshin/, reduplicated to /dadagoshin/; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **kina** *av* 'all'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'thing'; **shkahii** *ni 0s* 'new thing'; **gaa-wzhitoowaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANpl made IN'; **waa-biiskamwaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANpl were going to wear IN'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **gii-gnaajwiwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were beautiful.' (AK10.2)

(225) Noongo ggizheb ngii-wiindmaagoomi iw pii iidig sa ***waa-gaagiiweyaang*** ji-giizhiitaayaang iw sa mnik waa-nankiiyaang.

'This morning we were told ***when we should each go home,*** having finished the amount of work which we were to do.' (AM13.1)

> **Noongo** *av* 'today'; **ggizheb** *av* 'in the morning'; **ngii-wiindmaagoomi** *vta ind x»1p* 'we EXCL were told'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **waa-gaagiiweyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) when we will go home' basic form /giiwe/, reduplicated to /gaagiiwe/; **ji-giizhiitaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we EXCL will finish'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mnik** *av* 'as much as'; **waa-nankiiyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) we EXCL will work thus.'

(226) Aapji dash go niibna wzagkinaanaawaa iw mnoomin gonda Nishnaabeg degwaagnigin zgaknamwaad iw mnoomin bboonnig ***waa-maamiijwaad*** dbishkoo go naa ezhi-zgakniged maaba jidmoonh ezhnikaazod.

'These Indians collected much rice, collecting it in the autumn ***so as to have it to eat*** in the winter, just as that creature who is called a squirrel gathers his store.'

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **niibna** *av* 'much'; **wzagkinaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0* 'ANpl store INsg'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'rice'; **gonda** *prn na 3pProx* 'these'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **degwaagnigin** *vii ic conj 0 iter* '(CCNJ) whenever IN is autumn'; **zgaknamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl store IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mnoomin** *ni 0s* 'rice'; **bboonnig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) IN be winter'; **waa-maamiij=waad** *vti ic redup 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which ANpl will eat IN over a period of time' basic form /miiji/, reduplicated to /maamiiji/; **dbishkoo** *av* 'like'; **ezhi-zgakniged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) how ANsg stores things'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **jidmoonh** *na 3sProx* 'squirrel'; **ezhnikaazod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) as ANsg is called.' (AM6.12)

INTENSITY

(227) Wegdagwen ***ji-waawaabndamgwen*** gbaakhigaadeg da-temgad go maa, gye go wezhtoowaad giw Nishnaabeg kwewag, waabwayaanan, mjigoodenyan, gboosnenyan, gye go mkiznan.

'Whatever ***one may want to see*** in the way of preserves will be there, as well as the things which the Indian women make: blankets, dresses, trousers and moccasins.' (AM18.16)

> **Wegdagwen** *prn dub 0* 'whatever'; **ji-waawaabndamgwen** *vti conj dub 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg will really want to see IN' basic form /waabandam/, reduplicated to /waawaabandam/; **gbaakhigaadeg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is canned'; **da-temgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg will be there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **wezhtoowaad** *vti ic conj part 3pProx»0* '(CCNJ) which ANpl make IN'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **Nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **waabwayaanan** *ni 0p* 'blankets'; **mjigoodenyan** *ni 0p* 'dresses'; **gboosnenyan** *ni 0p* 'trousers'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **mkiznan** *ni 0p* 'shoes.'

THE PHONOLOGICAL PATTERNS OF REDUPLICATION. There seem to be four basic phonological patterns of reduplication, as illustrated in the following table. All reduplication in Nishnaabemwin is prefixal. The form of this prefix is variable, made by copying the first consonant of the stem and adding a vowel, either /a/ or /aa/. In this table, C stands for the initial consonant in a word, and V for a vowel in the initial syllable.

	Pattern	Comments
a.	Ca	—
b.	Caa	—
c.	CaCaa	Only with select descriptive roots having the form /CiX/
d.	CVVh	Lexically specific and extremely variable in form

Pattern (c) represents a canonical weak-strong iambic foot. Pattern (d), as noted, is specific to particular items of vocabulary, though these are rather consistent across dialects of Anishinaabemowin. Its reduplicant vowel varies between /ii/ and /aa/ and it strengthens the consonant of the stem (making a lenis into its fortis correspondent).

EXPRESSING PERSEVERANCE WITH REDUPLICATION. One function of reduplication is to express perseverant activity, that is, to express the idea of "keeping on" doing something. The following forms represent different verbs that have been reduplicated for this purpose (all provided by MC).

	Expression	Translation	Stem Form
(a)	waawiisnin go.	'keep on eating'	/wiisni/
(b)	naaniimi	'keep dancing'	/niimi/
(c)	gaagiigda	'keep talking'	/giigdo/
(d)	baabiinchige	'keep cleaning up'	/biinchige/
(e)	zzegaachge	'keep decorating'	/zegaachge/
(f)	memegde	'keep burping'	/megde/
(g)	baaboodwe	'keep making a fire'	/boodwe/
(h)	naanoondaagzi	'keep yelling'	/noondaagzi/
(i)	zaazoogpo	'keep snowing'	/zoogpo/
(j)	baaboontese	'keep stopping'	/boontese/
(k)	waawaasese	'keep flashing lightning'	/waasese/
(l)	baabaabiijge	'keep waiting'	/baabiijge/
(m)	zaazaagaabte	'smoke keeps coming out'	/zaagaabte/
(n)	ddaakmibtoo	'keep running across'	/dakamibatoo/
(o)	bbaknaage	'keep winning'	/bakinaage/
(p)	zzagswaa	'keep smoking'	/zagaswaa/
(q)	ggishkgwaaso	'keep sewing'	/gashkigwaaso/
(r)	nnaamdabin	'keep on sitting.'	/namadabi/
(s)	bbimbatoo	'keep running'	/bimibatoo/
(t)	bbimse	'keep walking'	/bimose/
(u)	ddibaajman	'keep on narrating'	/dibaajmo/

The phonological (copying) patterns that occur in these forms are outlined in the chart below. The left column lists the first vowel of the stem before reduplication, and the second column lists the pattern of reduplication. So, for example, a stem that begins with a consonant followed by /i/, such as /bimose/, 'walk along' (VAI), makes a reduplicative prefix /ba/. It is rather tricky to figure out some of these patterns for Nishnaabemwin, because syncope always deletes the first short vowel in a word.

V	Reduplication
i	Ca-
a	Ca > CaCaa Ca-
o	?
ii	Caa-
aa	Caa-
oo	Caa-
e	Ce-, Ca-

17.8 Additional Reading

An insightful investigation of relative elements is carried out in Rogers 1979. Nichols 1980 contains some discussion of relatives as well. Baraga 1850 contains lengthy lists of various kinds of enumeration in Ojibwe.

18

Syntax and Communicative Functions

This chapter examines the SYNTAX of Nishnaabemwin, that is, the patterns in the language for putting words and PHRASES together to form CLAUSES and SENTENCES. It begins with a discussion and illustration of how central inflection is in the grammatical workings of Nishnaabemwin. Next, the various grammatical categories associated with each of the main parts of speech are presented. This is followed by a brief discussion of phrases and clauses, where it is argued that these multi-word structures are less rigid in their behaviour than corresponding English expressions. Next we examine in some detail the structures and functions associated with the very prominent particle *mii*. After this, we look at the how questions and commands are expressed. We then briefly look at COORDINATION and DISJUNCTION, followed by an even briefer look at a few of the many EXPRESSIVE PARTICLES in the language.

18.1 Introduction

Language can be viewed both in terms of MEANINGS and STRUCTURES. Every language encodes a set of meanings in its MORPHEMES and WORDS, and various idiomatic expressions. These elements are then combined to form meaningful messages, ranging from simple statements to complex discourses such as conversations, speeches and narratives. All languages share similarities both in the meanings that they encode, and in the structural patterns that are used to represent them. For example, all languages have the two WORD CLASSES (PARTS OF SPEECH) of NOUNS and VERBS, the former referring to people and objects, and the latter to states, processes and actions. All languages structure the meanings of verbs in terms of a small set of common SEMANTIC ROLES such as AGENTS, PATIENTS, EXPERIENCERS, and INSTRUMENTS. All languages have the GRAMMATICAL PERSON categories of first, second and third. But the way in which these linguistic categories are expressed varies from one language to another. One significant way that languages vary is in the grammatical features that are associated with different classes of words, and an important component of a grammatical description of a language is a thorough accounting of these

features and their use. For example, among many other features, nouns in Nishnaabemwin have grammatical GENDER (ANIMATE or INANIMATE), grammatical NUMBER (SINGULAR or PLURAL), and are specified for the backgrounding feature of OBVIATION as either PROXIMATE (foregrounded) or OBVIATIVE (backgrounded); verbs must have INFLECTIONAL representation of the PERSON, NUMBER and OBVIATION status of a SUBJECT (or S-ROLE, to use my term from Chapter 13), even those verbs that, logically speaking, have no subject, such as IMPERSONAL verbs, e.g., *gii-zoogpo* 'it was snowing.' In these cases a surrogate morphological subject is provided, much as the dummy subject "it" is provided in the equivalent expressions in English. Other grammatical features associated with verbs include the person, number, and obviation features of their GOALS, if they are TRANSITIVE, their status as POSITIVE or NEGATIVE, and their INFLECTIONAL MODE (e.g., PRETERIT or DUBITATIVE), among many others. A simple example will illustrate how important these various grammatical concepts are to the workings of Nishnaabemwin grammar. Consider the following sentence:

(1) Nmishoomsinaanig gaawii wgii-aabjitoosiinaawaan baashkzignan.

'Our (excl.) grandfathers did not use guns.' (RV, from AM39.451)

> **Nmishoomsinaanig** *na 1p(3pProx)* 'our (excl.) grandfathers'; **gaawii** *av* 'not'; **wgii-aabjitoosiinaawaan** *vti ind neg 3p»0p* 'ANpl did not use INpl'; **baashkzignan** *ni 0p* 'rifles.'

The verb in this example is listed in the dictionary as *aabjitood*, and marked as VTI, that is, as a transitive verb requiring a grammatically inanimate goal (object). Were the object grammatically animate, the related transitive animate (VTA) verb, *aabjihaad*, would have to be used. The VTI form is chosen here because the goal is *baashkzignan*, 'guns,' an inanimate noun. This "paired-verb" feature of Nishnaabemwin, in which many transitive concepts have paired VTA and VTI verbs, is completely unlike English, since English transitive verbs do not show any distinctions on the basis of the grammatical properties of their objects. Furthermore, the Nishnaabemwin verb has several inflectional markings, a prefix, here spelled «w», and a suffix complex, spelled «siinaawaan». The prefix and suffixes taken together signal a huge amount of information, namely that the actor (subject) is third person (animate) plural (*nmishoomisnaanig*, 'our grandfathers'), and the goal (object) is third person inanimate plural (*baashkzignan*, 'guns'), and that the verb is being used as the main verb in the sentence it occurs in, since the inflectional markings belong to the INDEPENDENT ORDER of verbal inflection. The suffix component spelled «sii» indicates that the verb is negative. The preverb /gii-/ indicates that the verb is past tense. There are no special modal suffixes to mark this verb as preterit mode or as dubitative mode, so the assumption is that this sentence is a simple, straightforward assertion. To summarize, the verb shows the following grammatically relevant properties:

- It is a transitive inanimate verb (VTI). This is shown: first, by its internal (DERIVATIONAL) structure, in that it has the TRANSITIVE INANIMATE FINAL and THEME SIGN /-(i)too/; second, by the particular THIRD PERSON PLURAL SUFFIX used, /-naawaa/, which only occurs with TRANSITIVE INANIMATE VERBS and, optionally, ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE + OBJECT (VAIO) forms.
- It is inflectionally marked for a third person animate plural subject (actor).
- It is inflectionally marked for a third person inanimate plural object (goal).
- It is inflectionally marked as negative.
- It is inflectionally marked as independent order by virtue of its negative suffix and subject and object prefix and suffixes.
- It is inflectionally marked for past tense.
- It lacks any marking for verb mode, so is modally neutral (indicative).

By contrast, the English verb *use* is not marked for any grammatical features, and the grammatical features marked on the Nishnaabemwin verb are expressed in English by means of a sentence with pronouns, 'they (an.) did not use them (inanimate).'

Turning to associated nouns in this sentence, the subject (actor) of the verb is *nmishoomsinaanig*, 'our (excl.) grandfathers,' which is based on the animate dependent noun, /mishoomis/, 'grandfather.' The noun has inflectional marking for a first person plural exclusive possessor, that is, 'our, but not yours,' and is also marked as animate third person plural, all of this by means of the prefix/suffix complex spelled «n_naanig». The goal (object) of this verb is *baashkzignan*, 'guns,' which is a plural inanimate noun, marked as such by the suffix spelled «an».

In addition, there is a negative adverb, *gaawii*, which requires that an associated verb show inflectional marking for negation, which, as we have seen, it does, by virtue of the suffix spelled «sii». The presence of *gaawii* also suggests that the associated verb is in an independent clause, since *gaawii* does not customarily occur with verbs in dependent clauses (though there are occasional exceptions to this).

Comparing English and Nishnaabemwin, then, interesting similarities and differences become apparent. First, both languages have words to express the concepts of 'use', 'gun,' and 'grandfather,' though the last Nishnaabemwin term often refers to ancestors in general, so enters into a different set of meaning relationships than the English word does. Note also that this term in Nishnaabemwin belongs to a sub-class of words, dependent nouns, that usually require a possessor/specifier of relationship. English does not distinguish nouns as to whether they are inherently possessed or not. Note, too, that in Nishnaabemwin, «mishoomis» is a grammatically animate noun, and «baashkzigan» a grammatically inanimate noun. English does not have such a gender distinction, though it does distinguish nouns on the basis of sexual gender and animacy, in that the appropriate pronoun when making reference to a grandfather is the masculine pronoun *he*, and to a gun, the neuter pronoun, *it*. In both languages, it is only third person forms that are distinguished on the basis of gender: there are no gender specific terms for first and second persons in either language.

Another significant difference between the languages, as mentioned above, is that Nishnaabemwin has paired transitive verbs meaning 'use x,' one used when making reference to using something that is grammatically animate, and another used in reference to using something that is grammatically inanimate. There is no variation in English verb forms according to whether associated direct objects are masculine, feminine, or neuter.

Both languages have a way to express negation: English by means of the adverb *not* and the supporting verb, *do*; in Nishnaabemwin, by means of the adverb *gaawii(n)*, and a suffix on the verb, here spelled «sii». In both languages the negative adverb occurs in a position directly before the verb, suggesting a close association between the verb and negation. Both languages have a means of expressing past tense: in English, by means of a special past tense form of the verb, *did*, and in Nishnaabemwin by means of the preverb, *gii-*. In both languages, though, the marking of tense also occurs in very close association with the verb.

As for the nouns in the sentence, both languages have a means of expressing plurality, in English by means of a suffix, spelled the same way on both nouns, «s» (*grandfather«s»* and *gun«s»*), and in Nishnaabemwin, by means of a suffix spelled «ig» on *nmishoomisnaanig*, 'our (excl.) grandfathers,' and a suffix spelled «an» on *baashkizganan*, 'guns.' The difference in form here points again to a central grammatical distinction in Nishnaabemwin, the two grammatical genders of the language, animate and inanimate, which form their plurals with different suffixes. While English has a plural, formed by suffixation, it is not sensitive to distinctions of either grammatical or natural gender.

As to the expression of possession, (or more precisely in this case, kin relationship), in English it is done by the separate pronominal word, *our*, whereas in Nishnaabemwin, possession is shown by means of inflectional prefixes and suffixes on the possessed noun. Furthermore, Nishnaabemwin makes a distinction between two distinct conceptualizations of 'our,' one including the one(s) spoken to, and the other excluding the addressee(s). It is not possible in Nishnaabemwin to refer to the concept 'our' without making this distinction; but English does not usually even make such a distinction.

The last, but very significant, distinction between the languages involves the way that various relationships among words, grammatical relations, are expressed. For example, we can ask how the subject and object are determined in English, that is, how does one know which of the two noun phrases in the sentence represents the *user* and which represents the items *used*. In English, it is the order of the words in the sentence that consistently provides this information, in that the subject, in this case, 'our grandfathers,' customarily precedes the verb, and the object, here 'guns,' follows it. If the order is reversed to *Guns used our grandfathers*, the meaning is quite different, and it now appears that the subject is 'guns' and the object, 'our grandfathers,' or the sentence is interpreted as showing poetic license in violating the normal rules of grammar. In Nishnaabemwin, however, as we have seen, many grammatical properties of the so-called subject and object are morphologically marked directly on the verb, in the form of prefixes and suffixes. In Nishnaabemwin, there is a different set of prefixes and suffixes for virtually every person and number combination of subject (better, actor and S-role) and object (better, goal), producing literally *thousands* of distinct verb forms. And because the verb form carries so much information about the actor and goal, the order of associated nouns is relatively free, and changing their order does not

change the interpretation of what the actor and goal are, but rather, the relative discourse prominence of each in this particular sentence. The richness of morphological marking on the verb allows for relative freedom in the ordering of associated nominals. Morphology is thus very important in Nishnaabemwin, far more so than in English, where restrictive orderings of words accomplish similar ends.

At the same time that we acknowledge that the ordering of words in Nishnaabemwin sentences is relatively free, we recognize that the negative adverb *gaawii* is rather restricted in its occurrence within the clause, in that it must precede the verb, usually as either the first word in the clause or coming directly before the verb. Furthermore, while the order of verb, actor and goal, are relatively free in Nishnaabemwin, certain orders are very infrequent. The most unlikely orders are those in which both the actor and goal precede the verb; the most common orders are those in which the actor comes later in the sentence than the goal. The study of such grammatical relationships between words is called syntax. In this chapter we will examine the main syntactic properties of Nishnaabemwin.

The following chart summarizes some of the differences between English and Nishnaabemwin that I have discussed in this section. The most important difference resides in the fact that many grammatical features in Nishnaabemwin are expressed by means of inflectional prefixes and suffixes, whereas in English the same information tends to be provided by separate words and the ordering of words.

Category	English	Nishnaabemwin
Concepts as words	«grandfather» «use» «gun» «not»	«mishoomis» «aabjitoon», «aabjih» «baashkzigan» «gaawii»
Possession	by separate PRONOUN, 'our'	by INFLECTION on POSSESSED NOUN, «n_naanig»
INCLUSION of ADDRESSEE in POSSESSION	not marked in English	by choice of POSSESSIVE INFLECTION, «n_naanig» or «g_naanig»
Plurality	by SUFFIX «s»	by SUFFIX «-ig» on ANIMATE NOUN, «-an» on INANIMATE
GRAMMATICAL GENDER	based on sex and ANIMACY (masculine, feminine, neuter)	based on ANIMACY (animate and inanimate)
Negation	by AUXILIARY VERB «do» and ADVERB «not»	by INFLECTION on VERB «-sii» and ADVERB «gaawii»
PAST TENSE	change «do» to «did»	PREVERB «gii-»
SUBJECT of Verb	precedes verb	by INFLECTION on verb
OBJECT of Verb	follows verb	by INFLECTION on verb
Clause Type	by WORD ORDER; by COMPLEMENTIZERS such as 'that'	verb here is MAIN VERB, shown by INDEPENDENT ORDER VERB INFLECTION

18.2 Nishnaabemwin Parts of Speech

The parts of speech, or word classes, of Nishnaabemwin, are laid out in detail in Chapter 3. Here I present a summary list. Each of the major classes is identified in the leftmost column, with corresponding sub-classes in the second column, and the grammatical codes used in Rhodes 1985 in the third column. Rhodes does not distinguish nouns from pronouns, so the same codes are used for each. I have also listed an array of the different kinds of pronouns found in Nishnaabemwin, in order to illustrate the wealth of types that exist. The sections which follow this introduction treat in turn each of the major parts of speech.

Major Class	Sub-Class	Code
Nouns	Independent	
	Animate Independent Nouns	na
	Inanimate Independent Nouns	ni
	Dependent	
	Animate Dependent Nouns	na
	Inanimate Dependent Nouns	ni
Pronouns	Personal Pronouns	na
	Demonstrative Pronouns	
	Animate Demonstrative Pronouns	na
	Inanimate Demonstrative Pronouns	ni
	Pausal Pronouns	
	Animate Pausal Pronouns	na
	Inanimate Pausal Pronouns	ni
	Indefinite Pronouns	
	Animate Indefinite Pronoun(s)	na
	Inanimate Indefinite Pronoun(s)	ni
	Substitutive Pronouns	
	Animate Substitutive Pronouns	na
	Inanimate Substitutive Pronouns	ni
	Dubitative Pronouns	
	Animate Dubitative Pronoun(s)	na
	Inanimate Dubitative Pronoun(s)	ni
	Interrogative Pronouns	
	Animate Interrogative Pronoun(s)	na
	Inanimate Interrogative Pronoun(s)	ni

Verbs	Intransitive Verbs	
	Animate Intransitive Verbs	vai
	Inherently Plural VAI verbs	vaip
	Animate Intransitive + Object	vaio
	Pseudo-Intransitives (-am theme)	
	Inanimate Intransitive Verbs	vii
	Inherently Plural VII Verbs	viip
	Impersonal VII's	vii *imp*
	Transitive Verbs	
	Transitive Animate Verbs	vta
	Trans. Anim. (Inverse only)	vtai
	Transitive Inanimate Verbs	vti
Pre-Elements	Prenouns	pn
	Preverbs	pv
	Pre-adverbs	
Adverbs	Simple and Subordinating	av
Numbers		nm
Particles		pc

18.3 Grammatical Features of Nouns, Pronouns, Verbs, and Adverbs

The following sections provide summaries of the grammatical features relevant to each of the main parts of speech, nouns, pronouns, and verbs. A table is provided for each part of speech, listing its relevant grammatical features, and its possible values for each feature.

18.3.1 Nouns

Here I provide a summary of grammatical features pertaining to nouns (see Chapter 4).

Nouns		
	Gender	Animate or Inanimate
	Number	Singular or Plural
	Obviation	Proximate [foregrounded] or Obviative (backgrounded)
	(Possessor)	Person of Possessor (First, Second, or Third)
		Number of Possessor (Singular or Plural)
		Obviation of Possessor (Proximate or Obviative)
	(Locative)	Locative
	(Preterit)	Preterit
	(Vocative)	Singular or Plural
	[Diminutive]	Diminutive
	[Contempt]	Contemptive or Pejorative

Some of these features are mutually exclusive, that is, the presence of one precludes the presence of the other. For example, vocatives, representing terms of direct address, can't be in the locative, nor can they have possessors other than first person, e.g., *nmishoo*, 'grandfather (of mine).' And while cross-referencing on verbs shows that inanimate nouns can be obviative, only animate nouns are explicitly marked as obviative with suffixes on the noun itself. And obviative animate nouns neutralize the number distinction between singular and plural.

The locative suffix usually neutralizes the grammatical distinctions of number (singular versus plural) and obviation (proximate versus obviative), as the locative doesn't usually appear with plural or obviative suffixes.

The features of diminutive and contemptive are not, strictly speaking, grammatical properties, since these features never result in any kind of special grammatical behaviour such as a particular word order or cross-referencing on the verb. They are listed here because they are so common (productive), and because they are often taught in conjunction with more directly grammatical categories.

FEATURES DISTINGUISHING ANIMATE AND INANIMATE NOUNS. Animate and inanimate nouns show many fundamentally important differences in their grammatical behaviour, making the distinction between them central to Nishnaabemwin grammar. I list a few of the more important differences here.

- Animate nouns are the subjects of animate intransitive (VAI) verbs, and inanimate nouns are the subjects of inanimate intransitive (VII) verbs. For example, to assert that a man (*nini* NA) is big, one says, *mdido nini*, with a VAI verb, but to assert that a boat (*jiimaan* NI) is big, one says, *mchaa(mgad) jiimaan*, with the corresponding VII verb.
- Animate nouns are the goals of transitive animate (VTA) verbs, and inanimate nouns are the goals of transitive inanimate (VTI) verbs. For example, to say, *I see the man*, one says, *Nini nwaabmaa*, with a VTA verb, but to say, *I see the boat*, one says, *Jiimaan nwaabn=daan*, with the corresponding VTI verb.
- Animate and inanimate nouns have distinct sets of associated pronouns. Animate nouns use the demonstrative pronouns *maaba*, 'this' (or *aw* or *wa*, for some speakers) as in *maaba nini*, but inanimate nouns use the pronoun *maanda* (or *ow*, for some speakers), as in *maanda jiimaan*. Other kinds of pronouns, too, such as indefinite pronouns, also show variation according to whether they are associated with animate or inanimate nouns. For indefinite pronouns, the animate form is *waya* or *wiya*, and the inanimate, *gegoo*.
- Animate nouns have inflection for backgrounded (obviative) forms, but inanimate nouns do not. So, for example, one says, *kwe wgii-waabmaan niw ninwan*, 'the woman saw that man,' but *kwe wgii-waabndaan iw* (or *wi*) *jiimaan*, 'the woman saw that boat.' In the case of the animate goal noun, *nini*, because the man is backgrounded, an obviative suffix /-an/ occurs on the noun. While a suffix /-an/ can also be used with inanimate nouns, it always indicates plurality, as in *jiimaanan*, 'boats,' and never obviative status. There are also distinct obviative forms of demonstrative pronouns associated with animate nouns, e.g., *niw*, 'that/those (anim. obv.), but no such forms for inanimate nouns. Note, however, that verbs associated with inanimate nouns may show obviation.

- A verbal predication involving more than one semantic role must have at least one animate participant, that is to say, a predication can have at most one inanimate participant. So, for example, transitive inanimate verbs (VTI) always have animate actors, because the goals of these verbs are obligatorily inanimate. There is a special class of animate intransitive verbs that optionally takes inflection for goals (these verbs are labeled VAIO verbs), but there is no class of inanimate intransitive verbs (VII) that does so.
- Inanimate nouns can sometimes shift their gender to animate, but animate nouns almost never shift to inanimate. The shift in gender generally occurs when conventionally inanimate objects take on animate properties, such as the capacity for motion or speech.

18.3.2 Pronouns

There are two distinct sub-types of pronouns: personal pronouns and nominal pronouns. Nominal pronouns are those that behave like nouns, especially in being indexed for the nominal grammatical features of gender, number and obviation. Demonstrative pronouns are the most prominent nominal pronouns, and many other nominal pronouns show reduced grammatical features, such as lacking a plural or obviative. This group I call the reduced nominal pronouns.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS. Personal pronouns are the only pronouns that may be indexed as first or second person, and they also have distinctive plural markings and do not show obviation, that is, there are no special obviative (backgrounded) forms of personal pronouns. Personal pronouns show formal similarity to the person prefixes that are used with verb inflection of the independent order.

The following chart lays out the grammatical categories of personal pronouns, and their possible values.

Personal Pronouns	
Person	First, Second, Third First Person Plural Inclusive First Person Plural Exclusive
Number	Singular, Plural
Gender	Animate, (Inanimate)

DEMONSTRATIVE (NOMINAL) PRONOUNS. Demonstrative pronouns are indexed for the nominal features of gender (animate and inanimate), number (singular and plural), and obviation (proximate and obviative). They are also indexed for distance, similarly to English demonstrative pronouns, so that there is a proximal (or near) form, and a distal (or distant) form. As with nominal pronouns (discussed below), demonstrative pronouns lack many features associated with full nouns, in that the pronouns lack locatives, vocatives, possessive forms, diminutives, and pejoratives.

Demonstrative Pronouns	
Person	Third
Gender	Animate, Inanimate
Number	Singular, Plural
Obviation	Proximate, Obviative (backgrounded)
Distance	Near (proximal), Far (distal), Remote

Pausal pronouns are also indexed for nominal features: gender, number and obviation.

REDUCED (NOMINAL) PRONOUNS. Many nominal pronouns vary among speakers as to whether they show features of number (singular or plural) and obviation (proximate or obviative). As with demonstratives, all nominal pronouns are third person. Sub-classes of nominal pronouns include indefinite pronouns, interrogative pronouns, substitutive pronouns, and dubitative pronouns. All of these are treated in various detail in Chapters 3 and 12. Verbs associated with dubitative pronouns usually show dubitative mode inflection, and verbs associated with interrogative pronouns always show conjunct order inflection.

Nominal Pronouns	
Person	Third
Gender	Animate, Inanimate
Number	(Singular, Plural)
Obviation	(Proximate, Obviative)

18.3.3 Verbs

Verbs show by far the richest aggregation of GRAMMATICAL FEATURES. The following table lays out the more prominent features associated with verbs.

Verbs	
Subclass	
	Animate Intransitive
	Inanimate Intransitive
	Transitive Animate
	Transitive Inanimate

Order	
	Independent Order
	Conjunct Order
	Simple Conjunct
	Changed Conjunct
	Verbal Changed Conjunct (non-participial)
	Participle, Iterative
	Imperative Order
Actor	[Subject]
	Person {First, Second, Third, General}
	Number {Singular, Plural}
	First Person Plural {Inclusive, Exclusive}
	Obviation {Proximate, Obviative}
(Goal)	([Object])
	Person {First, Second, Third}
	Number {Singular, Plural}
	First Person Plural {Inclusive, Exclusive}
	Obviation {Proximate, Obviative}
Mode	
	Indicative (Neutral) Mode
	Preterit Mode
	Dubitative Mode
	Preterit Dubitative Mode
Polarity	
	Positive Polarity
	Negative Polarity
Tense	
	Independent, Conjunct Orders
	Present Tense
	Past Tense
	Future Tense
	Imperative Order
	Immediate
	Delayed

Mood	
	Indicative Mood
	Modal Mood daa-; da-, ji-

Restrictions limit the interaction of some of the categories listed above. For example, inanimate intransitive verbs (VII) can only have third person subjects, and transitive inanimate verbs (VTI) can only have third person goals. Only animate intransitive (VAI) and transitive inanimate verbs (VTI) can have general subjects. Only transitive verbs and VAIO verbs have inflection for goals, and these only in the independent and imperative orders. Inverse only transitive verbs (VTAI) can only have animate goals, almost always living beings. All of these facts are discussed in detail in Chapters 5 through 8.

In part due to the richness of the preverb system, many other categories of information can be associated with a verb in the form of preverbs or associated roots. The following table lists some of the more common concepts expressed in this way. Examples of most elements are provided in other places in the grammar.

Verbs	
	Direction
	Towards bi-
	Away from ni-
	Along bmi-
	Around bbaa-
	Go over to… o-; oo-
	Relative
	To, so, like zhi-
	From nji-
	Place dzhi-
	Extent piichi-
	Degree ko-
	Quantity dso-
	Aspect
	Want to… nda-
	After (finish)… shkwaa-
	Before… ji-bwaa-
	Begin… maajii-; webi-
	Sufficiently… de-
	Habitually… ntaa-

Manner	Extremely… gchi-
	Together… maawndoo-
	Noon… naawkwe-
	etc.

EXAMPLES. Nishnaabemwin verbs are often derivationally complex, richly inflected, and form the backbone of the language. The following example provide verbs in sentence contexts, and provide a glossing of their grammatical properties.

(2) Pii iw ***gaa-wiidged*** aw nmishoomis, niw oosan ***gii-zhaawan*** odi Sucker Creek mii odi ***gii-waabmaagbanen*** niw kwezensan ***gechi-gnaajwin'jin***.

'When my grandfather got married, his father had gone to Sucker Creek and there he must have seen this very beautiful girl.' (AK11.1)

Pii *av* 'when'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wiidged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) when ANsg married'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **oosan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's fathe(s)'; **gii-zhaawan** *vai ind 3obv* 'ANobv went there'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-waabmaagbanen** *vta conj pdub 3sProx+3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg must have seen ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **kwezensan** *na 3obv* 'young woman'; **gechi-gnaajwin'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) is very beautiful.'

Verb Form	***gaa-wiidged***
Dictionary Entry	**wiidged**
Verb Sub-Class	animate intransitive verb (vai)
Verbal Order	conjunct order, changed (past tense **gii-** changed to **gaa-**)
Verbal Mode	neutral mode
Verbal Polarity	positive polarity
Verbal Subject (S-role)	animate third person singular, proximate [aw nmishoomis]
Verb Tense	past tense (**gii-** here changed to **gaa-**)
Verb Mood	indicative mood

Verb Form	***gii-zhaawan***
Dictionary Entry	**zhaad**
Verb Sub-Class	animate intransitive verb (vai)
Verbal Order	independent order
Verbal Mode	neutral mode
Verbal Polarity	positive polarity
Verbal Subject (S-role)	animate 3rd person, obviative [niw oosan]
Verb Tense	past tense (gii-)
Verb Mood	indicative mood
Relative	contains relative root /iN/

Verb Form	***gii-waabmaagbanen***
Dictionary Entry	**waabmaad**
Verb Sub-Class	transitive animate verb (VTA)
Verbal Order	(plain) conjunct order
Verbal Mode	preterit dubitative mode
Verbal Polarity	positive polarity
Verbal Actor	animate third person singular, proximate [actor not specified with separate noun]
Verbal Goal	animate third person, obviative [**niw kwezensan gechi-gnaajwin'jin**]
Verb Tense	past tense
Verb Mood	indicative mood

Verb Form	***gechi-gnaajiwin'jin***
Dictionary Entry	**gnaajwid**
Verb Sub-Class	animate intransitive verb (VAI)
Verbal Order	changed conjunct order, participle (/gichi-/ changed to **gechi-**)
Verbal Mode	neutral mode
Verbal Polarity	positive polarity
Verbal Subject (S-role)	animate third person, obviative [**niw kwezensan**]
Verb Tense	[unmarked]
Verb Mood	indicative mood
Other	preverb **gchi-**, 'very, greatly'

18.3.4 Adverbs

Adverbs can be classified according to a couple of parameters. One that is pertinent to inflection classifies adverbs on the basis of whether or not verbs occurring in clauses with them show conjunct order inflection. These are discussed in Chapter 3. An example of each type is provided here. The first example has the adverb *giishpin*, which requires that an associated verb, in this case *waabmad*, 'you (sg.) see ANsg,' be inflected for the conjunct order. The independent order inflection of this form is *gwaabmaa*.

(3) Mjihiiwan ***giishpin*** ngoding ***waabmad*** baanaabe.

'It's a bad omen ***if you ever see*** a mermaid.' (AK4.13)

> **Mjihiiwan** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is an ill omen'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **ngoding** *av* 'sometime'; **waabmad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you SG see ANsg'; **baanaabe** *na 3sProx* 'mermaid.'

By contrast, the verb *siniikaani*, 'be rocky (obv.),' associated with the adverbs *aapji*, 'really,' and *giiwenh*, 'allegedly,' in the following sentence, is inflected for the independent order.

(4) ***Aapji giiwenh siniikaani*** gaa maamda ji-gtigewaapan mii-sh gii-bskaabiiwaad.

'***It was reportedly very rocky*** and it was not possible for them to farm and so they returned.' (AK15.5)

> **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **siniikaani** *vii ind 0obv* 'INobv is rocky'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **maamda** *av* 'able, possible'; **ji-gtigewaapan** *vai conj pret 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl could farm'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **gii-bskaabiiwaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl came back.'

18.4 Phrases, Clauses, and Sentences

PHRASES. Classes of words differ in the constituency relationships that they enter into with other words. For example, nouns often form phrases in association with elements that modify them in some way. Most commonly, nouns are modified by demonstrative pronouns, possessors, or quantificational terms, such as numbers and more general quantifiers. The following examples illustrate these various types of modification.

(a)	aw noos	'that father of mine'	demonstrative pronoun + N
(b)	Zhaabdiis wgwisan	'John's son'	possessor noun + N
(c)	niizh kwewag	'two women'	number + N
(d)	giw niizh nishnaabeg	'those two Indians'	demonstrative + number + N
(e)	gkina giw piniig	'all of those potatoes'	quantifier + demonstrative + N

In all of these examples, modifying elements belonging to particular word (part of speech) classes occur before the nouns they are associated with, forming phrasal groupings, in which the noun is the main element of the phrase. The central element of a phrase is commonly called the HEAD of that phrase, and the whole phrase is named for the head element. So, for example, all of the examples above are classified as NOUN PHRASES, because their head elements are nouns. Noun phrases in Nishnaabemwin often show a particular ordering relationship between their elements, in that the modifier usually precedes the head noun, though it is frequently separated from it.

The constituency and ordering relationships that exist among a sentence's phrasal groupings can be captured by means of phrase structure diagrams, such as the following.

Noun Phrase (NP)	
Modifier	Head
Noun Possessor	Noun
Demonstrative Pronoun	
Number Quantifier	
General Quantifier	

This diagram indicates that a noun phrase, abbreviated NP, is made up of a head noun preceded by a modifier. The modifier may be a noun possessor, a demonstrative pronoun, a number, or a general quantifier. Phrase structure diagrams provide several kinds of information about a language's phrases, their constituency, and the ordering of constituents. Constituency indicates what categories of words make up the phrasal group, and ordering indicates the order in which these occur relative to each other. In Chapter 12, it is shown that the order varies, depending on the scope of each element, for example *giw niizh ninwag*, 'those two men,' with a demonstrative preceding a number, versus *niizh giw ninwag*, 'two of those men,' with the number preceding the demonstrative. But even here there is variation, and context tends to play a bigger role than in the equivalent English expressions.

To complete this structural account of noun phrases, we need to also specify the typical position of relative clauses, which normally follow the noun they modify, as in the following example.

(5) Semaan gii-miinaawag giw [***kiwenziinyag***]$_{N}$ [***gaa-bi-zhaajig***]$_{RelCl}$.

'Those [***old men***]$_{N}$ [***who had come***]$_{RelCl}$ were given tobacco.' (AK10.6)

> **Semaan** *na 3obv* 'tobacco'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given Y'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **kiwenziinyag** *na 3pProx* 'old men'; **gaa-bi-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* 'who (ANpl) came.'

Given this information, we can modify our basic noun phrase structural template, recognizing that it represents general tendencies rather than a rigid rule.

Modifiers	Head	Clausal Modifier
Noun Possessor	Noun	Relative Clause
Demonstrative Pronoun		
Number Quantifier		
General Quantifier		

MODIFIER-HEAD RELATIONS WITH ADVERBS. The order MODIFIER-HEAD also occurs with many adverbs. Consider, for example, expressions such as *eshkam niibna*, 'more and more' (lit., 'increasingly much'), *noongo ggizheb*, 'this morning' (lit., 'today morning'), and *aazhi besho*, 'quite soon' (lit., 'already near'). All of these adverb combinations show a modifier preceding a head word. The following simple diagram captures this relationship.

Adverb Phrase (AP)	
Modifier	Head
Qualifying Adverb	Adverb

As with quantifiers and other modifiers of nouns, the modifiers of adverbs can also be fronted ("floated") to a position before the verb, as in the following example, where the modifier *weweni*, 'suitable, proper,' is displaced from the adverb it modifies, *mnik*, 'amount.'[1]

1. The word *mnik* is ambiguous, however, in ways similar to English 'much,' which can serve as an adverb, as in 'I don't go out much,' but seems very nominal in 'I want that much ice-cream.' Many quantifiers and units of measure in Nishnaabemwin show this kind of indeterminacy as to their part of speech behaviour and classification.

(6) Aaniish mii sa giiwenh gii-googiid zhashkoonh, nwaj dash giiwenh ***weweni*** wgii-biidoon ***mnik*** ki, gii-bi-mooksed miinwaa.

'So the muskrat went down again, and, when he surfaced, he brought back a ***more suitable quantity*** of earth.' (SO5.45)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-googiid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg dove'; **zhashkoonh** *na 3sProx* 'muskrat'; **nwaj** *av* 'more'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **weweni** *av* 'proper, suitable'; **wgii-biidoon** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg brought INsg'; **mnik** *av* 'amount'; **ki** *ni 0s* 'land'; **gii-bi-mooksed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg surfaced'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again.'

CLAUSES. Clauses constitute another central unit of syntactic structure. Prototypically, a clause is a verb and all associated words, typically the noun phrases (NP's) filling the verb's semantic roles, and associated adverbs and particles. The following sentence contains a single clause, consisting of a transitive verb and the two noun phrases filling its macro-roles of actor and goal. The first noun phrase consists of a single noun, and the second a combination of a demonstrative pronoun and a noun.

(7) Wshki-nbagsagoon wminpawaawaan giw gaagog.

'Porcupines like to eat new lumber.' (AK1.9)

> **Wshki-nbagsagoon** *na 3obv* 'new lumber'; **wminpawaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl like the taste of ANobv'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **gaagog** *na 3pProx* 'porcupines.'

The following diagram shows one possible structural analysis of this sentence:

Clause			
NP		NP	
N	V	Dem	N
Wshki-nbagsagoon	wminpawaawaan	giw	gaagog

This diagram specifies that the clause consists of two noun phrases (NP's) and a verb (V). The first noun phrase consists of just a noun, and the second, of a demonstrative pronoun and a noun. We could make a schemata of the following sort:

Clause = NP V NP

Examining this simple structure, we see something that looks like English, a language in which clauses consistently have the form [Subject NP]-Verb-[Object NP], sometimes abbreviated as SVO order. We note, however, that the relations in the Nishnaabemwin sentence

are opposite, with an order of [Object NP]-Verb-[Subject NP] (OVS). However, this order does not remotely have the centrality that SVO order does in English, because, in Nishnaabemwin, many different orderings of elements in the clause are possible. Consider the ordering in the following sentences, keeping in mind at the same time that the English translations are consistently SVO:

(8) VOS [Wjiigdahaan]$_V$ [iw wiigwaam]$_O$ [aw kwe]$_S$.

'That woman is sweeping out that house.' (AM39.398)

Wjiigdahaan *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg sweeps out INsg'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wiigwaam** *ni 0s* 'house'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman.'

(9) VSO [Gii-bootaagewag]$_V$ [giw kwewag]$_S$ [niw mdaamnan]$_O$ iw wii-bkwezhgankewaad.

'The women ground up the corn when they were going to make bread.' (AK2.4)

Gii-bootaagewag *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl ground (Y)'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **mdaamnan** *na 3obv* 'corn'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wii-bkwezhgankewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl will make bread.'

(10) SVO [Giw dash kwewag]$_S$ [wgii-gnawenmaawaan]$_V$ [niw binoojiinyan]$_O$.

'The women took care of the children.' (AK2.3)

Giw *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **dash** *av* 'and'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women'; **wgii-gnawenmaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl took care of ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren).'

There are thus many different orderings of the elements corresponding to English subjects, verbs, and objects. In carrying out syntactic research, Richard Rhodes determined that orders that were verb-initial were preferred in Nishnaabemwin (VOS and VSO), and that verb-medial orders SVO and OVS were also acceptable, but that verb-final orders SOV and OSV were dispreferred. While Rhodes' observations generally hold, one must be careful in making generalizations about acceptable orderings since verb-final sentences are certainly found, as in the following example.

(11) Nmishoomsimban niizh bezhigoongzhiin ogii-yaawaan.

'My late grandfather had two horses.' (SS)

Nmishoomsimban *nad pret 1s(3sProx)* 'my late grandfather'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **bezhigoongzhiin** *na 3obv* 'horse(s)'; **ogii-yaawaan** *vta ind 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg had ANobv.'

Among verb-initial orders, VOS is preferred, and among verb-medial, SVO is preferred, suggesting that a preferred pattern is for the object (goal) to follow directly after the verb. However, this cannot be a hard and fast rule, since VSO and OSV are also allowed. Rhodes asserts that the most basic, pragmatically neutral, order is VOS.

The preference for verb-initial orderings applies only to transitive verbs, too, since both orders of V and S are common with intransitive verbs. In the following examples, SV order appears in (12), and VS in (13).

(12) [Ndawemaa]$_S$ [ntaa-gshkigwaaso]$_V$. | 'My sister (man speaking) sews well.'

Ndawemaa *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my sibling-of-opposite-sex'; **ntaa-gshkigwaaso** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is good at sewing.' (AM39.121)

(13) [Ntaa-gshkigwaaso]$_V$ [nnahaangnikwem]$_S$. | 'My daughter-in-law sews well.'

Ntaa-gshkigwaaso *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is good at sewing'; **nnahaangnikwem** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my daughter-in-law.' (AM39.122)

And if only one nominal occurs with a transitive verb, either order of verb and nominal is allowed, including verb-final. In (14), below OV order occurs, and in (15), VO.

(14) [Mkiznan]$_O$ [gdaa-wi-zhitoonan]$_V$. | 'You can earn shoes.'" (AK3.6)

Mkiznan *ni 0p* 'shoes'; **gdaa-wi-zhitoonan** *vti ind 2s»0p* 'you (SG) can earn INpl.'

(15) [Wgii-mskwadsaan]$_V$ [mjigkan]$_O$. | 'He painted the fence red.' (AM39.3)

Wgii-mskwadsaan *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg painted INsg red'; **mjigkan** *ni 0s* 'fence.'

All of this suggests that phrase structure diagrams of the sort commonly used for English clauses are not very useful for Nishnaabemwin, since the order of words is so variable, so diagrams as such can be downright misleading. English uses ordering to signal which NP is the subject, and which is the object, but Nishnaabemwin usually does this by means of inflections on the verb. We can summarize our findings so far with the following statements of preference.

When both the actor and goal are expressed in a clause:

- Nishnaabemwin tends to prefer verb-initial orders (VOS and VSO)
- Nishnaabemwin also allows verb-medial orders (SVO and OVS)
- Nishnaabemwin greatly disprefers verb-final orders (SOV and OSV)
- Nishnaabemwin tends to prefer orders in which O directly follows V (VOS and SVO)

THE ORDER OF SECONDARY OBJECTS (THEMES). Many verbs are DITRANSITIVE, that is, have two objects, most typically transfer verbs such as *miizh*, 'give something to AN,' in which an object (semantically designated a theme) is transferred from one person to another (semantically called a recipient). In these cases, there appears to be no hard fast rule as to where in the clause the theme occurs, relative to the verb and other noun phrases associated with it. The following examples illustrate. In sentences (16) and (17), the theme *semaa* precedes the verb; while in sentences (18) and (19), it follows.

(16) [Semaan]$_{\text{THEME}}$ [gii-miinaawag]$_{\text{V}}$ giw kiwenziinyag gaa-bi-zhaajig.

'The old men who had come were given tobacco.' (AK10.6)

> **Semaan** *na 3obv* 'tobacco'; **gii-miinaawag** *vta ind x»3pProx* 'ANpl were given Y'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **kiwenziinyag** *na 3pProx* 'old men'; **gaa-bi-zhaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* 'who (ANpl) came.'

(17) [Semaa]$_{\text{THEME}}$ [gga-biidmoon]$_{\text{V}}$ niibwa go giishpin weweni gnawendman iw ngitgaan..

'I'll give you tobacco if you take good care of that garden of mine.' (AK10.18)

> **Semaa** *na 3sProx* 'tobacco'; **gga-biidmoon** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'I will bring Y for you SG'; **niibwa** *av* 'lots'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **weweni** *av* 'properly'; **gnawendman** *vti conj 2s»0* '(CONJ) you SG take care of IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ngitgaan** *ni 1s(0s)* 'my garden.'

(18) Nzhishenh pane [ngii-miinig]$_{\text{V}}$ [semaan]$_{\text{THEME}}$.

'My uncle always [gave]$_{\text{V}}$ me [tobacco]$_{\text{THEME}}$.' (AM34.15)

> **Nzhishenh** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my (cross–) uncle'; **pane** *av* 'always'; **ngii-miinig** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'ANsg gave Y to me'; **semaan** *na 3obv* 'tobacco.'

(19) [Gga-miinin]$_{\text{V}}$ [mshkiki]$_{\text{THEME}}$ neyaab ji-debnad aw ggwiiwzensim.

'I will [give]$_{\text{V}}$ you [medicine]$_{\text{THEME}}$ by means of which you will get back your young man.' (AM30.22)

> **Gga-miinin** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'I will give you SG'; **mshkiki** *ni 0s* 'medicine'; **neyaab** *av* 'back'; **ji-debnad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you SG will get ANsg'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **ggwiiwzensim** *na 2s(3sProx)* 'your SG boy.'

As with so much of Nishnaabemwin syntax, the patterns are often very subtle. For example, in subordinate clauses, themes often follow the verb, but I am not sure how rigid this tendency is.

(20) Aaniish mii sa giiwenh egod: "Giishpin [***wii-miizhyaang***]$_{\text{V}}$ [***giwi ggwisag***]$_{\text{THEME}}$, giin go gdaa-wenaabnjige zhonda wene go naa ge-wiidgemaawdibnen.

'They said to her, "If you [give]$_{\text{V}}$ us [your sons]$_{\text{THEME}}$, you may choose anyone here that you want to marry."' (SO2.4)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **egod** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANobv said to ANsg'; **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **wii-miizhyaang** *vta conj 2s»1p* '(CONJ) you give us (excl)'; **giwi** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **ggwisag** *nad 2s(3pProx)* 'your sons'; **giin** *prn pers 2s* 'you'; **gdaa-wenaabnjige** *vai ind 2s* 'you can choose'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **wene** *prn inter 3* 'who'; **ge-wiidgemaawdibnen** *vta ic conj pdub 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) you might marry ANsg.'

(21) "Nkweshdaadwin go gga-zhitoonaa, giishpin [***wii-bwaa-miizhyan***]$_{\text{V}}$ [***gonda gdan'shinaabemag***]$_{\text{THEME}}$."

'We will have a clash, unless you [give]$_{\text{V}}$ me [those Indians of yours]$_{\text{THEME}}$.'

> **Nkweshdaadwin** *ni 0s* 'a clash'; **gga-zhitoonaa** *vti ind 21»0s* 'we (incl.) will have INsg'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **wii-bwaa-miizhyan** *vta conj 2s»1s* '(CONJ) you (SG) fail to give me'; **gonda** *prn na 3pProx* 'these'; **gdan'shinaabemag** *na 2s(3pProx)* 'your Indians.' (SO6.20)

Compound noun phrases representing themes tend to follow the verb.

(22) Mii dash maaba nishnaabe gii-giisaadenmaad mii dash [***gii-biidmawaad***]$_V$ [***niw waabgan-pwaagnan miinwaa semaan***]$_{THEME}$.

'And this Indian felt sorry for her and [***he brought her***]$_V$ [***a clay pipe and also tobacco***]$_{THEME}$.' (AK12.4)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **gii-giisaadenmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg felt sad for ANobv'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-biidmawaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg brought Y for ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **waabgan-pwaagnan** *na 3obv* 'clay pipe(s)'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **semaan** *na 3obv* 'tobacco.'

RELATIVE ELEMENTS AND WORD ORDER. Those nominals and other expressions that represent the objects of RELATIVE ROOTS and PREVERBS usually come directly before the verb they are associated with. Consider the following textual sample, from the introduction to a story by Rose Nadjiwon of Cape Croker.

(23) a. ***Neyaashiinigamiing*** nd***oonj***baa,
b. ***'Cape Croker' zhi***nkaade, Zhaagnaashiiwnikaadeg.
c. ***Rose Nadjiwon*** nd***izh***nikaaz.
d. ***Maanda*** waa-***n***aajmoyaan, geget gii-***zhi***webdagban.
e. Kaa wiin dash naa kina ngikendziin.
f. ***Megwaaj dash go naa gaa-zhiwebdagbanen***, nga-***n***aajim.

'a. I come from "***Point of Land into the Water***,"
b. "***Cape Croker***" it's called, it is called in English.
c. ***Rose Nadjiwon*** is my name.
d. [***This*** which I'm going to tell about], ***it*** supposedly really happened.
e. But I don't know every detail.
f. [***So I'm giving only an approximation***] of what might have happened.' (RN)

> **a. Neyaashiinigamiing** *ni place* 'Cape Croker'; **ndoonjbaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I hail form'; **b. zhinkaade** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is called'; **Zhaagnaashiiwnikaadeg** *vii conj 0* 'IN has such name in English'; **c. ndizhnikaaz** *vai ind 1s* 'I am so named'; **d. Maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **waa-naajmoyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) which I will relate'; **geget** *av* 'truly'; **gii-zhiwebdagban** *vii ind pdub 0s* 'INsg allegedly happened'; **e. Kaa** *av* 'no'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **kina** *av* 'everything'; **ngikendziin** *vti ind neg 1s»0s* 'I don't know INsg'; **f. Megwaaj** *av* 'approximation?'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-zhiwebdagbanen** *vii ic conj dpret 0* '(CCNJ) which allegedly happened'; **nga-naajim** *vai ind 1s* 'I will relate.'

In the (a) clause, *Neyaashiinigamiing* directly precedes the verb *ndoonjibaa*, which has the relative root /onj-/, 'from'; the verbs in the (b) and (c) clauses contain the relative root /izh-/ (from /iN-/); the verb in the (d) clause contains the same root, in the form /in/, and the same verb appears again in the (f) clause. Interestingly, in the (d) line, there are two verbs with relative roots, because *gii-zhiwebdagban*, 'it supposedly happened,' also has a relative root. Associated with this relative root is the whole clausal expression, *Maanda waa-naajmoyaan*, 'this which I'm going to relate,' and that whole clause precedes the verb containing the relative root it is associated with. This is true of all of these examples, namely that a noun or clause serving as the object of a relative root precedes the verb containing the root.

There is one context where the object of a relative root consistently follows the verb. For objects that represent locations, when these occur with a demonstrative locative adverb such as *maa*, 'there' or *widi* 'over there,' they consistently come at the end of their clauses, following the verb containing the relative root. In both of the following sentences, for example, the verb containing a relative root is *zhaa*, 'go there' (VAI).

(24) Mii dash gaa-zhichged aw gaa-nsaad niw bnewan gii-zhaad [***maa gchi-bkwaabkaag***] gii-wi-namhaad.

'And what this one who killed the partridge did, he went [***up on a high rock***] and he prayed there.' (AK7.11)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-zhichged** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) what ANsg did'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **gaa-nsaad** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) when ANsg killed ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **bnewan** *na 3obv* 'partridge'; **gii-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gchi-bkwaabkaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) there is high rock hill'; **gii-wi-namhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went and prayed.'

(25) Aaniish mii sa gii-maajaad giiwenh bezhig nini, gii-zhaad [***wadi ziisbaakdokaaning***].

'So this man set off alone, and went [***over there to the sugar camp***].' (SO1.8)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-maajaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg left'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **bezhig** *nm* 'a certain'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man'; **gii-zhaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went there'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **ziisbaakdokaaning** *ni loc 0* 'to the sugaring place.'

This is perhaps less a fact about the objects of relative roots than the behaviour of definite expressions in general. Rhodes 1990:3 notes that definite expressions such as those in the examples above typically follow their associated verbs.

18.4.1 Gender, Number, and Obviation

Distinctions of gender (animate and inanimate), number (singular and plural), and obviation (proximate and obviative) provide a powerful set of grammatical tools for interpreting the grammatical relations in Nishnaabemwin sentences. In this section we'll briefly examine how these tools are used. Consider the following sentence:

(26) Giw dash kwewag wgii-gnawenmaawaan niw binoojiinyan.

'The women took care of the children.' (AK2.3)

> **Giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **kwewag** *na 3pProx* 'women';
> **wgii-gnawenmaawaan** *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl took care of ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren).'

First we can recognize three basic constituents in this sentence, along with their grammatical properties, as outlined in the following chart.

giw kwewag	wgii-gnawenmaawaan	niw binoojiinyan
— animate noun (na) — plural proximate	— transitive animate verb (vta) — «w_aawaan» indicates: • animate 3rd plural actor • animate 3rd obviative goal	— animate noun (na) — obviative

The verb is transitive animate (VTA), meaning that it two semantic roles, which will be marked on the verb as actor and goal, and the goal must be animate. Furthermore, there is an (independent order) inflectional complex, «w_aawaan», that indicates that this verb has a third person plural (proximate) actor, and a third person obviative goal. So, inspecting the rest of the clause, we find one animate third person plural noun phrase, *giw kwewag*, 'those women,' and one animate third person obviative noun phrase, *niw binoojiinyan*, 'that/those child(ren).' The only possible interpretation is that *giw kwewag* represents the actor, and *niw binoojiinyan*, the goal. This determination is made on the basis of the interaction between plural and obviative marking on the nouns (and their associated demonstratives), and the inflection on the verb, together with the fact that both nouns are animate, and that the verb is VTA. Note that at no point do we need to appeal to any kind of word order rules, though there is one consistency in the word order, namely that the demonstrative pronouns directly precede the nouns they modify, which is the normal, but not the only, ordering.

18.4.2 Proximity

The following sentence presents another aspect of word order in Nishnaabemwin. This sentence is about Nenabush spotting a deer up on a hill.

(27) Wgii-waabmaan dash waawaashkeshwan niibwinid ***gidaaki***.

'He saw a deer standing there ***at the top of the bluff***.' (AM35.27)

> **Wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **dash** *av* 'then';
> **waawaashkeshwan** *na 3obv* 'deer'; **niibwinid** *vai conj 3obv.*'(CONJ) ANobv stand';
> **gidaaki** *av* 'on top of hill.'

Consider the locational adverb *gidaaki*, 'on a hill, up the hill,' which occurs as the last word in this sentence. How does one determine that it is referring to where the deer was standing rather than to where Nenabush sees from? The answer is that unless there is good reason for doing otherwise, adverbs are associated with the verbs that they are closest to, in this case, *niibwinid*. This way of interpreting word relationships might be called a principle of proximity. This principle, in association with the rich inflectional system of Nishnaabemwin, allows for the easy interpretation of most sentences.

18.4.3 Pragmatics

In some cases, since word order is very free in Nishnaabemwin, and the proper relation of one word to another is determined on the basis of common sense, that is, pragmatically, based on one's knowledge of the way the world normally works. Consider, for example, how a speaker of Nishnaabemwin might figure out what the role of the word *niizh*, 'two,' is in the following sentence.

(28) Ngoding shkinweg gii-gkinoohmaagziwag ***niizh*** maa gkinoohmaadiiwgamgong…

'Once (upon a time) ***two*** young men studied there at the University…' (AM30.1)

> **Ngoding** *av* 'once'; **shkinweg** *na 3pProx* 'young men'; **gii-gkinoohmaagziwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl were in school'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **maa** *av* 'there';
> **gkinoohmaadiiwgamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'at the school.'

Here there is a number situated after a verb, adjacent to no noun which it might be modifying and not in the usual pre-verbal (fronted) position of displaced quantifiers. We note however that the verb is animate intransitive (VAI), and has a plural subject, which is known from the inflectional suffix complex spelled «wag». Preceding the verb is a nominal, *shkinweg*, an animate noun (NA) that is marked plural by virtue of the suffix spelled «g». So given that we have an animate intransitive verb inflected for a plural subject, and a plural animate noun, it is reasonable then to consider that the animate noun is the subject of the VAI verb. Since the subject is plural, it is then entirely reasonable to associate the number two, *niizh*, with the plural subject nominal, producing the interpretation 'two young men were studying.' There is really no other practical interpretation.

Common sense also allows us to easily interpret sentences such as the following:

(29) Mii dash gii-miinaad aw nishnaabe niw bkwezhganan.

'And the Indian gave them some bread.' (AK7.13)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-miinaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg gave ANobv Y'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **bkwezhganan** *na 3obv* 'bread.'

Stretching things to the point of absurdity for the purposes of illustration, this sentence has two possible readings, one of which is the translation provided. The second is: "And the Indian gave (something) to the bread." The verb form *miinaad* is inflected to indicate that an animate third person singular proximate gave (something) to an animate third person obviative. Now it just so happens that *niw bkwezhiganan,* 'that bread,' is an animate third person obviative (n.b. *bkwezhigan* is animate in Alice King's dialect), strictly speaking, it would be possible for the bread to be the recipient of the giving, rather than the thing given. But the whole idea of giving something to a loaf of bread makes little sense, so this interpretation is ruled out on the basis of its impracticality. Furthermore, the sentence that directly precedes this one is:

(30) Mii-sh gii-nkweshkwaawaad niw nishnaaben, mii dash enaawaad, "Bkwezhgan na gdayaawaa ge-shamyaangban."

'And then they met this Indian and they said to him, "Do you have any bread that you might give us to eat?"' (AK7.12)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-nkweshkwaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl met ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s)'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **enaawaad** *vta ic conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANpl said to ANobv'; **Bkwezhgan** *na 3sProx i* 'bread'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gdayaawaa** *vta ind 2p»3sProx* 'do you (pl) have ANsg'; **ge-shamyaangiban** *vta ic conj pret 2p»1p* '(CCNJ) you (pl) might feed us (excl).'

So the appropriate reading is also encouraged by this context. Note also that transfer verbs (VTA) such as *miinaad,* 'give something to AN,' generally require that their goals (recipients) be living creatures, which also greatly facilitates the utility of logical deduction ("common sense") as an interpretive tool.

In the following example, the determination of actor and goal of the last clause is not possible on the basis any grammatical cues, such as the verb's inflection, because both noun phrases associated with it are OBVIATIVE. The sentence is easily interpreted, however, on the basis of our knowledge of the world, namely our knowledge that snakes are prone to bite people, but people don't often bite snakes. The story context also invites correct interpretation, since one (here, a friend) is unlikely to bite what one does not see (a snake).

(31) Wgii-waabmaan gnebgoon, wiijkiwenyan dash gaa wiin; [wiijkiwenyan$_{goal}$ wgii-dkamgoon niw gnebgoon$_{actor}$].

'He saw the snake, but his friend not. That snake bit his friend.' (AM39.359)

> **Wgii-waabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg saw ANobv'; **gnebgoon** *na 3obv* 'snake(s)'; **wiijkiwenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's friend(s)'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **gaa wiin** *av* 'not'; **wiijkiwenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's friend(s)'; **wgii-dkamgoon** *vta ind 3obv»3sProx* 'ANobv bit ANsg'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **gnebgoon** *na 3obv* 'snake(s).'

18.4.4 Complex Sentences and the Independent and Conjunct Orders

Many sentences contain more than one verb, and therefore, more than one clause. The following sentence, for example, contains two verbs, *giizhgaatenig,* 'moonlight shines brightly (obv)' VII, and *wganwaabmaan,* 'ANsg looks at ANobv' VTA.

(32) ***Giizhgaatenig*** giiwenh ***wganwaabmaan*** niwi giisoon.

'Once, ***when moonlight is shining brightly, he looks at*** the moon.' (FF1.4)

> **Giizhgaatenig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) IN was day-bright'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **wganwaabmaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg looks at ANobv'; **niwi** *prn na 3obv* 'nao'; **giisoon** *na 3obv* 'moon(s).'

In grammatical terms, the main verb here is *wganwaabmaan,* which provides the main assertion of the sentence, and *giizhgaatenig* is subordinated to it, providing a context, a circumstance, a setting for the main action. In English, this subordination is accomplished by placing the conjunction *when* at the beginning of the clause. In the Nishnaabemwin sentence, however, there is no subordinating conjunction. None is needed, because Nishnaabemwin makes use of an inflectional strategy for distinguishing verbs in main clauses from those in subordinate clauses. Two distinct inflectional orders, or systems, exist in the language. Inflection refers to the system of prefixes and suffixes on the verb that signal the grammatical properties of their actors, goals, and S-roles (subjects).The independent order is typically used with a verb that is the main verb of a sentence. The conjunct order is used with verbs that are subordinated, either by virtue of being associated with a predicative word such as *mii,* or by virtue of being associated with the main verb, either as a complement, or as an adverbial clause specifying time, manner, location, circumstance, condition, reason, purpose, and the like. Often the only way of knowing that a clause is functioning in one of these secondary functions is by virtue of the verb showing conjunct order inflection. In the example above, (32), *giizhgaatenig* has a conjunct order suffix complex spelled «nig».

which indicates an inanimate intransitive verb (VII), obviative (backgrounded), in a subordinate clause; the verb *wganwaabmaan* has an independent order prefix/suffix complex «w-_-aan» that indicates a third person singular proximate (foregrounded) actor acting upon an animate third person obviative (backgrounded) goal, on the main verb of a clause. It is perhaps a bit surprising how much information is coded in these short prefixes and suffixes, but that is the nature of the system. And there are hundreds, if not thousands, of different prefix and suffix combinations. For every independent order form there is a corresponding conjunct form, though conjunct inflections tend to downplay number (singular versus plural) in inanimates, and so lack some of the inflectional distinctions of the independent. The following table illustrates a few examples of corresponding independent and conjunct order forms:

	Independent		Conjunct	
'I see you (sg.)'	gwaabamin	g _ in	waabminaan(h)	_ inaan(h)
'you (sg.) see me'	gwaabam	g _	waabmiyin	_ iyin
'I see it (in.)'	nwaabndaan	n _ n	waabndmaan(h)	_ aan(h)
'I see them (in.)'	nwaabndaanan	n _ nan	waabndamaan(h)	_ aan(h)
'you (pl) dive'	ggoogiim	g _ m	googiiyeg	_ yeg
'they (an.) dive'	googiiwag	_ wag	googiiwaad	_ waad

The independent and conjunct inflectional orders can be distinguished on the basis of several features, including, but not limited to, the following:

- Their inflections for actors, goals and subjects are different. In particular, only the independent order has person prefixes. The behaviour of inverse forms is different as well.
- Plurality of inanimate goals of transitives and inanimate subjects of intransitives is not marked in the conjunct.
- Their inflection for negation is different: the independent uses the negative adverb *gaawii(n)* along with negative inflection, but the conjunct typically uses only negative inflection, or special negative preverbs not used in the independent, such as *bwaa-*.
- Their inflections for preterit, dubitative, and preterit dubitative modes are different.
- The forms of their tense and modal preverbs are different.
- Only the conjunct can occur with complementizing preverbs such as *a-*
- Only the conjunct has initial change.
- Only the conjunct has participles and inflectional iteratives.
- Conjunct clauses are more consistently verb-initial than independent clauses.

As another example, consider the following sentence, from a story about the trickster Nenabush sneaking up on some ducks through the water.

(33) Mii dash maa ***gaa-nji-googiid gii-nakzhiwed*** widi ***yaanid***.

'Then ***he dived from*** there and ***swam over*** to where ***they (obv) were***.' (AM37.7)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **gaa-nji-googiid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg dived from there'; **gii-nakzhiwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg swam there'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **yaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) ANobv be there.'

There are three verbs in this sentence, *gaa-nji-googiid*, 'where ANsg dived from,' VAI, *gii-nakziwed*, 'ANsg paddled there' VAI, and *yaanid*, 'ANobv were there' VAI. All three are inflected for conjunct order, which can be inferred from their inflectional suffixes, and additionally, by the presence of initial change in the case of the first form. The following chart provides details.

	Conjunct order traits…
gaa-nji-googiid	• shows initial change, in **gii-** to **gaa-** • animate 3rd person singular proximate infl. suffix /-d/ [independent order form is **gii-nji-googii**]
gii-nakzhiwed	• animate 3rd person singular proximate infl. suffix /-d/ [independent order form is **gii-nakzhiwe**]
yaanid	• animate 3rd person obviative infl. suffix /-nid/ [independent order form is **yaawan**]

The reason that the first verb has conjunct inflection is that it is associated with the predicative element *mii*, as is the second verb. Predicative elements function like main verbs in that they require that any verb associated with them to be treated as a subordinate, which, in Nishnaabemwin, means conjunct order inflection. The last verb, *yaanid*, is in a clause specifying the destination of the swimming, that is, is subordinate because it is specifying a location related to the main verb. Note that not a single verb in this complex sentence has a pronoun or nominal associated with it, the participants are understood entirely on the basis of prior proximate and obviative assignment in the discourse.

18.4.5 Headedness and Head-Marking in Nishnaabemwin Clauses and Phrases

The fact that the verb is marked for the grammatical features of actors and goals, and that these features also signal the type of clause (main or subordinate), suggests that the verb is the head, or more prominent element, of the Nishnaabemwin clause. Furthermore, it is the verb which carries indications of tense, mode, and mood, grammatical concepts that arguably apply to the whole proposition expressed by the clause. Even obviation, which is marked on nouns only if they are animate, is marked on the verb for both animates and inanimates.

In a Nishnaabemwin noun phrase, it is also the main (head) noun that carries important grammatical features, such as the features of a possessor. In both phrases and clauses, then, Nishnaabemwin tends to mark important grammatical features on the head.

18.4.6 Subordinators (Complementizers)

While the most important mark of a verb's status as subordinate is its having conjunct order inflection, Nishnaabemwin also has a few other ways to indicate subordination, which I discuss in this section.

PREVERB A-. The preverb *a-* (changed form, *e-*) is sometimes used on a verb to indicate that it is in a subordinate clause. The following examples illustrate its usage.

(34) Pii dash debshkooseg ngii-zhaami widi ***a-bmi-noogbizod*** aw mshkode-daabaan.

'When the time came we went to there ***where*** the train ***comes to a stop*** (i.e., the railway station).' (AM8.7)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **debshkooseg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) the IN time came around'; **ngii-zhaami** *vai ind 1p* 'we went there'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **a-bmi-noogbizod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) where ANsg stops running'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **mshkode-daabaan** *na 3sProx* 'train (lit., 'fire vehicle').'

(35) Aanii dash ***e-aawyaanh***? | 'So ***who am I***?' [NB, the last line of a riddle] (CN)

> **Aanii** *av* 'how'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **e-aawyaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) that I am.'

(36) ***E-ni-dbikak*** mii gii-noondwangdwaa Nimkiig, ge go gii-gchi-nimkiikaag.

'***When night came*** we heard the Thunders, and there was a great thunderstorm.'

> **E-ni-dbikak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when night came'; **mii** *av* 'so then'; **gii-noondwangdwaa** *vta conj 1p»3pProx* '(CONJ) we EXCL heard ANpl'; **Nimkiig** *na 3pProx* 'Thunderers'; **ge** *av* 'and'; **gii-gchi-nimkiikaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) there was a great thunderstorm.' (AM10.21)

All of the verbs marked with *e-* show conjunct order inflection. In many cases modern use of *e-* as a separate preverb arose from the reanalysis of older initial changed forms. For example, *e-* in *e-ni-dbikak*, 'when night came,' historically comes from an initial changed form of preverb *ani-*, 'in course of time, progress to…,' which would show initial change to *eni-*. But since syncope would often eliminate the initial vowel in the unchanged form, the basic form of the directional preverb has come to be /ni-/ for many speakers, who then interpret the /e/ associated with the initial-changed form as a separate preverb. Historically, there was indeed such a preverb, which shows up unchanged in sentence (34) above.

Other preverbs serve as subordinators. These are presented in Chapter 3.8.2.9, Subordinating Preverbs, beginning on page 166.

DEMONSTRATIVE *IW*. The demonstrative pronoun *iw*, 'that' (inan.), is also sometimes used to demarcate subordinate clauses, rather like the English use of *that* in similar grammatical contexts.

(37) Nwaabndaan go gmaapiich [***iw mmaazkaag iw biiwaabkoons***].

'In time I see [***that the wire moving***].' (AM14.5)

> **Nwaabndaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I see INsg'; **gmaapiich** *av* 'after awhile'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mmaazkaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) that IN moves'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **biiwaabkoons** *ni 0s* 'wire.'

(38) …mii dash gaa-wnji-yaawaawaad niw kikoon [***iw gii-jiibaakwewaad***].

'…and that's why they had those pots [***when they were cooking***].' (AK17.4)

> **mii** *av* 'that's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-wnji-yaawaawaad** *vta ic conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) why ANpl had ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **kikoon** *na 3obv* 'pot(s)'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gii-jiibaakwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl cooked.'

ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATORS. Several adverbs function as subordinators, so that verbs in clauses associated with them show conjunct order inflection. The most important of these is *mii*, discussed at length below, but others include *giishpin*, 'if,' *pii*, 'when,' when it heads its clause, and *megwaa*, when it has the meaning 'while.'

(39) Ngii-nkwetwaa dash ji-zhaayaambaa [***giishpin bgidniwaad ngitziimag***].

'I answered him that I would go [***if my parents permitted me to go***].' (AM8.3)

> **Ngii-nkwetwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I answered ANsg'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ji-zhaayaambaa** *vai conj pret 1s* '(CONJ) that I would go'; **giishpin** *av* 'if'; **bgidniwaad** *vta conj 3pProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANpl would let me'; **ngitziimag** *nad 1s(3pProx)* 'my parents.'

(40) [***Pii dash ezhaayaang odi***], aazhgo wgii-gdaanaawaa giw gaagog.

'[***But when we went there***], the porcupines had already eaten it up.' (AK1.7)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ezhaayaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) we (excl) went there'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **aazhgo** *av* 'already indeed'; **wgii-gdaanaawaa** *vti ind 3pProx»0* 'ANpl ate INsg up'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **gaagog** *na 3pProx* 'porcupines.'

(41) [***Megwaa gii-gwiiwzenswiyaan***] pane go ngii-gndamoojge.

'[***When I was boy***] I was always fishing.' (AM7.1)

> **Megwaa** *av* 'while'; **gii-gwiiwzenswiyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I was a boy'; **pane** *av* 'always'; **ngii-gndamoojge** *vai ind 1s* 'I fished with a line.'

18.4.7 Subordinated Verbs

Many impersonal verbs serve to provide background information, such as the time of day the main action takes place, or the general nature of its locational setting. Such verbs typically appear inflected for conjunct order, with and without initial change.

(42) Mii dash gii-bi-giiwewaad ***debkadnig*** dash gii-dgoshnoog.

'And they came home and arrived ***just at dark***.' (AK7.14)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bi-giiwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl came back home'; **debkadnig** *vii ic conj 0obv* '(CCNJ) when INobv was dark'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-dgoshnoog** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl arrived.'

(43) Mii dash ngoding [***enmahe-giizhgak***] wgii-bi-ndawaabmaan aw kwe niw wdaansan odi namhewgamgong.

'Then one time [***when it was Sunday***] a woman came there to the church to look for her daughter.' (AK3.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **noongo** *av* 'today'; **dbikak** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be night'; **wii-maajaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will go away'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gnandwenmisnoon** *vta ind 1s»2s neg* 'I don't want you SG'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **nshike** *av* 'alone'; **ji-yaayan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you SG will/should be.'

When-clauses often occur with no other indicator than conjunct order inflection.

(44) [***Gaa-dgoshnaang***] odi waa-dzhi-mwizyaang, mii dash ezhid aw kwe, "Giiskan iw ggoodaas, gga-goodoon dash maa mtigoonsing."

'[***When we arrived***] there where we were going to pick berries, this woman said to me, "Take off your dress, you are to hang it here on a bush."' (AK3.8)

> **Gaa-dgoshnaang** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) when we (excl) arrived'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **waa-dzhi-mwizyaang** *vai ic conj 1p* '(CCNJ) where we (excl) will pick berries'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ezhid** *vta ic conj 3sProx»1s* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to me'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **Giiskan** *vti imp 2s»0* '(you SG) take IN off'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ggoodaas** *ni 2s(0s)* 'your SG dress'; **gga-goodoon** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you SG will hang IN'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **mtigoonsing** *na 3 loc* 'on bush.'

(45) Gaa dash go gbeyhiing ngii-baabiiwsiimin [***gii-bgambizod aw shkode-daabaan gii-bi-gbaawaad giw zhmaagnishag***].

'So we had not waited long [***when the train came and the soldiers got off***].' (AK8.9)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **ngii-baabiiwsiimin** *vai ind 1p neg* 'we (excl) did not wait'; **gii-bgambizod** *vai conj 3sProx* 'ANsg arrived running'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **shkode-daabaan** *na 3sProx* 'train'; **gii-bi-gbaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl disembarked'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **zhmaagnishag** *na 3pProx* 'soldiers.'

18.4.8 Predicative Adverbs

Sometimes adverbials give the appearance of being used as predicators rather like predicative particle *mii*. For example, in the following sentence, the construction *baamaa pii*, 'later on,' appears to function as such.

(46) Gaawiin dash wii go gii-ntaa-zgaswaasii, ***baamaa pii go eta*** gii-noondang gegoo iw e-mgoshkaadenmogod.

'As for her, she did not smoke frequently, ***only later when*** she heard something that was upsetting her.' (AK12.8)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wii** *av* 'then'; **gii-ntaa-zgaswaasii** *vai ind 3sProx neg* 'ANsg did not smoke customarily'; **baamaa** *av* 'later'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **gii-noondang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg heard IN'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'something'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **e-mgoshkaadenmogod** *vta ic conj part 0»3sProx* '(CCNJ) which (IN) upset ANsg.'

However *baamaa pii* also frequently occurs as a simple adverbial, and the verb shows independent order inflection.

(47) ***Baamaa pii*** go naa ngoding ***wgii-nkweshkwaan*** nishnaaben gaa-wiindmaagjin…

'***Later*** one time he ***met*** an Indian who told him, …' (AK13.27)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **ngoding** *av* 'once'; **wgii-nkweshkwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg met ANobv'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s)'; **gaa-wiindmaagjin** *vta ic conj part 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) said to ANsg.'

The same phenomenon can be seen with the temporal adverb *mewzha*, 'long ago.' In sentences (48) and (49), the associated verbs are inflected for conjunct order, indicating subordinate status, while in sentences (66) and (67) the verb is inflected for independent order.

(48) Mewnzha [***bbaa-miinkeyaang***], …

'A long time ago when ***we were going about looking for berries***, …' (AK1.1)

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **bbaa-miinkeyaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we (excl) were going around gathering berries.'

(49) Mewnzha [***gaa-zhiwebziyaan***]. | 'Long ago it ***happened*** to me.' (AK3.1)

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **gaa-zhiwebziyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) what happened to me.'

(50) Mewnzha [***wgii-nkweshkwaan***] aw nishnaabe niw zhaagnaashan, …

'Long ago an Indian ***met*** a white man, …' (AK18.1a)

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **wgii-nkweshkwaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg met ANobv'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **zhaagnaashan** *na 3obv* 'white(s).'

(51) Mewnzha [***gii-nboban***] aw gookmis, ggii-ngadmaag iw wiigwaam.

'Your grandmother ***died*** a long time ago, she left you her house.' (AK13.27)

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **gii-nboban** *vai ind pret 3sProx* 'ANsg died'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **gookmis** *na 2s(3sProx)* 'your grandmother'; **ggii-ngadmaag** *vta ind 3sProx»2s* 'ANsg left Y for you SG'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wiigwaam** *ni 0s* 'house.'

Since verbs specifying background information such as time and location often appear with no other adornment than conjunct order inflection, it is not clear that the adverbials in these sentences are actually predicative. Perhaps they are simply clause-initial adverbials being used in conjunction with a when-clause, it isn't always clear. With other conjunctive

adverbs, such as *megwaa*, 'while,' and *naangim*, 'until,' the verb always shows conjunct inflection, which suggests that they are more clearly complementizers.

18.4.9 Main Verbs Inflected with Conjunct Order

In running narrative, the main verbs of sentences sometimes show conjunct order inflection, that is, they behave like verbs in subordinate clauses. Consider, for example, (52), below, the opening sentences of a narrative. In the first sentence the presence of conjunct order inflection on *gaa-zhichgewaad* is explainable on the basis of association with predicative particle *mii*. In the second sentence, however, there are three verbs, *gii-nsaawaad*, *gii-zhiiwtaagnawaawaad*, and *wii-aabjihaawaad*, all of which show conjunct order inflection. The conjunct inflection of the first verb can be explained as being due to its being in a when-clause, *gii-nsaawaad niw nmegsan*, 'when they killed sturgeon.' The conjunct inflection of the last verb, *wii-aabjihaawaad*, can be explained on the basis of its being in a purpose-clause, 'in order to use them.' But there is no structural explanation for the conjunct inflection of the middle verb, *gii-zhiiwtaagnawaawaad*, 'they salted them.'

(52) 1 Mewnzha giw nishnaabeg mii ***gaa-zhichgewaad*** iw dgwaagig. 2 ***Gii-nsaawaad*** niw nmegsan ***gii-zhiiwtaagnawaawaad wii-aabjihaawaad*** iw bboon.

'1 Long ago this is what the Indians ***did*** in the fall. 2 They ***killed*** sturgeon and ***salted*** them in order to ***use*** them in the winter.' (AK4.1-2)

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **dgwaagig** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be fall'; **Gii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl killed ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **nmegsan** *na 3obv* 'trout'; **gii-zhiiwtaagnawaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl salted ANobv'; **wii-aabjihaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl will use ANobv'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bboon** *ni 0s* 'winter.'

The reason that the verb *gii-zhiiwtaagnawaawaad* is conjunct in this sentence is simply that sentences in running narrative sometimes act as if they were subordinated to the whole narrative, or form tight units with adjacent sentences.

18.5 The Role of Word Order in Nishnaabemwin

Because word order is not used in Nishnaabemwin to determine grammatical relations such as subject and object, it is free to serve other functions. Richard Rhodes and Russ Tomlin (Tomlin and Rhodes 1979) have studied Nishnaabemwin word order extensively, and have concluded that word order is used to keep track of the information status of the different elements of a sentence. For example, when nominals are introduced into a narrative,

they tend to occur before the verb. When nominals are subsequently referred to, they tend to occur after the verb. The verb is thus a kind of pivot, which is used to index whether information is new (in which case it comes before the verb) or old (in which case it comes after the verb). In addition, Rhodes hypothesizes that there is a position before the verb for focusing, or giving greater emphasis to information. This is the position to which fronted elements of split noun phrases, such as quantifiers, are moved, as in the following example:

(53) ***Nswi*** gii-bi-zhaamgadoon ***jiimaanan*** mnishenying.

'***Three canoes*** came to the island.' (AM39.248)

> **Nswi** *nm* 'three'; **gii-bi-zhaamgadoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl came'; **jiimaanan** *ni 0p* 'boats'; **mnishenying** *ni 0 loc* 'to the island.'

New or contrastive information comes before the verb, and old, non-contrastive information comes after it. When new characters are introduced into a narrative, a noun phrase referring to them often appears before the verb. The example, (54), at the top of the following page, illustrates, from a story by Rose Nadjiwon of Cape Croker. In sentence [1] here, the character of Johnny Angus Sr. is introduced, by means of a noun phrase *maaba bezhig nishnaabe*, 'a certain Indian,' which occurs before the verb. In sentence [2], horses are mentioned, by means of a noun placed before the verb. In sentences [3] and [5], however, inanimate objects (props) are introduced, *niw bezhgoogzhi-piknan*, 'those harnesses' (NI), and *iw mjidwe-mzinigan*, 'that mail-order catalogue' (NI). In both cases, the noun phrase follows the verb. This is evidently because these objects are not very prominent in the action of the discourse. It is very common for words referring to props in a story to be introduced after the verb. Note, though, that in the discourse above, another reference to new harnesses, *shki-ahiin*, 'new ones,' appears before the verb (in sentence [3]).

TOPIC AND FOCUS. Two very important concepts in discourse study are TOPIC and FOCUS. Topic is a rather vague but intuitive notion often defined as "what the discourse is about," or, with reference to individual sentences within a discourse, "what the sentence is about." Within a given span of discourse, a speaker (or writer) will make particular characters the main topic(s). At any time, there is the option of shifting to a new topic. Many languages have special word orders that are used in association with topic shifts, and typically such word orders put the nominal referring to the new topic in a position before the verb. We have seen above that Nishnaabemwin often puts newly introduced topics before the verb.

(54) [1] Mii dash ***maaba bezhig nishnaabe*** Johnny Angus (Sr.) gii-zhinkaazo, mii niw "Ojibwens" oosbaniin, shkinawe go naa maanda iw pii aawgoban. [2] ***Bezhgoogzhiin*** go naa gii-yaawaagban. [3] Aapji dash go naa aazhgo pakshkaanwidgenan ***niw sa bezhgoogzhii-piknan***, aabdeg dash naa ***shki-ahiin*** wii-mjidwedog. [4] Gaa dash dayaanziin wiin ***iw*** sa ***mjidwe-mzinigan***.

'[1] And so, there was ***a man*** named Johnny Angus, he's the one whose father was named Ojibwens; he was a young man at this time. [2] He evidently had ***horses***. [3] But evidently the ***harnesses*** were wearing out, and he had to order ***new ones***. [4] But he didn't have a ***mail-order catalogue***.' (RN)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **nishnaabe** *na 3sProx* 'Indian'; **gii-zhinkaazo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was named'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **Ojibwens** *na 3sProx* 'Ojibwens'; **oosbaniin** *nad pret 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's late father'; **shkinawe** *na 3sProx* 'young man'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **aawgoban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg allegedly was'; **Bezhgoogzhiin** *na 3obv* 'horse(s)'; **gii-yaawaagban** *vta ind pdub 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg evidently had ANobv'; **Aapji** *av* 'really'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aazhgo** *av* 'now indeed'; **pakshkaanwidgenan** *vai ind dub 3obv* 'ANobv are evidently wearing out'; **niw** *prn 0p* 'those'; **bezhgoogzhii-piknan** *ni 0p* 'horse harnesses'; **aabdeg** *av* 'necessarily'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **shki-ahiin** *ni 0p* 'new ones'; **wii-mjidwedog** *vai ind dub 3sProx* 'ANsg evidently wants to order by mail'; **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **dash** *av* 'but'; **dayaanziin** *vti ind neg 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg does not have INsg'; **wiin** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mjidwe-mzinigan** *ni 0s* 'mail order catalogue.'

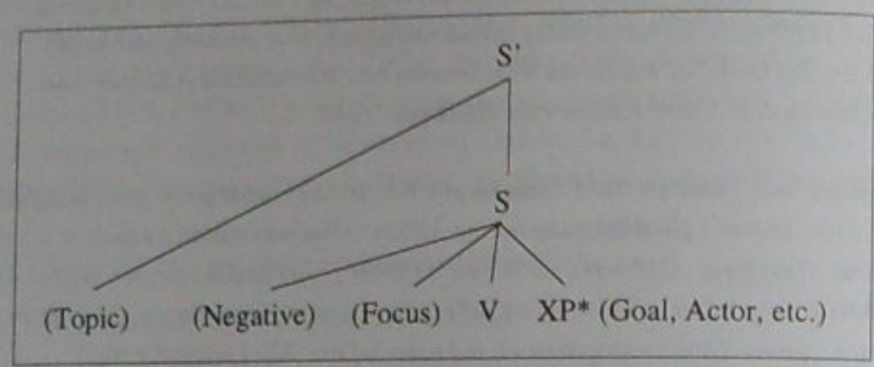
Another important discourse concept is that of FOCUS. Focus simply refers to the giving of special prominence to some constituent within a sentence, and is typically "new information asserted against the background of a presupposed proposition" (Dahlstrom 1995:10). Nishnaabemwin has special focus constructions using *mii*, discussed elsewhere in this chapter, but there is also arguably a focus position within the sentence in Nishnaabemwin, namely directly before the verb. It is in this position that (fronted) quantifiers, indefinite pronouns, and other elements being given special prominence occur. Often focused elements have emphatic particles associated with them, such as *sa*, as in the following example:

(55) ***Jiimaan***$_{\text{focus}}$ sa gga-wzhitoomin ge-zhiwdooyang odi.

'We'll make ***a boat*** that we'll take there.' (AK1.5)

> **Jiimaan** *ni 0s* 'boat'; **gga-wzhitoomin** *vti ind 21»0* 'we (incl) will make IN'; **ge-zhiwdooyang** *vti ic conj 21»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) we (incl) will take there'; **odi** *av* 'there.'

In a thoughtful study of word order in Meskwaki, a language related to Nishnaabemwin, Amy Dahlstrom (Dahlstrom 1995) has suggested that sentences have the following structure, in which topic and focus positions are distinguished:



While both topic and focus positions are before the verb, the topic occurs to the left of the negative element and the focus to the right of it. Topic is very loosely attached to the clause it is associated with, and so is treated by Dahlstrom as a syntactic sister to the whole sentence, by means of a special construction called an S-bar (indicated with S'), which has as its two daughters the Topic and the Clause (indicated with S).

The following sentence illustrates the use of both topic and focus. It comes as the fifth one in a discourse in which Alice King explains an object lesson that young women reaching menarche underwent in her community, in which they were sent into the garden to try and find an ear of corn that had no flaws. After recounting the instructions of her chief, Mrs. King shifts the topic to her efforts in obtaining such an ear of corn:

(56) Gaawiin sa ***niin***$_{\text{topic}}$ ***waya***$_{\text{focus}}$ ngii-mkawaasii wenzhishid, aaning gaawiin wshkiinzhgosiiwag miinwaa waagaakziwag gaa ge wshkiinzhgosiiwag.

'***As for me***$_{\text{topic}}$, I didn't find ***any***$_{\text{focus}}$ of the good kind, as some have no eyes (kernels) and they are crooked as well as having no kernels.' (AK6.5)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **niin** *prn pers 1s* 'I'; **waya** *prn indef 3sProx* 'anyone'; **ngii-mkawaasii** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I didn't find ANsg'; **wenzhishid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg which is good'; **aaning** *av* 'some'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **wshkiinzhgosiiwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl do not have eyes'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **waagaakziwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are crooked'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wshkiinzhgosiiwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl do not have eyes.'

Here we can see that reference to herself, with the first person pronoun, *niin*, occurs before the verb, but after the negative adverb *gaawiin*, and before the negative's associated indefinite pronoun, *waya*. In Nishnaabemwin, however, it seems that both the topic and focus can occur between the negative element and the verb, though, as Dahlstrom's work suggests, the focus immediately precedes the verb, and the topic is to the left of it.

POST-VERBAL EMPHASIS. While Dahlstrom's analysis holds some promise for the beginnings of an understanding of the structure of Nishnaabemwin clauses, there are many

common cases of emphasis in which the emphasized nominal occurs after the verb. The following sentence, for example, has an emphatic particle *sa* associated with a nominal representing new information, *aw jiiskiiwnini*, 'that shaking tent diviner,' but which occurs after its associated verb, an imperative, *wi-nda-waabam*, 'go look for him.'

(57) Mii dash iw gii-gnoon'gowaad niw nishnaaben nebwaakaan'jin, "Ambe gegoo zhichgen, wi-nda–waabam$_{\text{V.IMP}}$ ***aw sa jiiskiiwnini***, odi Daawaa-mnising gga-zhaa."

'And then a wise Indian spoke to them, "Now do something, go and look for ***the shaking tent diviner***, you're to go there to Manitoulin Island."' (AK11.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gii-gnoon'gowaad** *vta conj 3obv»3pProx* '(CONJ) ANobv spoke to ANpl'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **nishnaaben** *na 3obv* 'Indian(s)'; **nebwaakaan'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) was/were wise'; **Ambe** *av* 'come on'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'something'; **zhichgen** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) do so'; **wi-nda-waabam** *vta imp 2s»3* 'you SG go see NA'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **jiiskiiwnini** *na 3sProx* 'shaker'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **Daawaa-mnising** *ni 0 loc* 'Manitoulin Island (loc)'; **gga-zhaa** *vai ind 2s* 'you SG will go there.'

Were such emphatics restricted to imperatives, we could account for their post-verbal position by appealing to this restriction. But in fact noun phrases with *sa* are not at all uncommon in post-verbal position, even with verbs that are not imperatives.

(58) Mii dash aw nmishoomis gaa-zhi-bezhgod iw gii-gwndang$_{\text{V}}$ [***iw sa wdehens***].

'And my grandfather was the only one who swallowed ***that little heart***.' (AK5.7)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **gaa-zhi-bezhgod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg was one in number'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gii-gwndang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg swallowed IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wdehens** *ni x(0s)* 'little heart.'

(59) Mii dash giiwenh gii-waabndang$_V$ [***aw sa gwiiwzens***] niizh jiimaanan biidaasninig gchi-mookmaan-zhmaagnishag giw wii-miigaanaawaad niw Canadians.

'And then reportedly this boy saw two boats sailing toward them, they were American soldiers intending to fight the Canadians.' (AK15.10)

Mii *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-waabndang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg saw IN'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **gwiiwzens** *na 3sProx* 'boy'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **jiimaanan** *ni 0p* 'boats'; **biidaasninig** *vii conj 0obv* '(CONJ) INobv come sailing'; **gchi-mookmaan-zhmaagnishag** *na 3pProx* 'American soldiers'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **wii-miigaanaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl intend to fight ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **Canadians** *noun na 3obv* 'Canadians.'

Such examples usually show the emphasized noun phrase in a position directly following the verb. The emphatic *sa* is also used with demonstrative pronouns that serve as complementizers in subordinate clauses, as in the following example:

(60) Mii sa aazhgo de-piitzid maaba wshkinwens ji-gkinoohmawag [***iw sa ge-zhi-mko-bmased***].

'And now this boy is old enough for me to teach him how to become a witch.'(AK14.8)

Mii *av* 'and'; **aazhgo** *av* 'already indeed'; **de-piitzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is of sufficient age'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **wshkinwens** *na 3sProx* 'young man'; **ji-gkinoohmawag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I could teach ANsg'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ge-zhi-mko-bmased** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) how ANsg will bear-walk.'

SUMMARY. There are many subtleties to the notion of topic, and much work remains to be done in Nishnaabemwin. I will take a more cautious approach than either Rhodes or Dahlstrom and say that there is always the option of putting topics and emphatics before the verb, but that this is not a hard and fast rule. Rhodes' template is outlined below, in (61), and I also provide a summary table of some of the elements that can fill each position.

(61) Complementizer - Focus - New - Verb - Old

Position	Fillers	Examples
Complementizer	Complementizers	iw, manj, giishpin, megwaa, etc.
	Question-word questions	aanii-sh, wenesh, etc.
Focus	Fronted parts of split NP's	kina, aanind, niizh, etc.
	Definite NP's	old characters, props
New Information	Indefinite NP's	new characters, props
	Contrastive NP's	contrastive characters, props
Old Information	Definite NP's	old characters, props

Rhodes' template is also relevant to the order of words in *mii*-clauses, which is discussed below in Section 18.7.1, beginning on page 963.

18.6 Grammatical Relations in Nishnaabemwin

In an exciting series of papers cast in the theoretical framework of relational grammar, Rhodes (e.g., 1998a, 1998b, 1997, 1996, 1991a, 1991b) has laid out much of the basic syntax of Nishnaabemwin (especially the Odawa dialect). Rhodes lays out five principal grammatical relations in Ojibwe, including subjects, primary objects, secondary objects, complements of relative roots, and obliques. These relations are ranked in the order listed here, from highest to lowest. Primary objects are the inflectional goals of VTA and VTI verbs; secondary objects are the inflected goals of VAIO verbs and the non-goal roles associated with ditransitive (VTA) verbs; obliques in Nishnaabemwin are restricted to temporals, locatives, and instrumentals. Primary object marking is shown by the presence of theme signs and pronominal agreement inflection, while both primary and secondary objects show agreement for what Rhodes calls n-registration, that is, the *n*'s that mark agreement in VAIO and VTI verbs in the independent order. Secondary objects can only be third person, first and second person are excluded. Secondary objects also show fewer features of agreement than do primary objects.

Rhodes argues that the secondary objects of ditransitives align grammatically with the objects of VAIO verbs, on the basis of inflectional patterns that show up when a primary object (of a ditransitive) is lost. Invariably, the secondary ditransitive object is treated inflectionally as an ordinary secondary object (i.e., like the object of a VAIO). The following example illustrates. Here, the base VTA verb *shamaad*, 'feed Y to AN,' shows an incorporated primary object, realized as /-aawaso/, 'child(ren),' within the verb. The derived verb shows secondary object agreement for an inanimate singular object, reflecting inflectional indexing of the inanimate object, *nboob*, 'soup.'

(62) Wgii-shamaawson nboob. | 'She fed her children soup.'

> **Wgii-shamaawson** *vta/vaio ind 3sProx* »0s 'ANsg fed children INsg'; **nboob** *ni 0s* 'soup.'

The two types of objects also share the properties of not being passivizable, and restriction to third person.

Rhodes distinguishes relative root complements from other obliques on the basis of several features, the most important of which is that the complements of relative roots show understood definite reference when the complement is not formally specified, as do subjects and primary/secondary objects. The idea here is that in a clause containing a verb but no explicit nominals, the inflection on the verb is interpreted as definite. So, for example, a sentence such as *Mii dash gii-bmi-dkajid*, 'And he caught a cold (in the course of his travels),' has no overt nominal, and the verb, *dkaji*, 'catch/have a cold,' is marked with a third person singular animate subject suffix, *dkaji-d*. In such cases, the referent is interpreted as definite, that is, as referring to a specific individual who has been previously identified in the discourse. The same applies to the complements of relative roots, as in *Baamaa go ga-zhaami*, 'Afterwards we'll go there' (*baamaa* av 'afterwards'; *ga-zhaami*, 'we (incl) will go there') where the concept expressed in English as 'there,' is understood in Nishnaabemwin to refer to a definite location, just as the verbal inflection in *dkajid*, above, is understood to refer to a definite individual. Rhodes also argues that the complements of relative roots can sometimes advance (move up in the relational hierarchy) to secondary objects (Rhodes 1991a:5).

With respect to OBLIQUES, Rhodes distinguishes two basic types, those that are central to the semantics of the verb, and those that are not. The first type is exemplified by the verb *boozi*, 'board (a vehicle),' where the specification of the vehicle is optional, but central to the semantics of the notion of boarding. The second type of oblique occurs in *Aapji gii-gzhaate iw pii*, 'It was very hot out at that time' (*Aapji* av 'very' *gii-gzhaate* vii 'IN was hot' *iw pii* ni 'that time'), where *iw pii* is not at all central to the notion of being hot. Rhodes suggests that this latter type of oblique modifies the clause and not the verbal predication, so focuses his discussion on demonstrating that the first type of oblique, the semantically more central, is grammatically different in its behaviour from relative root complements. He argues that when such an oblique is not explicitly stated, it cannot receive a definite interpretation, e.g., *ngii-booz*, 'I got on' cannot be interpreted as 'I got on **it**.'

Rhodes also shows how relative root complements align in their grammatical behaviour with subjects and primary and secondary objects. These last three show verb agreement, but other grammatical relations do not, including relative root complements. Primary and secondary objects allow quantifier floating, but relative root complements do not. The complements of relative roots are distinctively marked, with locative case. Relative root complements are like subjects and objects, however, in being targets of grammatical advancement. Basically, being a target of advancement means that a language provides means to advance an element having a lower grammatical relation to that of a higher one. For example, primary (direct) objects advance to subject by means of the rule of passivization; secondary objects advance to the role of primary object by means of the various applicative processes discussed in this chapter. Rhodes demonstrates that oblique heads are advanced to relative root complements in relative clause constructions. So, for example, in the following relative clause, modifying the locational noun, *wiigwaaming*, 'in the shelter,' the relative preverb *dzhi-*, 'in such place, at,' appears in the relativized verb.

(63) ...waa-dzhi-mkadekewaad wiigwaaming.

'...in the shelter where they would fast' (AM23.3)

> **waa-dzhi-mkadekewaad** *vai conj ic 3pProx* '(CCNJ) where ANpl would fast';
> **miigwaaming** *ni 0 loc* 'in (the) shelter.'

Rhodes demonstrates that this is the obligatory way to form relative clauses on all obliques that are not temporals. Rhodes summarizes his argument with the following table showing the variable grammatical properties of the different grammatical relations in Nishnaabemwin.

	Subj[1]	1Obj	2Obj	RRC	Obl
Full Verb Agreement	+	+	-	-	-
Allow 1/2 Pronominals	+	+	-	-	-
Gender/Number Agreement	+	+	+	-	-
Understood Definite Reading	+	+	+	+	-
Target of Advancement	+	+	+	+	-
Accessible for Relative Clause Formation	+	+	+	+	+/-

1. Subj = subject; 1Ojb = primary object; 2Obj = secondary object; RRC = relative root complement; Obl = Oblique

Rhodes 1998:18 also provides a concise table of clause types for Nishnaabemwin, which I reproduce below. The chart specifies the presence of the four primary grammatical relations, subject, primary object, secondary object, and relative root complement. It also provides an example verb heading each clause type. Note that (a) refers to a simple intransitive (VAI or VII), (b) to a transitive with a primary object, i.e., a VTA or VTI, (c) to a VAIO, (d) to a ditransitive, (e) to an intransitive having an explicit relative root, (f) to a transitive having an explicit relative root, (g) to transitive (VTA, VTI, VAIO) with an explicit relative preverb, and (h) to a ditransitive with an explicit relative preverb.

	Subj	1Obj	2Obj	RRC	Inflectional Pattern	Example Verb
(a)	+	-	-	-	Intransitive	giiwed 'go home'
(b)	+	+	-	-	Transitive	mkang 'find IN'
(c)	+	-	+	-	Transitive	gwid 'wear Y'
(d)	+	+	+	-	Transitive	miinaad 'give Y to AN'
(e)	+	-	-	+	Intransitive	yaad 'be in Y place'
(f)	+	+	-	+	Transitive	tood 'put IN in Y place'
(g)	+	-	+	+	Transitive	nji-mnikwed 'drink Y for a reason'
(h)	+	+	+	+	Transitive	zhi-miinaad 'give AN Y in a way'

INFLECTIONAL EVIDENCE FOR SUBJECTS. There is evidence for the grammatical notion of subject in verbal inflection. The suffixes used in the conjunct order, for example, rather clearly fall into two groups, theme suffixes and person/number markers. The latter are the same for both transitive actors and intransitive S-roles, as can be seen in the following couple of examples, using vta stem *waabam*, 'see AN' and vai *maajaa* 'leave':

		Theme	Pers/Num	
vai	dgoshing		-g	'(if) ANsg arrives'
vai	maajaad		-d	'(if) ANsg leaves'
vta	waabmid	-i	-d	'(if) ANsg sees me'
vta	waabmiyan	-i	-(y)an	'(if) you (sg.) see me'
vai	maajaayan		-(y)an	'(if) you (sg.) leave'
vta	waabminaan(h)	-iN	-aan(h)	'(if) I see you (sg)'
vai	maajaayaan(h)		-(y)aan(h)	'(if) I leave'
vta	waabmik	-iN	-g	'(if) ANsg sees you (sg)'

Here it can be seen that the VTA verbs have theme suffixes, /-i/, 'first person' and /-iN/, 'second person,' but that the subjects of both VTA's and VAI's are represented by the same suffixes in the same structural position, /-(y)an/ for second person singular, /-(y)aan(h)/ for first person singular, and /-d/ (with variant /-g/ following nasals) for third person.

18.6.1 Semantic and Syntactic Relations Revisited

Rhodes 1994 lays out four patterns of alignment between syntactic and semantic roles in Nishnaabemwin. These four patterns, labelled with roman numerals, are outlined in the chart below. Within each pattern, there are two groupings, which I have labelled A and B.

	A	B
I	agent[1] of direct patient of inverse patient of passive	patient[2] of direct agent of inverse
II	agent of direct agent of inverse	patient of direct patient of inverse patient of passive
III	agent of direct agent of inverse patient of passive	patient of direct patient of inverse
IV	agent of direct patient of inverse	patient of direct agent of inverse patient of passive

1. Rhodes includes experiencer with agent in all of these groupings.
2. Rhodes includes theme and recipient with patient in all of these groupings.

The concepts of direct and inverse are discussed at length in Chapter 7 (beginning on page 7.2.2, beginning on page 270). The semantic roles of agent, patient, experiencer, etc. are treated in Chapter 13. The basic issue concerns whether clauses containing inverse verb forms have the same surface grammatical relations as their underlying grammatical relations. Some analysts, such as Rhodes, argue that the grammatical relations are reversed, while others, such as Dahlstrom (1987), contend that they are not. Crucial to this discussion has been the grammatical behaviour of passives, which are clearly underlying objects but surface subjects, and whether or not the notional objects of inverses behave like passives. Rhodes believes that this approach has led to inconsistent results, and shows that there are at least four distinct alignment patterns, as outlined above. Rhodes maintains that these patterns can only be convincingly accounted for if one assumes that grammatical relations are reversed in clauses containing inverse verb forms.[1]

Pattern I, above, governs five distinct syntactic phenomena:

I.1 The A roles must be filled by animates; B roles can be filled by either animates or inanimates.
I.2 The A roles control obviation of all other arguments (including primary objects); B roles can only control obviation of secondary objects.
I.3 The A roles occupy the same slot in pragmatically neutral word order in ditransitive predications with three expressed nominals; B roles occupy the same slot in neutral word

1. Much of this paragraph is a paraphrase of a personal communication from Rhodes.

order in such contexts as well. The following charts from Rhodes 1994 summarize his findings, in which speakers were queried for all possible post-verbal arrangements of theme, agent, and recipient. An example sentence is *Wgii-shamaan miinan kwe binoojiinyan*, 'The woman fed the child(ren) blueberries.'[1] Sentences with three overt noun phrases such as this are decidedly rare in Nishnaabemwin. Speaker preferences for both inanimate and animate themes (secondary objects) are given, in descending order of preference (A roles are in boldface, B roles in small caps).[2]

		Inanimate Secondary Object	
		Direct	Inverse
a.		P theme **agent** RECIP	P theme **recip** AGENT
b.		P **agent** theme RECIP	P **recip** theme AGENT
c.	?	P theme RECIP **agent**	P theme AGENT **recip**
d.	?	P RECIP theme **agent**	P AGENT theme **recip**
e.	?*	P RECIP **agent** theme	P AGENT **recip** theme
f.	*	P **agent** RECIP theme	P **recip** AGENT theme

		Animate Secondary Object	
		Direct	Inverse
a.		P **agent** RECIP theme	P **recip** AGENT theme
b.		P **agent** theme RECIP	P **recip** theme AGENT
c.	?	P RECIP **agent** theme	P AGENT **recip** theme
d.	?	P RECIP theme **agent**	P AGENT theme **recip**
e.	?*	P theme RECIP **agent**	P theme AGENT **recip**
f.	*	P theme **agent** RECIP	P theme **recip** AGENT

I.4 The A roles can raise (copy); B roles cannot. (See Chapter 13.3.7, beginning on page 681, for a discussion of raising/copying.)
I.5 The A roles control obviation in the subjects of adjunct clauses; B roles do not.

Pattern II governs one syntactic phenomenon:[3]

II.1 The A roles are bound by the aspectual preverb *booni-*, 'stop'; B roles are not.

1. **Wgii-shamaan**, *vta ind 3sProx+3obv*; 'ANsg fed ANobv'; **miinan** *ni 0p* 'blueberries'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **binoojiinyan** *na 3obv* 'child(ren).' Note that the animate form corresponding to inanimate *miinan*, 'blueberries,' was *mshiiminan*, 'apple.(s) obv.'
2. In the acceptance column, ? indicates doubtful acceptance, and * lack of acceptance as grammatical.
3. Obviously, Rhodes' research is limited in scope, in that many classes of preverbs could be tested for their alignments with grammatical and semantic relations.

Pattern III governs four syntactic phenomena

III.1 The A roles cannot bind floated quantifiers; B roles can bind floated quantifiers.
III.2 The A roles are bound by the directional preverb *bi-*, 'hither'; B roles are not.
III.3 For some speakers, the A roles can raise/copy; B roles cannot.
III.4 For some speakers, the A roles control obviation in adjunct clauses; B roles do not

Pattern IV governs one syntactic phenomenon.

IV.1 Verbs with objects show *-n(aa)* inflection (the n-registration suffix in independent order found on VTI's and VAIO's) except where B roles are animate.

Rhodes suggests that these phenomena can be accounted for if we consider the grammatical relations of inverse predications to be reversed from those of direct. In pattern I the A roles then express subjects, while the B roles express primary objects. In Pattern II, the A roles express agents, and the B roles patients. In Pattern IV, the A roles are ERGATIVES, and the B roles are ABSOLUTIVES. Rhodes interprets Pattern III to distinguish first available subjects (A) from non-distinguished argument subjects (B), meaning very roughly that group A represents the preferred candidates for subject status, and group B the less preferred.

I have included this summary of Rhodes 1994 for several reasons. First, Rhodes' research demonstrates the subtleties at play in Nishnaabemwin, and the complex interplay of syntactic, morphological, and semantic features of grammar. Secondly, Rhodes' research demonstrates that the grammatical relations subject and object have an obvious place in the grammar of Nishnaabemwin, though they are far less central than in a language such as English. Thirdly, Rhodes' research points to many promising areas of future study in Nishnaabemwin grammar, such as the scope of various classes of preverbs.

18.7 Expressions with Mii

The predicative adverb *mii*, which is extremely common in narrative, has two primary functions. The first is simply to serve as a marker of normal discourse sequencing, that is, to advance a narrative, rather like English, "and then..." as used in common narration, though word orders within *mii* clauses can reflect varying degrees of prominence. The second function of *mii* is as a focusing element, somewhat like the English, "It was a..." (called a cleft-construction) or "what X was..." (called a pseudo-cleft construction). In this section we will examine each of these functions.

18.7.1 Mii as a Discourse Sequencer

In its function as a discourse sequencing predicative adverb, *mii* is followed by a clause having a verb marked with conjunct order inflection. If the verb contains a relative root, it usually shows changed conjunct. The normal, unmarked order is probably for the verb to

directly follow *mii*, though a few clitic particles such as *sa*, *go*, and *dash* can intervene, and evidential particles such as *giiwenh* or *iidig* can follow the clitics. The following sentences are very typical.

(64) Mii go iidig gii-zhaabwaakzod, mii sa iidig gii-ni-nbod.

'So he was badly burnt, and died along the way.' (SO1.40)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **gii-zhaabwaakzod** *vai conj 3sProx* 'ANsg was burned through'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **gii-ni-nbod** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg died along the way.'

(65) Mii giiwenh enaajmotwaad wa mdimooyenh niwi wniijaansan.

'This is what the old lady told her children.' (SO2.20)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **enaajmotwaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg related to ANobv'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **niwi** *prn na 3obv* 'nao'; **wniijaansan** *na 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's child(ren).'

When desired, a nominal can be the first major constituent in the *mii*-clause, which serves to give the nominal a bit of prominence. This typically occurs when characters are introduced into a story, or when particular focus is put on them. The following sentences introduce characters.

(66) [Mii ***aw kwezens*** ntaawgid] [mii ***aw gimaa*** pii iw enaad, "Mii sa noongo ji-gkinoohmoonaan iw sa ge-ni-naadziyan niigaan].

'***A girl*** first comes of age and ***the chief*** at that time says to her, "Now I would instruct you about the way you're going to live in the future.' (AK6.1)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **kwezens** *na 3sProx* 'young woman'; **ntaawgid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg grows up'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'chief'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **enaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg says to ANobv'; **Mii** *av* 'and' **noongo** *av* 'now' **ji-gkinoohmoonaan** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) I will teach you SG'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ge-ni-naadziyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you will live so'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future.'

(67) Mii-sh ***wa mndimooyenh*** bbaa-yaad, mii gii-waabmaad ninwan, mansooyan.

'***This old lady*** was wandering around, and she saw some men, strangers.' (SO2.3)

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **mdimooyenh** *na 3sProx* 'old woman'; **bbaa-yaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg goes around'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-waabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx 3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg saw ANobv'; **ninwan** *na 3obv* 'man/men'; **mansooyan** *na 3obv* 'stranger(s).'

The following sentences gives particular prominence to a character already introduced, by putting a nominal referring to it at the front of the *mii*-clause. The emphatic particle *sa* is very common in such constructions.

(68) Aaniish, [mii sa ***ge wii maaba kwe*** iidig waabmaad wadi ezhchigenid niwi].

'Well, this woman too saw what the man was doing there.' (SO1.21)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **ge** *av* 'also'; **wii** *prn pers 3s* '3s'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **kwe** *na 3sProx* 'woman'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **waabmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg sees ANobv'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **ezhchigenid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) what ANobv is doing'; **niwi** *prn na 3obv* 'that/those.'

(69) Aaniish, [mii sa ***maaba shkiniigish*** gii-gkenmaad go iidig pii nebaanid], [mii sa ***wshiimenyan*** gii-majwebnaad].

'When ***the young fellow knew*** that she was asleep, he woke up his ***younger brothers***.' (SO2.29

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **shkiniigish** *na 3sProx* 'youth'; **gii-gkenmaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg knew of ANobv'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **pii** *av* 'when'; **nebaanid** *vai ic conj 3obv* '(CCNJ) when ANobv slept'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **wshiimenyan** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's younger sibling'; **gii-majwebnaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg woke up ANobv.'

The following sentences both introduce and focus on particular characters or props.

(70) Mii dash giiwenh ***wa zeziikzid, mjiikwis***, mii giiwenh go gegoo gii-nendang.

'But ***the eldest, the first brother***, suspected something.' (SO2.21)

> **Mii** *av* 'then'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **zeziikzid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg who is eldest'; **mjiikwis** *na 3sProx* 'oldest brother'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'something'; **gii-nendang** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg had thoughts about IN.'

(71) Mii go eta ***niizhwaabik miinwaa niizhdana zhoomaankenh*** yaamaanh.

'I've ***only*** got ***two dollars and twenty cents*** left.' (FF2.6)

Mii *av* 'it's'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **niizhwaabik** *ni nm* 'two dollars'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **niizhdana** *nm* 'twenty'; **zhoomaankenh** *na nm* 'cents'; **yaamaanh** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CONJ) I have IN.'

In the following examples, two noun phrases appear before the verb.

(72) Mii-sh ***niwi oosan-sh*** giiwenh ***niwi*** gii-wiindmaagod.

'So ***his father*** told him about ***them***.' (SO4.58)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **niwi** *prn na 3obv* 'that/those'; **oosan-sh** *nad 3sProx(3obv)* 'ANsg's father'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **niwi** *prn na 3obv* 'that/those'; **gii-wiindmaagod** *vta conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANobv told ANsg.'

(73) Mii go miinwaa ***Niibaakhom wmashkkiim*** gii-ni-miijid, mii sa gii-boon'skogzid; gaawii geyaabi mskwiiwsii.

'So ***Nibakom*** took ***his medicine*** again, and then the bleeding stopped; he was no longer bleeding.' (SO6.69)

Mii *av* 'and'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **wmashkkiim** *ni 3sProx(0s)* 'ANsg's medicine'; **gii-ni-miijid** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg ingested IN'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-boon'skogzid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg stopped bleeding'; **gaawii** *av* 'not'; **geyaabi** *av* 'still'; **mskwiiwsii** *vai ind neg 3sProx* 'ANsg does not bleed.'

Personal pronouns can also occur in a position of relative prominence.

(74) Mii sa ***nii*** aano-nji-gnahmoonaan wii-mod wa giigoonh.

'That's why ***I*** tried to stop you from eating that fish.' (SO3.20)

Mii *av* 'and'; **nii** *prn pers 1s* 'I'; **aano-nji-gnahmoonaan** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) why I tried to warn you against'; **wii-mod** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you will eat ANsg'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish.'

(75) Aa haaw, ***ge-gii*** mii-sh miinwaa, n'gig. ! 'Come on: ***you*** too, then, otter.' (SO5.23)

Aa haaw *av* 'okay'; **ge-gii** *prn pers 2s* 'you (sg) too'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and so'; **miinwaa** *av* 'next'; **n'gig** *na 3sProx* 'otter.'

Sometimes an initial demonstrative pronoun in a *mii*-clause serves as an antecedent for a relative preverb, such as *nji-*, 'why' in (76) and *zhi-*, '(in) such a way,' in (77).

(76) Mii dash ***wi*** Nimkiig gaa-***nji***-zhiingenmaawaad, aano-wii-nsaawaad.

'***That's why*** the Thunderers hated him and tried to kill him.' (SO4.30)

Mii *av* 'it's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **Nimkiig** *na 3pProx* 'Thunderers'; **gaa-nji-zhiingenmaawaad** *vta ic conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) why ANpl hated ANobv'; **aano-wii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl tried in vain to kill ANobv.'

(77) Aaniish mii sa ***maanda zhi***-wepdawaawaad giwi Nimkiig, maanda zhi-baakkamgiseg wi, mii giiwenh gii-bmwaad niwi mnidoon.

'Then ***in this way*** those Thunderers struck at him (the manitou), so that this place opened up, and then he reportedly shot that manitou.' (SO4.34)

Aaniish *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **zhi-wepdawaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl strike at ANobv thus'; **giwi** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **Nimkiig** *na 3pProx* 'Thunderers'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **zhi-baakkamgiseg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) the ground opens up thus'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gii-bmwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg shot ANobv (with arrow)'; **niwi** *prn na 3obv* 'that/those'; **mnidoon** *na 3obv* 'manitou(s).'

Prominence can also be given to particular adverbs, resulting in their placement at the front of the *mii*-clause. The following examples illustrate.

(78) Otaahaa! Mii giiwenh ***zhaazhi*** go aabta-giigoonywid wa!

'Goodness! ***Already*** it seems he's half-fish!' (SO3.29)

Otaahaa *av* 'oh my!'; **Mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **aabta-giigoonywid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is half become a fish'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that.'

(79) Mii go ***zhaazhi*** go ***eshkam*** ni-mngagmaag wi, ni-mchaag go naa wi nbiish.

'And ***now increasingly*** it grew bigger and bigger, and the water increased in volume.' (SO3.42)

Mii *av* 'and'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **eshkam** *av* 'increasingly'; **ni-mgagmaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is becoming a big body of water'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ni-mchaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is becoming big'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water.'

Prominence can be given to demonstrative adverbs specifying time and place by fronting them.

(80) Mii sa giiwenh ***wadi*** gaa-zhaawaad giwi.

'So those (people) evidently went ***over there***.' (SO1.30)

Mii *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **gaa-zhaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl went there'; **giwi** *prn 3pProx* 'those.'

(81) Aaniish, mii sa go naa ***zhiwi*** gaa-nji-bskaabiiwaad giwi bemnaashkaagejig.

'Well, that is why ***at that point*** those who had given chase turned back.' (SO1.42)

Aaniish *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **gaa-nji-bskaabiiwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) why ANpl went back'; **giwi** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **bemnaashkaagejig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who gave chase.'

In the following sentences, both a locative adverb and a noun occur pre-verbally:

(82) Mii-sh ***wadi wiijkiwenywaan*** kogewaad.

'***Their friends*** were encamped ***over there***.' (SO6.53)

Mii-sh *av* 'and then'; **wadi** *av* 'there'; **wiijkiwenywaan** *na 3pProx(3obv)* 'ANpl's friend(s)'; **kogewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl camped.'

(83) Mii sa ***Niibaakhom zhiwi*** zhngishing. | 'Meanwhile ***Nibakom*** was lying ***there***.'

Mii *av* 'and'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **zhiwi** *av* 'there'; **zhngishing** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg lies prone.' (SO6.61)

Modifiers of nouns, such as quantifiers and demonstratives, can be fronted before the verb in **mii**-clauses, just as they can in independent order constructions.

(84) Aaniish mii sa gmaapiich go ***miinwaa bezhig*** bmaadgaad go wesiinh, Aaniish mii go nendmaad go yaabmaajin go bmaadgaanid.

'A little later ***another*** animal swam by, and he called out to the one he saw swimming by.' (SO5.10)

Aaniish *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'so'; **gmaapiich** *av* 'after awhile'; **miinwaa** *av* 'again'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **bmaadgaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg swims along'; **wesiinh** *na 3sProx* 'animal'; **aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **nendmaad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg summoned ANobv'; **yaabmaajin** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANobv whom ANsg saw'; **bmaadgaanid** *vai conj 3obv* '(CONJ) as ANobv swims along.'

(85) Mii ***maaba*** gaa-kidod zhaagnaashii-gchi-gimaa.

'That's what ***this*** white officer said.' (SO6.15)

Mii *av* 'it's'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **gaa-kidod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg said'; **zhaagnaashii-gchi-gimaa** *na 3sProx* 'the English leader.'

Emphasis can be put on the verb or the entire proposition in discourse sequencing mii-clauses by using an emphatic particle such as *sa*.

(86) Baamaa pii dash gii-wiindmawid, "[Mii ***sa*** ji-gkendman ezhi-yaamgak iw shpi-dbik bbaa-yaayaan], naan'godnong gegoo gwaabndaan ge-waabndazwamban iw go naa noongo epiitziyan."

'Later on she said to me, "[So you can know what it's like if you're out late at night], sometimes you see something that you shouldn't see now at your age."' (AK8.12)

Baamaa *av* 'later'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-wiindmawid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg told me'; **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **ji-gkendman** *vti conj 2s»0* '(CONJ) you SG will know IN'; **ezhi-yaamgak** *vii ic conj 0* 'IN is so'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bbaa-yaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I was around'; **naan'godnong** *av* 'sometimes'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'something'; **gwaabndaan** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you SG see it'; **ge-waabndazwamban** *vti ic conj pret 2s»0 neg* '(CCNJ) you SG shouldn't see IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **noongo** *av* 'now'; **epiitziyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG such an age.'

MII + IW (WI). Another common construction has the inanimate demonstrative pronoun *iw*, 'that' (also *wi*) in association with *mii*. Regular subordinate clauses then follow, almost always in the plain conjunct unless the verb contains a relative root or preverb, in which case initial change occurs. It is not clear to me how mii-clauses with *iw* are any different from regular discourse-sequencing mii-clauses.

(87) ***Mii iw gii-waabndamwaad gii-waanked*** ge wii npaaj-nakehing odi mii-sh maa bmi-zaagjikwed odi npaaj-nakehing gii-giihgowaad.

'***They saw that he was digging too on the opposite side there***, indeed he was going along making tracks and escaping there on the opposite side.' (AK7.6)

> **Mii** *av* 'that's'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gii-waabndamwaad** *vti conj 3pProx»0* '(CONJ) ANpl saw IN'; **gii-waanked** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg dug'; **ge wii** *av* 'also'; **npaaj-nakehing** *av* 'opposite direction'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **bmi-zaagjikwed** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg went along making tracks going out'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **npaaj-nakehing** *av* 'opposite direction'; **gii-giihgowaad** *vta conj 3obv»3pProx* '(CONJ) ANobv was escaping from ANpl.'

(88) Miinwaa kawe wiisniwag ngodwaaswi-dbahganeg ***mii dash iw bi-giiwewaad***.

'And they ate before leaving at six o'clock and ***then they came home***.' (AK17.9)

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **wiisniwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl eat'; **ngodwaaswi-dbahganeg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is six o'clock'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bi-giiwewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl come home.'

(89) Aaniish, mii sa ***wi*** gii-ni-maajaad iidig wa. | 'Then that fellow departed.'

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gii-ni-maajaad** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg left there'; **iidig** *av* 'it seems'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that.' (SO4.41)

18.7.2 Mii in Focusing Constructions

Mii can also serve as a focusing device in constructions using relative clauses, rather like English clefted-sentences, such as "It was a linguist that rescued the cat." Some Nishnaabemwin *mii* constructions used in this way have the following structure:

Mii	Focused Item	(Demonstrative Pronoun)	Relative Clause

The focused item can be either a noun phrase or a pronoun. The following examples all have a noun in the focused position. Examples (90) and (91) represent what is sometimes called exhaustive listing focus (Payne 1997:269), in which the speaker asserts the uniqueness of the focused element in the context specified by the rest of the sentence. In sentence (104), for example, the speaker asserts that at a particular wilderness location where some men had left a boat, upon returning they found only the keel and nothing else; the rest of the boat had been eaten by porcupines. Exhaustive listing focus almost always involves the use of *eta*, 'only, just.' In sentence (91) some men come upon a lodge expecting to find a mother who had betrayed her sons, but instead find only a pile of ashes. Here it is not so much an

exhaustive list that is being focused, but the unexpectedness of the situation, though the ashes represent a suitable end to such a deceitful mother.

(90) Mii go eta [***datgaagon***]$_{NP}$ = [***gaa-teg***]$_{RC}$.

'It was only [***the backbone (keel) that was there***].' (AK1.8)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **datgaagon** *ni 0s* 'keel'; **gaa-teg** *vii ic conj part 0* '(CCNJ) which IN was there.'

(91) Mii go eta [***bngwi***]$_{NP}$ = [***eksing***]$_{RC}$!

'It was only [***ashes that were piled up***]!' (SO2.36)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **bngwi** *ni 0s* 'ash'; **eksing** *vii ic conj 0* 'which (IN) is piled up.'

The following examples simply assert with added emphasis a particular component of a proposition.

(92) Mii naw naa wiin [***baanaaben***]$_{NP}$ = [***niw gaa-waabmaawaajin***]$_{RC}$.

'It was apparently [***a mermaid that they saw***].' (AK4.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **naw naa wiin** *av* 'indeed'; **baanaaben** *na 3obv* 'mermaid(s)'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **gaa-waabmaawaajin** *vta ic conj part 3pProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) which (ANobv) ANpl saw ANobv.'

(93) Mii [***maa naa pii iw***]$_{NP}$ = [***gaa-maadseg iw treaty***]$_{RC}$. gaa-wnji-miinndwaa niw zhoonyaan.

'That was at that time that the treaty started, that's why they were given those coins.' (AK10.10)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **maa** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaa-maadseg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) when IN started'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wnji-miinndwaa** *vta ic conj x»3pProx* '(CCNJ) why ANpl were given Y'; **niw** *prn 0p* 'those'; **zhoonyaan** *ni 0p* 'coins.'

The following examples all have demonstrative pronouns as the focused element.

(94) Mii sa [*maaba*]$_{NP}$ = [*ge-wiidgemag*]$_{RC}$," kido sa giiwenh.

'It's [*this one (anim) who I want to marry*]," she said.' (SO2.7)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **ge-wiidgemag** *vta ic conj 1s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) I will marry'; **kido** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg says'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly.'

(95) Wegwen dash aw ge-gshkitoogwen ji-zhngwaadzig, mii [*aw*]$_{NP}$ = [*gbeyhiing ge-bmaadzid*]$_{RC}$, da-ntaa-ndawenjge da-nbwaakaa miinwaa gwyak da-zhi-yaa.

'And whoever may be able to keep it down, it's [*that one who will live for a long time*], he'll be a good hunter, he'll be clever and he'll behave right.' (AK5.6)

> **Wegwen** *prn dub 3* 'whoever'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that one'; **ge-gshkitoogwen** *vti ic conj dub 3sProx»0* 'who (ANsg) might be able to do IN'; **ji-zhngwaadzig** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg keeps down'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that one'; **gbeyhiing** *av* 'for a long time'; **ge-bmaadzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg will live'; **da-ntaa-ndawenjge** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be good at hunting'; **da-nbwaakaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be wise'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gwyak** *av* 'straight'; **da-zhi-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg will be(have) thus.'

(96) Mii dash [*iw*]$_{NP}$ = [*gaa-wiidookaagod gii-nwadnaad niw kwewan*]$_{RC}$ naw naa bezhig gii-aawi aw.

'And [*that was what helped him when he grabbed this woman*], she was one of them.' (AK2.14)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaa-wiidookaagod** *vta ic conj part 0»3sProx* '(CCNJ) which IN helped ANsg'; **gii-nwadnaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg grabbed ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **kwewan** *na 3obv* 'woman/women'; **bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **gii-aawi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg was'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that.'

The following example has a personal pronoun in focus:

(97) Giishpin eyaagin waa-nankiing widi Girls Quarters ***mii go niin*** widi ezhnaazhkaagooyaan ji-waabndamaan wegdagwen iidig nendwendaagdogwen.

'Whenever there was any work to be done over in the Girls' Quarters, ***it was I who was sent there*** to see what it might be that was wanted.' (AM8.24)

> **Giishpin** *av* 'if'; **eyaagin** *vii conj iter 0* '(CCNJ) there was ever'; **waa-nankiing** *vai ic conj x* '(CCNJ) someone will do work'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **mii** *av* 'it's'; **niin** *prn pers 1s* 'I'; **widi** *av* 'over there'; **ezhnaazhkaagooyaan** *vta ic conj part 1s* '(CCNJ) I who was sent'; **ji-waabndamaan** *vti conj 1s»0* '(CCNJ) I will see IN'; **wegdagwen** *prn dub 0* 'whatever'; **iidig** *av* 'perhaps'; **nendwendaagdogwen** *vii ic conj part dub 0* '(CCNJ) what (IN) might be wanted.'

Focussing constructions with *mii* are similar to the identificational construction discussed below (in Section 18.8, beginning on page 973).

18.7.3 Mii with Independent Order

Occasionally, in narratives, verbs in construction with *mii* show independent order inflection. Mary Ann Corbiere (p.c.) suggests that such verbs are more loosely connected with *mii* than those showing conjunct order.

(98) Mii sa wi ge sa ge naa ***mno-yaa***. | 'Right away ***he feels fine***.' (SO4.44)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ge** *av* 'and'; **ge** *av* 'even'; **mno-yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is well.'

(99) Aaniish mii sa wi ***kidwidig*** naagaanzid. | 'That's what the leader ***said apparently***.'

> **Aaniish** *av* 'well'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **kidwidig** *vai ind dub 3sProx* 'ANsg evidently says'; **naagaanzid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) is in charge.' (SO4.25)

18.8 Identificational Constructions

There are many constructions which are used to explicitly assert the identity of persons or things. One common identificational construction has the following form, where NP stands for noun phrase, and may be a noun, pronoun, or any other nominal expression.

NP sa (go, wii) DEM (Relative Clause)

(100) Mii sa giiwenh gaa-god maaba nmishoomis, "***Mshi-gnebig sa aw emwaad niw gniijaansan***."

'And, reportedly, the other said to my grandfather, "The great snake is the one who is eating your children."' (AK11.14)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **gaa-god** *vta ic conj 3obv»3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANobv said to ANsg'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **Mshi-gnebig** *na 3sProx* 'great snake'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **emwaad** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) is eating ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **gniijaansan** *na 2s(3obv)* 'your SG child(ren).'

(101) ***Meko-bmased sa aw***. | 'She's a bear-walker!' (AK13.11)

> **Meko-bmased** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg who is a bear walker'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that one.'

(102) ***Giigoonh sa wii maaba!*** | 'This is just a fish!' (SO3.12)

> **Giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish'; **wii** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this.'

(103) ***Giin sa aw gaa-niimid***. | 'You're the one who danced.' (AM39.636)

> **Giin** *prn pers 2s* 'you'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **gaa-niimid** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) danced.'

18.9 Communicative Functions

There are basically three things that can be done with language: make statements, ask questions, and give commands. These are sometimes described as the basic communicative functions of language, DECLARATIVE, INTERROGATIVE, and IMPERATIVE.

Declarative	— Make a statement — Express an emotional state
Interrogative	— Ask a yes/no question — Ask a substantive question
Imperative	— Give a command

In Nishnaabemwin, each of these functions may be expressed positively or negatively. Negation is discussed at length in Chapter 16.10, beginning on page 837. I have addressed declarative statements extensively throughout this chapter, so I will not treat them here. In the following sections we will look at interrogative and imperative constructions

18.9.1 Asking Questions (Interrogatives)

There are two kinds of questions in Nishnaabemwin, YES/NO QUESTIONS (also called POLAR QUESTIONS), and CONTENT QUESTIONS (also called SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS). These two types are formed quite differently, and will be treated separately in the sections which follow.

18.9.1.1 Yes/No (Polar) Questions

A distinct form exists in Nishnaabemwin for questions that invite a simple positive or negative response, called yes/no questions or polar questions. These questions are most commonly formed by putting the question particle *na* after the word being questioned, and using question intonation.

(104) Mno-kwaabiigad ***na*** sabaabiins?

'Is the string long enough' (lit., is the string a good length)? (MC)

> **Mno-kwaabiigad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg (stringlike) is of suitable length'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **sabaabiins** *ni 0s* 'string.'

(105) Waya ***na*** giigoonh ggii-debnaa? | 'Did you catch any fish?' (MC5.3)

> **Waya** *prn indef 3sProx* 'any'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish'; **ggii-debnaa** *vta ind 2s»3sProx* 'you did catch ANsg.'

The question word na comes after the first word, even in phrasal units, such as maanda jiimaan, 'this boat,' as in the following:

(106) Maanda na jiimaan ggii-aabjitoon? | 'Did you use this boat?' (RV/MC)

> **Maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **jiimaan** *ni 0s* 'boat'; **ggii-aabjitoon** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you (sg) used INsg.'

English multi-word borrowings are treated as single units for purposes of questioning, as in the following, where the noun compound *hamburger patties* is treated as a unit, which *na* then follows. The same is true of multi-word names, such as *Mary Ann Corbiere*.

(107) ***Hamburger patties*** na biwag? | 'Are there ***hamburger patties***?' (MC8.26)

> **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **biwag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are there.'

In yes/no questions, the expression that occurs before *na* represents the point of focus in the question. In the following sentence, for example, a little girl questions her grandmother's instructions to fetch coal oil in preparation for a trip into the garden to kill potato bugs, and asks if she is to burn up the potato bugs. The verbal expression *nii-jaagzwaag*, 'I will burn ANpl' is initial.

(108) A: Taa taa haa! ***Nii-jaagzwaag na*** giwi pinii-mnidooshensag?
B: Kaa, gaawiin ***ka-jaagzwaasiig***.

A: 'For goodness sakes, ***am I going to burn*** the potato bugs?'
B: 'No, ***you will not burn them***.' (DP)

> **Taa taa haa** *av* 'oh my!'; **Nii-jaagzwaag** *vta ind 1s»3pProx* 'I will burn ANpl up'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **giwi** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **pinii-mnidooshensag** *na 3pProx* 'potato bugs'; **Kaa** *av* 'no'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **ka-jaagzwaasiig** *vta ind neg 2s»3pProx* 'you (SG) will not burn up ANpl.'

However, an entire proposition can also be questioned, in which case regular word order prevails, such as in (109), where a time adverb occurs before *na*, (110) where sentence-complement taking verb (*gnandwenim*) precedes its complement (*ji-nsag*), and (111), where an indefinite pronoun leads the clause, as is typical.

(109) Waabang ***na*** go ndaa-bgiz gbe-giizhig? | 'Tomorrow can I go swimming all day?'

> **Waabang** *av* 'tomorrow'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **ndaa-bgiz** *vai ind 1s* 'I could swim'; **gbe-giizhig** *av* 'all day.' (DP)

(110) Gnandwenim ***na*** ji-nsag? | 'Do you want me to kill him?' (AK11.18)

> **Gnandwenim** *vta ind 2s»1s* 'you SG want of me'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **ji-nsag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I should kill ANsg.'

(111) Nii-gziibiigzhe, ***gwaya*** na zaaghmoogmigong yaa?

'I want to take a shower, is ***anyone*** in the bathroom?' (ED)

> **Nii-gziibiigzhe** *vai ind 1s* 'I want to shower'; **gwaya** *prn indef 3* 'anyone'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **zaaghmoogmigong** *ni 0 loc* 'in the bathroom'; **yaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is (in a location).'

Politeness can be expressed by means of modal preverbs:

(112) Nookmis, n***daa***-ke-paa-wiidookaaz ***na*** go ntam?

'Grandma, ***can*** I go and play first?' (DP)

> **Nookmis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **ndaa-ke-paa-wiidookaaz** *vai ind 1s* 'can I first go around playing'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **ntam** *av* 'first.'

Yes/no questions can also be asked without using **na**, simply by using question intonation, as in English.

(113) Mii sa go naa eta msawnawad aw John? | 'Oh, so you've got the hots for John?'

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **msawnawad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you (SG) long for ANsg'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that.' (IS)

NEGATIVE YES/NO QUESTIONS. Negative yes/no questions are very common in Nishnaabemwin. These sentences invariably have the negative adverb in sentence-initial position, to which *na* can be attached. Such questions invite a positive answer.

(114) ***Gaa na*** gwii-wiidgemaasii? | 'Don't you want to marry her?' (DP)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gwii-wiidgemaasii** *vta ind neg 2s»3sProx* 'you (SG) do not want to marry ANsg.'

(115) ***Gaa na*** gegoo ggii-yaanziin zhoonyaans wii-wiisniyin?

'Did you not have money that you could eat with?' (MO)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* '(any)thing'; **ggii-yaanziin** *vti ind neg 2s»0s* 'you (SG) did not have INsg'; **zhoonyaans** *ni 0s* 'money'; **wii-wiisniyin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (SG) could eat.'

(116) ***Gaawiin*** na bdakjihgan gwii-miizhsii? | 'Aren't you going to give me a fork?' (IT)

> **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **bdakjihgan** *ni 0s* 'fork'; **gwii-miizhsii** *vta ind neg 2s»1s* 'you (SG) will not give me.'

Such questions sometimes lack the element *na*, but have question intonation.

(117) Gaawii go weyiib gnandwendnziinan gdoo-lexicography mzinhignan?

'You don't want your lexicography books (back) soon?' (MC)

> **Gaawii** *av* 'not'; **weyiib** *av* 'right away'; **gnandwendnziinan** *vti ind neg 2s»0p* 'you (SG) do not want INpl'; **gdoo-lexicography** *ni 2s(0s)* 'your (SG) lexicography'; **mzinhignan** *ni 0p* 'books.'

TAG QUESTIONS. Tag questions can be asked with emphatic particle *naa*.

(118) Geget go znagad, naa? | 'It really is difficult, isn't it?' (MC)

> **Geget** *av* 'truly'; **go** *pt* 'indeed'; **znagad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is difficult'; **naa** *pt* tag

The following example is intentionally humourous in its phonological repetitiveness.

(119) Gdaa-naanaanaa, Aanaa, naa? | 'We should fetch Anna, shouldn't we?' (MC)

> **Gdaa-naanaanaa** *vta ind 21»3sProx* 'we (incl.) should fetch ANsg'; **Aanaa** *na name 3sProx* 'Anna'; **naa** *pt* tag

ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS. When alternatives are offered with yes/no questions, the linkage seems to be implicit.

(120) Nga-nsaa na, gnimaa gegoo iw gaawiin geyaabi gegoo ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig."

'Am I to kill him, *or* perhaps something so that he no longer has any power?"' (AK11.19)

> **Nga-nsaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will kill ANsg'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gnimaa** *av* 'perhaps'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'something'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **geyaabi** *av* 'anymore'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'anything'; **ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig** *vai conj 3sProx neg* '(CONJ) ANsg would not be powerful.'

YES/NO QUESTIONS WITH MII. Yes/no questions can be formed with the predicative particle, *mii*. Verbs in construction with *mii* are usually conjunct. These constructions are mostly used for ratification of a conjecture or logical inference, and expect an affirmative answer.

(121) ***Mii na*** wii-boontaayang? | 'Is this when we (incl.) stop working?' (AM39.485)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **wii-boontaayang** *vai conj 21* '(CONJ) we (incl.) will stop working.'

(122) ***Mii na*** go de-minik? | 'Is that enough? (n.b. examples for grammar)? (MC)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **de-minik** *av* 'sufficiently many.'

(123) ***Mii na*** gegeti? | 'Is that right?' (MC5.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'it's'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gegeti** *av* 'right.'

18.9.1.2 Substantive Content Questions

CONTENT QUESTIONS are those that ask for information such as who, what, when, where, why, and how. In Nishnaabemwin, such questions have an interrogative pronoun or adverb, which almost always occurs clause-initially, and is predicative, so the verb is inflected for conjunct order. There is quite a bit of dialect variation in the form of the interrogatives. The contrastive focus particle *dash* occurs very often in content questions, and in some cases has indissolubly fused to the interrogative element, producing interrogative forms ending in /sh/, such as *wenesh*, 'who' (anim) and *wegnesh*, 'what' (inan). In more formal contexts, these are sometimes spelled with a hyphen, e.g., *wene-sh*.

Rhodes 1998 presents a useful overview of content questions, which I summarize here. The basic question words in Ottawa are *wenen*, 'who/what (an.),' *wegne(n)* (or for some speakers *wenen*, 'what (in.),' *aanii(n)*, 'how,' *aanii-sh piich*, 'when,' and *aanii pii/aapii* 'where.' There are two basic types of content questions, those having a verb (which is always in the conjunct), and those having no verb. Verbless content questions are of two types, equative and locational. Content questions with verbs can be further divided into those in which the question word serves as a complement of a relative root, and those in which it does not. Sentence (132) below exemplifies a verbless equational content question and (160) a verbless locational question; (138) a verbal question with a relative root, and (124) a verbal question lacking a relative root. All verbal content questions are inflected for changed conjunct, with the exception of those formed on *aapii*, 'where,' questions, when it is used to question static location as opposed to movement (see (148) to (151) below, for examples without initial change). Rhodes also presents evidence that content questions are not derived from relative clauses, as has been asserted by Truitner and Dunnigan (1972) and Johns (1980) for western dialects of Ojibwe, because such constructions would predict participial forms, which are not standardly used in Nishnaabemwin content questions, though they do occur, as in (127) and (134), below.

QUESTIONING WHO. Questions asking for the identity of an animate being use the interrogative pronoun *wenen*, 'who' (also *wene)* which often has fused to it the emphatic focussing particle *dash*, producing *wenesh*.

(124) ***Wenesh*** dbaajmind? | '***Who*** is being narrated about?' (MT)

> **Wenesh** *prn inter 3/0* 'who'; **dbaajmind** *vta conj x»3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is related of.'

(125) "***Wenesh*** naa ge-daamngid niw biitoosijiganan?" kido kwezens.

"***Who*** are we going to sell the pie to?" one of the girls said.' (IS)

> **Wenesh** *prn inter 3/0* 'who'; **ge-daamngid** *vta ic conj 21»3sProx* '(CCNJ) we (incl.) will sell Y to ANsg'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **biitoosijiganan** *na 3obv* 'pie(s)'; **kido** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg says'; **kwezens** *na 3sProx* 'young woman.'

(126) ***Wenesh*** gaa-bkobiised? | '***Who*** fell into the water?' (MT)

> **Wenesh** *prn inter 3/0* 'who'; **gaa-bkobiised** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) who (ANsg) fell in the water.'

The interrogative pronoun is not inflected for plural number or obviation, though verbs associated with it are.

(127) ***Wenen*** ge-wa-wiidgemaajin? | 'Who (obv.) is he going to marry?' (RN)

> **Wenen** *prn inter 3* 'who'; **ge-wa-wiidgemaajin** *vta ic conj part 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) who (ANobv) will ANsg marry.'

A speaker from Walpole Island formed an identity question with question word *aanii*, 'how, in what way.'

(128) Aanii dash e-aawyaanh? | 'So who am I/ what am I a __?' (CN) (n.b. last line of a riddle)

> **Aanii** *av* 'how, in what way'; **e-aawyaanh** *vai ic conj part? 1s* '(CCNJ) I am.'

QUESTIONING OWNERSHIP. The interrogative pronoun **wenesh** is used as a possessive interrogative, too.

(129) ***Wenesh*** maanda debendang zhibiihgaans? | '***Whose*** pencil is this?' (AM39.647)

> **Wenesh** *prn inter 3/0* 'who'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **debendang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg owns IN'; **zhibiihgaans** *ni 0s* 'pencil.'

QUESTIONING KIND. Questions as to the kind or sort of an object use *wenesh* in construction with a similative pronoun such as *dnawa*, 'kind.'

(130) ***Wenesh dnawa*** bneshiinh? | '***What kind of*** bird is it?' (AM39.857)

> **Wenesh** *prn inter 3/0* 'who'; **dnawa** *prn sim 3/0* 'kind'; **bneshiinh** *na 3sProx* 'bird.'

QUESTIONING WHAT. Questions regarding inanimates are expressed by means of the interrogative pronoun *wegnen*, or with clitic *dash*, *wegnesh*. A variant of this pronoun is *ogonen*.

(131) ***Wegnesh*** ge-biidwiyan? | 'What are you going to bring me?' (AM39.648)

> **Wegnesh** *prn inter 0* 'what'; **ge-biidwiyan** *vta ic conj 2s»1s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) will bring me.'

(132) ***Wegnesh*** iw? | 'What is that?' (AM39.858)

> **Wegnesh** *prn inter 0* 'what'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that.'

(133) "***Ogonen*** gaa-aabajitoowan?" | 'What did you use?' (JC)

> **Ogonen** *inter* 'what'; **gaa-aabajitoowan** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you (SG) used IN.'

(134) ***Wane-sh*** niw genwaabndangin? | 'What (things) is he looking at?' (PH.53)

> **Wane-sh** *prn inter 0* 'what'; **niw** *prn 0p* 'those'; **genwaabndangin** *vti ic conj part 3sProx»0p* '(CCNJ) which (INpl) ANsg looks at.'

QUESTIONING WHICH. To question which, the interrogative pronoun of the appropriate gender is used in conjunction with the nominal whose scope is being delimited. For example, in the following sentence, the nominal is a pseudo-participle, *waajnakiimad*, 'whom you (sg.) work with.'

(135) ***Wegnesh waajnakiimad*** ewaanji-bshigenmad?

'***Which of your co-workers*** do you like the best?' (MC)

> **Wegnesh** *prn inter 3* 'who'; **waajnakiimad** *vta ic conj 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) whom (ANsg) you work with'; **ewaanji-bshigenmad** *vta ic conj 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) you (sg) most like ANsg.'

The following example has an inanimate.

(136) ***Wegnesh doopwin*** ewaanji-bshigendman?

'***Which table*** do you like the best?' (MC)

> **Wegnesh** *prn inter 3* 'who'; **doopwin** *ni 0s* 'table'; **ewaanji-bshigendman** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you (sg) most like IN.'

The following example illustrates the query of a particular manner, using the locational interrogative **aapiish**, 'where,' along with the indefinite locational, **nikeyiing**, 'direction.'

(137) Aapiish nikeyiing ge-ni-zhaawngoba?

'Which way should we go?' (MC)

> **Aapiish** *av inter* 'where'; **nikeyiing** *av* 'direction'; **ge-ni-zhaawngoba** *vai ic conj pret 21* '(CCNJ) we (incl.) should go there' (**ge-**, future + preterit to indicate contingency)

QUESTIONING ACTIONS. Verbal actions or events are usually questioned by means of the interrogative adverb *aanii(n)* (also *aanii-sh*), 'how, in what way,' in conjunction with relative root /iN-/ or relative preverb *zhi-* /izhi-/. Because of the relative element, associated verbs show initial change.

(138) ***Aanii-sh*** naa gaa-***zhi***webziyan. | '***What happened*** to you?' (SO5.39)

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **gaa-zhiwebziyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) ANsg has such happen.'

(139) A: Miinwaa dash shkwaa-gziinaagneying ka-taadmi. B: ***Aaniish ge-zhi-taadying***?

'A: After we wash the dishes, we'll play cards. B: ***What shall we play***?'

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'next'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **shkwaa-gziinaagneying** *vai conj 21* '(CONJ) after we (incl.) wash dishes'; **ka-taadmi** *vai ind 21* 'we (incl.) will play cards'; **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ge-zhi-taadying** *vai ic conj 21* '(CCNJ) we (incl.) will thus play cards.'

(140) ***Aanii-sh en***doodman zhoon'yaa? | '***What*** did you do with the money?' (FF2.19)

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **endoodman** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you (SG) did to IN'; **zhoon'yaa** *ni 0s* 'money.'

When questioning the complement of a sentential-complement verb, the complement-taking verb shows **zhi-** if its complement does.

(141) ***Aanii-sh gaa-zhichgeyaan***, ***aanii-sh ezhi***-ndawendman ji-***zh***ichgeyaan?

'***What shall I do***, what do you want me to do?' (AK11.17)

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **gaa-zhichgeyaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) which I may do'; **ezhi-ndawendman** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you SG thus want IN'; **ji-zhichgeyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will do.'

QUESTIONING HOW (MANNER QUESTIONS). Many common expressions in Nishnaabemwin have the form of manner questions, because the verbs associated with them contain the relative root /iN/, 'thus, so, in such a way, to(ward).' Manner questions are formed using the word for 'how,' usually *aaniish* or *aaniin*, in conjunction with this relative root or its corresponding preverb, *zhi-*. Initial change is obligatory, because of the presence of the relative element.

(142) ***Aaniish ezhi***nkaazyan? | 'What is your name?' (AM39.557)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ezhinkaazyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) are named so.'

(143) ***Aaniish*** gaa-***k***idyan? | 'What did you say?' (AM39.558) [n.b., verb: /iN+gido/]

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **gaa-kidyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) speak so.'

(144) ***Aanii-sh*** waa-***n***aabjitooyan iw bgamaagan? | 'How are you going to use that club?'

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **waa-naabjitooyan** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you SG will use IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bgamaagan** *ni 0s* 'club.' (AM31.22)

Verbs that do not have relative root /iN/ add preverb *zhi-*.

(145) ***Aaniish ezhi***-bmaadziyan? | '***How*** are you?' (AM39.556)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ezhi-bmaadziyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) live so.'

(146) ***Aanii***-sh ga-bi-***zhi***-bskaabiiyan? | '***How*** did you (sg.) come back?' (PI1.47)

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'how then'; **gaa-bi-zhi-bskaabiiyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) thus came back.'

(147) ***Aaniish*** gaa-***zhi***-gkendang mBill bkadeyin?

'***How*** did Bill know that you were hungry?' (MC20.20)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **gaa-zhi-gkendang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg thus knew IN'; **mBill** *na 3sProx* 'Bill'; **bkadeyin** *vai conj 2s* 'you are hungry.'

QUESTIONING WHERE, WHERE TO, AND WHERE FROM. Questions of location that do not involve a relative root do not show initial change. The question word is extremely dialectally variable, including *aapiish, aaniish pii, aabiish, aanpiish,* and *aandi* Questions of motion toward a goal usually have the relative root /iN/ (preverb /izhi-/); questions of motion from a source usually have relative root /ond/ (preverb /onji-/).

The following examples illustrate static-location content questions.

(148) ***Aapiish*** kii-bmide teg? | '***Where*** is the coal oil?' (DP)

> **Aapiish** *av* 'where'; **kii-bmide** *ni 0s* 'coal oil'; **teg** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is there.'

(149) ***Aapiish*** gii-sad kikoon? | '***Where*** did you put the pail?' (DP)

> **Aapiish** *av* 'where'; **gii-sad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you (SG) put ANsg there'; **kikoon** *na 3obv* 'pail(s).'

(150) ***Aapiish*** gii-mkaman zhibiihgaans?— miiknaansing ngii-ndinaan.

'***Where*** did you find the pencil? I picked it up on the path.' (AM39.491)

> **Aapiish** *av* 'where'; **gii-mkaman** *vti conj 2s»0* '(CONJ) you (SG) find IN'; **zhibiihgaans** *ni 0s* 'pencil'; **miiknaansing** *ni dim 0 loc* 'on the path'; **ngii-ndinaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I got INsg from.'

(151) ***Aabiish*** bid ndoo-pen? | '***Where*** is my pen?' (MC8.25)

> **Aabiish** *av* 'where'; **bid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is there'; **ndoo-pen** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my pen.'

Questions involving motion verbs and other verbs containing relative roots show initial change.

(152) ***Aaniipiish ezh***aad? | '***Where*** is he going?' (AM39.559)

> **Aaniipiish** *av* 'where'; **ezhaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) where ANsg goes there.'

(153) ***Aapii-sh gaa***-ni-***zh***aad? | '***Which way*** did he go from here?' (AM35.16)

> **Aapii-sh** *av* 'where'; **gaa-ni-zhaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg go there.'

(154) ***Aabiish enji***baayin? | 'Where are you (sg.) from?'

> **Aabiish** *av* 'where'; **enjibaayin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (sg) come from.'

(155) Mii dashi a makwa odinaan ni waagoshan, "***Aandi gaa-wnd***indwaa gigiigoonyag?"

'So then the bear says to the fox, "***Where*** did you get your fish?"' (JC)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dashi** *av* 'then'; **a** *prn dem 3sProx* 'that'; **makwa** *na 3sProx* 'bear'; **odinaan** *vta ind 3sProx»3obv* 'ANsg says to ANobv'; **ni** *prn dem 3obv* 'that/those'; **waagoshan** *na 3obv* 'fox(es)'; **Aandi** *av* 'where'; **gaa-wndindwaa** *vta ic conj 2s»3pProx* '(CCNJ) you (SG) got ANpl from there'; **gigiigoonyag** *na 2s(3pProx)* 'your (SG) fish (PL).'

(156) "***Aanii pii-sh*** maaba ***gaa-nd***inad giigoonh?" | "'***Where*** did you get this fish?"' (SO3.8)

> **Aanii pii** *av* 'where'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **gaa-ndinad** *vta ic conj 2s»3sProx* '(CCNJ) that you SG got ANsg from'; **giigoonh** *na 3sProx* 'fish.'

(157) ***Aapiish en***daayan? | '***Where*** do you live?' (AM39.585)

> **Aapiish** *av* 'where'; **endaayan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) where you SG live.'

The static location of specific objects can be queried without a locational verb.

(158) ***Aanii-sh*** naa giw waa-miigaanngijig?

Where are those people whom we are to fight?' (AM31.42)

> **Aanii-sh** *av* 'where then'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **waa-miigaanngijig** *vta ic conj part 21»3pProx* '(CCNJ) who we (incl) will fight ANpl.'

(159) ***Aapii*** dash giin gwiiwkwaan? | 'And you, ***where*** is your hat?' (AM39.853)

> **Aapii** *av* 'where'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **giin** *prn pers 2s* 'you'; **gwiiwkwaan** *ni 2s(0s)* 'your (SG) hat.'

(160) ***Aaniipiish*** binoojiinyag? | '***Where*** are the children?' (AM39.854)

> **Aaniipiish** *av* 'where'; **binoojiinyag** *na 3pProx* 'children.'

(161) ***Aaniipiish*** ndoopwaagan? | '***Where*** is my pipe?' (AM39.855)

> **Aaniipiish** *av* 'where'; **ndoopwaagan** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my pipe.'

QUESTIONING WHEN. Questions of general time are asked using *aanii pii, aanii-sh pii, aanii-sh piich,* or similar expressions. Initial change is obligatory.

(162) ***Aaniish*** dash ***pii*** waa-niibwiyeg? | '***When*** then, are you going to be married?' (DP)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **waa-niibwiyeg** *vai ic conj 2p* '(CCNJ) you (PL) will marry.'

(163) A: Gwii-oo-gnawaabndaan na Riverdance? B: Minj iidig. ***Aaniish pii eteg***?

'A: Do you want to go see the Riverdance festival? B: I don't know. ***When is it on***?' (MC)

> **Gwii-oo-gnawaabndaan** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you (SG) want to go see INsg'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **Minj** *av* 'however it may be'; **iidig** *av* 'perhaps'; **Aaniish pii** *av* 'when'; **eteg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN be there.'

(164) ***Aaniish pii*** gaa-bskaabiiyan? | '***When*** did you (sg.) get back?' (PI1.48)

> **Aaniish pii** *av* 'when'; **gaa-bskaabiiyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) got back.'

(165) ***Aaniish*** ko ***pii*** e-dbahmaagooyin? | '***When*** do you usually get paid?' (MC19.3)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ko** *av* 'usually'; **pii** *av* 'time'; **e-dbahmaagooyin** *vta/vai pass ic conj x»2s* '(CCNJ) that you (SG) are paid.'

QUESTIONING HOW MANY AND HOW MUCH. Requests to know a specific number of particular items are expressed with interrogative adverb *aanii(sh)*, 'how,' and *mnik*, 'many.' The verb invariably shows initial change.

(166) ***Aaniish mnik*** eyaang jiimaanan? | '***How many*** canoes does s/he have?'

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **eyaang** *vti ic conj 3sProx»0* '(CCNJ) ANsg has IN'; **jiimaanan** *ni 0p* 'boats.' (AM39.619)

(167) ***Aaniish mnik*** zhibiihganaatgoon eyaaman? | '***How many*** pencils do you have?'

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **zhibiihganaatgoon** *ni 0p* 'pencils'; **eyaaman** *vti ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you (SG) have IN.' (MC8.21)

(168) ***Aaniish mnik*** bgesaanag ebwaad? | '***How many*** plums are there (on hand)?'

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **bgesaanag** *na 3pProx* 'plums'; **ebwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl are there.' (MC8.22)

(169) ***Aaniish mnik*** ziitaagan menezyin? | '***How much*** salt do you need?' (MC8.7)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'much'; **ziitaagan** *ni 0* 'salt'; **menezyin** *vai ic conj 2s»0* '(CCNJ) you (SG) are in need of Y.'

Questions in Nishnaabemwin that ask such things as age, weight, and dimensions customarily involve either the degree relative root /akw-/ or /apiit-/ or the quantificational relative root /dasw-/, or their preverb forms. These roots can be combined with a variety of

medials and finals to produce a vast number of specific verbs. The following examples illustrate some of these forms, first with relative root /akw/ in (170) to (173), with /apiit/ in (174) to (177), and with /dasw/ in (181) and (182).

(170) Aaniish ekoozyin? | 'How tall are you?' (MC21.1)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ekoozyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) are such height.'

(171) Aaniish ekoozid wa mtig? | 'How tall is that tree?' (MC)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ekoozid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) such length ANsg is'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **mtig** *na 3sProx* 'tree.'

Note the use of classificatory medials /aakw-/, 'organic solid,' and /aabiig-/, 'stringlike,' in the following:

(172) Aaniish ekw***aak***zid bsagaak? | '***How long*** is the board?' (MC21.7)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ekwaakzid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg (sticklike) is so long'; **bsagaak** *na 3sProx* 'board.'

(173) Aaniish ekw***aabiig***ak sabaabiins? | '***How long*** is the string?' (MC)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **ekwaabiigak** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN (stringlike) is of such length'; **sabaabiins** *ni 0s* 'string.'

(174) ***Aaniish epiit***aagnagaag? | '***How deep*** is the snow?' (MC)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **epiitaagnagaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) snow is of such depth.'

(175) ***Aaniish epiichi***-shpaag aazhbik? | '***How high*** is the mountain? (MC)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **epiichi-shpaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is high to such extent'; **aazhbik** *ni 0s* 'mountain.'

(176) ***Aaniish epiit***dinaag? | '***How high*** is the hill?' (MC)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **epiitdinaag** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is a hill to such extent.'

(177) ***Aaniish*** gegnaa ***epiit***iziyan? | '***How old*** are you anyway? (DP)'

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **gegnaa** *av* 'anyway'; **epiitiziyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) are of such age.'

Note the use of classificatory medial /-aabik/, 'metal, glass, stone,' in expressions such as the following:

(178) Aaniish epiit***aabk***ideg? | 'How hot is the stove?' MC20.10)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **epiitaabkideg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is hot metal to such extent.'

The relative preverb *piichi-* can also be combined with adverbs, as in the following. The associated verb evidently still shows initial change, though in these examples relative roots are present on the verbs, which will themselves induce initial change.

(179) ***Aaniish piichi-gbeyiing*** gaa-ndendyin? | '***How long*** were you gone?' MC20.4)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **piichi-gbeyiing** *av* 'to whatever long length of time'; **gaa-ndendyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG were away.'

(180) ***Aaniish piichi-gbeyiing*** zhaazhi maanpii enkiiyin?

'***How long*** is it since you've been working here?' (MC20.3)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **piichi-gbeyiing** *av* 'to whatever long length of time'; **gaa-ndendyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you SG were away.'

The changed form of the preverb **dso-** was historically **endaso-**, which is often simplified to /enso/.

(181) ***Aaniish enso***-bboon'gizyin? | '***How many*** years old are you?' (MC20.1)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **enso-bboon'gizyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) you (SG) are so many years old.'

(182) ***Aaniish endso***-dbahganeg? | 'What time is it?' (AM39.605)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **endso-dbahganeg** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is so many units.'

QUESTIONING WHY. The reason for an action or event can be queried by using the interrogative adverb *aanii-sh* in conjunction with relative root /ond/ or its corresponding preverb *nji-* (/onji-/). Because of the relative element, initial change is obligatory. Initial-changed /onji-/ sometimes lacks the expected initial /w/, and some speakers have reinterpreted /enji-/ as tenseless complementizer *e-* plus *nji-*.

(183) ***Aaniish enji***-gchi-mgid wa nimookaajiinh?

'***Why*** is that dog barking so much?' (MC19.6)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **enji-gchi-mgid** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg greatly barked due to'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nimookaajiinh** *na 3sProx* 'dog.'

(184) ***Aaniish enji***-kidyan wi? | 'Why do you say that?' (DP)

> **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **enji-kidyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) why you (SG) say so'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that.'

Another construction uses *wegnen*, 'what' (INAN), as the interrogative element.

(185) ***Wegnesh*** eni-***nji***-maajaad? | 'Why is he leaving?' (AM39.577)

> **Wegnesh** *prn inter 0* 'what'; **eni-nji-maajaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) source of ANsg leaving.'

(186) ***Wegonesh*** gaa-***wnji***-bizigwiiyin? | 'Why did you stand up?' (LM)

> **Wegonesh** *prn inter* 'what'; **gaa-wnji-bizigwiiyin** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) source of you (SG) stand.'

(187) ***Wegne-sh wenji***-niizhootwageyan? | 'Why do you have two ears?' (AM33.4)

> **Wegne-sh** *prn inter* 'what'; **wenji-niizhootwageyan** *vai ic conj 2s* '(CCNJ) do you (SG) have two ears from.'

(188) ***Wane-sh*** gaa-***nji***-zhaawaad? | 'Why did they go?' (PI1.54)

> **Wane-sh** *prn inter 0* 'what'; **gaa-nji-zhaawaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) source-of ANpl go.'

Suggestions, as with English, can be made using negative reason questions. Here the verb begins with *bi-*, 'hither,' which has no distinctive initial-changed form for some speakers.

(189) Wanesh go naa yaapiichin bi-wnji-zhaaswan?

'How about it, why don't you come over once in a while?' (AK13.28)

> **Wanesh** *prn inter n* 'what'; **yaapiichin** *av* 'once in awhile'; **bi-wnji-zhaaswan** *vai conj 2s neg* '(CCNJ) why don't you (SG) come here.'

INDIRECT QUESTIONS. Questions can serve as the complements of sentential-complement verbs.

(190) Wa-nda-gkenim [***aaniin naa endshiwaad giwi eyaajig wadi***].

"Go find out [***how many of them there are over there***].' (SO1.7)

> **Wa-nda-gkenim** *vta imp 2s»3* 'go and find out'; **aaniin** *av* 'how'; **endshiwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) as many as ANpl were'; **giwi** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **eyaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who ANpl were there'; **wadi** *av* 'there.'

CONVENTIONAL EXPRESSIONS. Several common conventional expressions represent shortened forms of full content questions. The first example, a customary greeting, is a shortened form of *aaniish naa ezhi-bmaadziyan*, 'How are you (living)?'

(191) Aanii! or Aaniish naa! | 'Hi!'

> **Aanii** *av* 'how'; **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **naa** *av* 'indeed.'

(192) Aanii giiyenh? | 'Say what?! What's that (you say)?' (MC8.12)

> **Aanii** *av* 'how'; **giiyenh** *av* 'evidently.'

TOPIC SHIFT "HOW ABOUT" QUESTIONS. In a context in which several people or objects are being treated in sequence, verbless questions with contrastive particle *dash* can be used to shift attention to a particular person or object, equivalent to English "how about…" constructions.

(193) A: Maanpii toon wi mkak. B:***Maanda dash*** pabwin?
A: Maanpii toon gewii wi. B: ***Maaba dash*** zhiishiib-kik?

'A: Put that box here. B: ***How about*** this chair?'
'A: Put that here too. B: ***How about*** this kettle?' (MC12.2)

> **Maanpii** *av* 'here'; **toon** *vti imp 2s»0* '(you SG) put IN'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **mkak** *ni 0s* 'box'; **Maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **dash** *av* 'as for'; **pabwin** *ni 0s* 'chair'; **Maanpii** *av* 'here'; **toon** *vti imp 2s»0* '(you SG) put IN'; **gewii** *av* 'also'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that'; **Maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **dash** *av* 'as for'; **zhiishiib-kik** *na 3sProx* 'kettle.'

(194) ***Giin dash***? Gdoo-nji-giigoonke na?

'***How about you***? Have you gone fishing lately?' (MC5.6)

> **Giin** *prn pers 2s* 'you'; **dash** *av* 'as for'; **Gdoo-nji-giigoonke** *vai ind 2s* 'have you gone fishing'; **na** *av* 'yes/no questions.'

ECHO QUESTIONS. In running conversation, Nishnaabemwin allows ECHO QUESTIONS similar to those of English, in which the question word is not at the front of the sentence, but instead appears in its usual (unfronted) position.

(195) A: Giimooj sii go ngii-wiindmaag Linda baabiitood wii-ggwejmad…
B: Wii-ggwejmag ***wenesh***?

'A: Linda told me in secret that she was waiting for you to ask her…
B: Ask her ***what***?' (DP)

> **Giimooj** *av* 'secretly'; **sii** *av* 'indeed'; **ngii-wiindmaag** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg told me'; **baabiitood** *vti conj 3sProx»0* '(CONJ) ANsg waits for IN'; **wii-ggwejmad** *vta conj 2s»3sProx* '(CONJ) you SG will ask ANsg'; **Wii-ggwejmag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I ask ANsg'; **wenesh** *prn inter 3/0* 'what.'

18.9.2 Issuing Commands (Imperatives)

Commands are marked by the presence of imperative verbal inflection. Commands may be positive or negative. Negative commands are also called prohibitives. Command forms exist for transitive animate (VTA), transitive inanimate (VTI), and animate intransitive verb forms (VAI). Only person combinations that include second person have command forms, so there are no inanimate intransitive (VII) command forms.

The distinguishing feature of commands is that their verbs carry imperative inflection, which is outlined in detail in chapters 5, 7 and 8. Here I will simply provide a few examples of common constructions. As (196) and (197) show, goals can come either before or after the imperative verb. There is a tendency for verbs to appear in initial position.

(196) Nbiish ***mnahshin***. | '***Give me a drink*** of water.' (AM39.801)

> **Nbiish** *ni 0s* 'water'; **mnahshin** *vta imp 2s»1s* '(you SG) give me a drink.'

(197) ***Miizhgon*** naa iw wiiwkwaan. | '***(You pl) Give her/him*** her/his hat!' (AM39.800)

> **Miizhgon** *vta imp 2p»3* '(you PL) give AN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wiiwkwaan** *ni 0s* 'hat.'

(198) ***Zhngishnin*** doopwining. | '***Lie down*** on the table.' (AM39.760)

> **Zhngishnin** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) lie (prone)'; **doopwining** *ni 0 loc* 'on the table.'

Complement-taking verbs show their complements in the conjunct. Note that in both cases below the complement follows.

(199) ***Boontaan*** iw ggiibaadziyan. | '***Stop*** being so bad.' (AM39.722)

> **Boontaan** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) stop'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **ggiibaadziyan** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (SG) be wicked.'

(200) ***Zhichgen*** ge gii ezhchiged. | '***Do*** the way he does.' (AM39.727)

> **Zhichgen** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) do so'; **ge** *cnj* 'as for'; **gii** *prn pers 2s* 'you'; **ezhchiged** *vai ic conj part 3sProx* '(CCNJ) as ANsg does so.'

PROHIBITIVES (NEGATIVE COMMANDS). PROHIBITIVES use negative adverb **gego** (also **gegwa**) and negative imperative inflection.

(201) ***Gego*** wii gii bi-zhaa***ken*** maampii. | '***Don't*** you come here.' (AM39.831)

> **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **wii** *av* 'then'; **gii** *prn pers 2s* 'you'; **bi-zhaaken** *vai imp neg 2s* '(you SG) don't come here'; **maampii** *av* 'here.'

(202) ***Gegwa*** zhichge***ken*** iw. | '***Don't*** do that.' (AM39.832)

> **Gegwa** *av* 'don't'; **zhichgeken** *vai imp neg 2s* 'don't (you SG) do so'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that.'

(203) ***Gego*** wii maa nmadbi***kegon***, gzaagaasom; gawaakwaag zhaag; wiigwaaming zhaag.

'***Do (you pl.) not*** sit here; you are right in the sun. Go where it is shady. Go inside the house.' (AM39.836)

> **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **wii** *av* 'then'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **nmadbikegon** *vai imp neg 2p* '(you PL) do not sit'; **gzaagaasom** *vai ind 2p* 'you PL have the sun shining on you'; **gawaakwaag** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN is shady'; **zhaag** *vai imp 2p* '(you PL) go there'; **wiigwaaming** *ni 0 loc* 'house (loc)'; **zhaag** *vai imp 2p* '(you PL) go there.'

(204) ***Gego*** wii-gsaa***ken*** giw nimoog; gaa wii gegoo gdaa-doodaagsiig.

'Don't be afraid of those dogs; they won't do anything to you.' (AM39.843)

> **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **wii-gsaaken** *vta imp neg 2s»3* '(you SG) don't fear AN'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **nimoog** *na 3pProx* 'dogs'; **gaa** *av* 'not'; **wii** *av* 'then'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'anything'; **gdaa-doodaagsiig** *vta ind neg 3pProx»2s* 'ANpl will not do to you (SG).'

(205) Mii-sh gaa-zhi-giigdod aw, "***Gego*** doodwish'***kegon*** iw, gaawiin niin gwii-mji-doodoosnoonim.

'And then he spoke thus, "Don't do that to me, I'm not going to harm you people.'

> **Mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gaa-zhi-giigdod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg spoke'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **doodwish'kegon** *vta imp 2p neg* 'don't (you PL) do Y to me'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **niin** *prn pers 1s* 'i'; **gwii-mji-doodoosnoonim** *vta ind 1s»2p neg* 'I do not want to do harm to you PL.' (AK14.14)

DELAYED IMPERATIVES. There is a DELAYED MODE for positive imperatives, allowing for the issue of a command to be carried out at a later time.

(206) Baamaa waabang ***bi-zhaakan***, mii dash da-wiijiiwnaan.

'***Come*** tomorrow, then I will go with you.' (AM39.828)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **waabang** *av* 'tomorrow'; **bi-zhaakan** *vai imp del 2s* '(you SG) come later'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **da-wiijiiwnaan** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) I will go with you SG.'

(207) Baamaa ***biidookan***. | '***Bring it*** later on.' (AM39.829)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **biidookan** *vti imp del 2s»0s* '(you SG) bring IN later.'

(208) Baamaa go naa ***wiindmawshikan***. | '***Tell me about it*** later on.' (AM39.830)

> **Baamaa** *av* 'later'; **wiindmawshikan** *vta imp del 2s»1s* '(you SG) tell me about Y later.'

HORTATIVES. HORTATIVES are commands that include the speaker, and only exist for first person plural inclusives.

(209) Aaw dash ***wiisnidaa***. | 'Well, ***let us eat***.' (AM39.773)

> **Aaw** *av* 'okay'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **wiisnidaa** *vai imp 21* 'let's eat.'

(210) Bekaa ***yaadaa*** maampii. | '***Let us stay*** right here.' (AM39.769)

> **Bekaa** *av* 'hold on'; **yaadaa** *vai imp 21* 'let's remain'; **maampii** *av* 'here.'

DIRECTIONALS WITH COMMANDS. Verbs inflected for imperative commonly have DIRECTIONAL PREVERBS.

(211) Noozhshenh, ***bi***-zhaan maampii. | 'Come ***here***, grandchild.' (AM39.717)

| **Noozhshenh** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandchild'; **bi-zhaan** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) come hither'; **maampii** *av* 'here.'

(212) ***Ni***-maajiiwizh. | 'Take them ***away*** with you.' (SO2.11)

| **Ni-maajiiwizh** *vta imp 2s»3* '(you SG) take AN away.'

(213) ***Ni***-gnawenmishnaang niigaan giizhgadoon!

'***Continue*** Thou to keep us in Thy care through the days ahead!' (AM11.10)

| **Ni-gnawenmishnaang** *vta imp 2s»1p* '(you SG) take care of us in the course of time'; **niigaan** *av* 'in the future'; **giizhgadoon** *ni 0p* 'days.'

(214) ***Wa***-nda-gkenim aaniin naa endshiwaad giwi eyaajig wadi.

'***Go*** find out how many of them there are over there.' (SO1.7)

| **Wa-nda-gkenim** *vta imp 2s»3* 'go and find out'; **aaniin** *av* 'how'; **endshiwaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) as many as ANpl were'; **giwi** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **eyaajig** *vai ic conj part 3pProx* '(CCNJ) who ANpl were there'; **wadi** *av* 'there.'

(215) Wewiibtaan, aazha kinoomaage-daabaan biijbizo. ***Wi***-boozin!

'Hurry up, the school bus is coming. ***Go*** get on!' (EM)

| **Wewiibtaan** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) hurry'; **aazha** *av* 'now'; **kinoomaage-daabaan** *na 3sProx* 'school bus'; **biijbizo** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg arrives motoring'; **Wi-boozin** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) go and get on board.'

Wii- WITH COMMANDS. In the recorded materials of Andrew Medler, the FUTURE PREVERB *wii-* appears to be used with commands. Many contemporary speakers reject such usage. Rhodes (p.c.) suggests that *wii* in these cases is perhaps an emphatic mistakenly identified as a preverb. The usage of *wii-* as a means of adding politeness seems possible, though, and I include a couple of examples here for the record. See also (204), above.

(216) Aambe ***wii***-nishkaan. | 'Do please get up (from lying).' (AM39.716)

| **Aambe** *av* 'hey'; **wii-nishkaan** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) please get up.'

(217) Gwajiing ***wii***-ni-zhaadaa. | 'Let us go out of doors.' (AM39.768)

| **Gwajiing** *av* 'outside'; **wii-ni-zhaadaa** *vai imp 2p* 'let us please go out.'

FUTURE TENSE AS IMPERATIVE. Often the FUTURE TENSE is used with imperative force.

(218) Gego nendken ji-gziibiigdooneyin. ***Gookooshag gaye gwii-shamaag***, bkadewag.

'Don't forget to brush your teeth. ***Feed the pigs too***, they're hungry.' (SS)

| **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **nendken** *vti imp neg 2s»0* 'don't (you SG) forget IN'; **ji-gziibiigdooneyin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you SG brush your teeth'; **Gookooshag** *na 3pProx* 'pigs'; **gaye** *av* 'also'; **gwii-shamaag** *vta ind 2s»3pProx* 'you (SG) will feed ANpl' [future tense preverb, **wii-**]; **bkadewag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are hungry.'

(219) Wewiibtaan. Pii giizhiitaayin, ***gga-biiskon'ye***, mii dash ji-bi-wiisniyin.

'Hurry. When you're done, ***get dressed***, then come and eat.' (ED)

| **Wewiibtaan** *vai imp 2s* 'hurry up'; **Pii** *av* 'when'; **giizhiitaayin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (sg) finish'; **gga-biiskon'ye** *vai ind 2s* 'you (sg) will dress' [future tense preverb, **ga-**]; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **ji-bi-wiisniyin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (sg) should come and eat.'

COMMANDS WITH *MII*. Imperative forms of verbs can appear with the discourse element *mii*, especially when the command represents the outcome or result of some previously mentioned situation.

(220) Mii go maajaan ambe! | 'So go away immediately!' (SO3.37)

| **Mii** *av* 'so'; **maajaan** *vai imp 2s* '(you SG) go away'; **ambe** *av* 'immediately.'

COMPLEX CONSTRUCTIONS WITH IMPERATIVES. Imperatives can appear in complex clauses, having all the richness of statements and questions.

(221) Ooke, ***wewebzidaa*** jibwaa-mdwesing tetaagan.

'Okay, ***let's go for a swing*** before the bell rings.' (ED)

| **Ooke** *av* 'okay'; **wewebzidaa** *vai imp 21* 'let's swing'; **jibwaa-mdwesing** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) before IN rings'; **tetaagan** *ni 0s* 'bell.'

(222) Mii dash gaa-naad aw nmishoomis, "***Gego nsaaken***, mii go eta go iw gegoo ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig," mii gaa-naad aw nmishoomis niw jiiskiiwninwan.

'And my grandfather said to him, "***Don't kill it***, but only something so it won't have power," that's what my grandfather said to the shaking tent shaman.' (AK11.20)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **Gego** *av* 'don't'; **nsaaken** *vta imp 2s»3s neg* 'don't you SG kill ANsg'; **mii** *av* 'but'; **eta** *av* 'only'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'something'; **ji-zhi-gshkihewzisig** *vai conj 3sProx neg* '(CONJ) ANsg would not be powerful'; **mii** *av* 'that's'; **gaa-naad** *vta ic conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CCNJ) ANsg said to ANobv'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **jiiskiiwninwan** *na 3obv* 'shaker.'

18.10 Coordination

Coordination is the linking together of like elements, typically noun phrases, clauses, and sentences. English most commonly coordinates words and phrases by means of the conjunction *and;* Nishnaabemwin has coordinative adverbs, the most common being *gye* (or *ge*), along with *miinwaa.*

COORDINATION OF NOUN PHRASES. The basic structural features of coordination are outlined in Chapter 12.3.6, page 568. Here I will mention a few additional aspects of nominal coordination.

In coordination of noun phrases, it seems to be the case that when there is a difference of grammatical gender in the noun phrases, the first one determines the gender of associated verbs. In the following sentence, for example *bkwezhigan,* 'bread,' is animate in Rama dialect, though *doodooshaaboo,* 'milk,' is inanimate. The associated verb *ji-naanag,* 'that I fetch ANsg,' is a VTA, and is inflected for a singular goal.

(223) Eni-naagshig nookmisban ngii-gwejimig daawewgamigong ***ji-zhaayaan ji-naanag bkwezhigan miinwaa doodooshaaboo***.

'In the evening, my late grandmother asked me to go to the store ***to fetch bread and milk***.' (SS)

> **Eni-naagshig** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) in time evening came on'; **nookmisban** *na pret 1s(3sProx)* 'my late grandmother'; **ngii-gwejimig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg asked me'; **daawewgamigong** *ni 0 loc* 'to the store'; **ji-zhaayaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I go there'; **ji-naanag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I get ANsg'; **bkwezhigan** *na 3sProx* 'bread'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **doodooshaaboo** *ni 0s* 'milk.'

The following sentence shows the same strategy, that of having the verb inflect to agree with only one of the coordinated noun phrases, in this case, again, the first one, *naapaane,* 'flour,' which is animate at Rama.

(224) Pii e-dgoshnaan odi endaad, mii sa ekidod, "Maajaayok, wi-ndawaabndamok zasweminan, niin dash ***nga-giizhiitaahwaa naapaane giye mbisijigan***."

'When I arrived there where she lived, she said, "Take off, go and look for chokecherries, and ***I'll prepare the flour and yeast*** (i.e., make the crust)." (IS)

> **Pii** *av* 'when'; **e-dgoshnaan** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) when I arrived'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **endaad** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) where ANsg lived'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **ekidod** *vai ic conj 3sProx* '(CCNJ) ANsg said'; **Maajaayok** *vai imp 2p* '(you PL) set off'; **wi-ndawaabndamok** *vti imp 2p»0* '(you PL) go and look for IN'; **zasweminan** *ni 0p* 'chokecherries'; **niin** *prn pers 1s* 'I'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **nga-giizhiitaahwaa** *vta ind 1s»3sProx* 'I will prepare ANsg'; **naapaane** *na 3sProx* 'flour'; **giye** *av* 'and'; **mbisijigan** *ni 0s* 'yeast.'

A first person can be coordinated with a third person by means of first person exclusive verb inflection.

(225) ***Ngii-oo-giigookemi nwendaagan miina nwiijkiyenaa***, Gchi-mookmaanking gii-bi-njibaa nwendaagan.

'***We went fishing, my relative and a friend of ours***, my relative came from the U.S.' (RD)

> **Ngii-oo-giigookemi** *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl.) went and fished'; **nwendaagan** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my relative'; **miina** *av* 'and'; **nwiijkiyenaa** *nad 1p(3sProx)* 'our (excl.) friend'; **Gchi-mookmaankiing** *ni 0 loc* 'United States (loc)'; **gii-bi-njibaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg came from there'; **nwendaagan** *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my relative.'

It is of course also possible to use an explicit pronoun *niin* in such cases, as in the following example, which occurs at the beginning of an anecdotal reminiscence.

(226) Mewnzha odi Rama, gnamaa go naa midaaswi gii-nsa-boonigizyaan, ***niin miinwaa niizh naanind kwezensag aapji nwii-zhooniyaakemin***…

'Long ago there in Rama, when I was perhaps ten years old, ***I and two other girls (we) really wanted to make some money***.' (IS)

> **Mewnzha** *av* 'long ago'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gnamaa** *av* 'perhaps'; **midaaswi** *nm* 'ten'; **gii-nsa-boonigizyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I was so many years old'; **niin** *prn pers 1s* 'I'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **niizh** *nm* 'two'; **naanind** *av* 'some'; **kwezensag** *na 3pProx* 'girls'; **aapji** *av* 'really'; **nwii-zhooniyaakemin** *vai ind 1p* 'we (excl.) want to make money.'

Constructions with *ge*, 'also, too' + PRONOUN can be used to coordinate.

(227) Owedi ***ge gii*** gga-miijin, maanda dash ***ge nii*** nga-miijin waawan.

'You may eat that egg, and I shall eat this one.' (AM39.174)

> **Owedi** *ni dem 0s* 'that over there'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **gii** *prn pers 2s* 'you'; **gga-miijin** *vti ind 2s»0s* 'you will eat INsg'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **dash** *av* 'and'; **ge** *av* 'as for'; **nii** *prn pers 1s* 'I'; **nga-miijin** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I will eat INsg'; **waawan** *ni 0s* 'egg.'

Locative nouns can be coordinated with **gye (go)**.

(228) Gye go mtigoon wgiishkboodoonaawaan, mii dash daawewaad ***Oodenaang gye go maa Island***.

'Also they saw wood and sell it ***in Detroit or on the Island***.' (AM15.10)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **mtigoon** *ni op* 'wood (PL)'; **wgiishkboodoonaawaan** *vti ind 3pProx»0p* 'ANpl ripsaw INpl'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **daawewaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl sell Y'; **Oodenaang** *ni 0 loc* 'in Detroit' (lit., 'in town'); **gye** *av* 'or'; **maa** *av* 'there.'

COORDINATION OF CLAUSES. Clauses may be coordinated with the conjunctive adverbs *gye* and *miinwaa*, the former being more common.

(229) Gaawaanh dash ngii-debnig ***gye*** gii-gwaabiignid.

'With difficulty she got hold of me ***and*** drew me out of the water.' (AM4.5)

> **Gaawaanh** *av* 'barely'; **dash** *av* 'however'; **ngii-debnig** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg reached me'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **gii-gwaabiignid** *vta conj 3sProx»1s* '(CONJ) ANsg fished me out of the water.'

(230) Mii odi gii-mkamaang iw zaaghigan, ***miinwaa*** baatiindoon miinan, giigoonyag ge yaawag maa zaaghigning.

'And there we found this lake, ***and*** there were lots of berries, and there were also fish there at the lake.' (AK1.3)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **odi** *av* 'there'; **gii-mkamaang** *vti conj 1p* '(CONJ) we (excl) found IN'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **zaaghigan** *ni 0s* 'lake'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **baatiindoon** *vii ind 0p* 'INpl are abundant'; **miinan** *ni 0p* 'blueberries'; **giigoonyag** *na 3pProx* 'fish (PL)'; **ge** *av* 'and'; **yaawag** *vai ind 3pProx* 'ANpl are there'; **maa** *av* 'there'; **zaaghigning** *ni 0 loc* 'in lake.'

The following example shows coordinated PURPOSE CLAUSES.

(231) Gchi-gzheb nga-maajaa [***ji-wi-daaweyaan giw mskomnag miinwaa ji-yaamoonaan niw mkiznan***].

'Very early I'll go [***to sell the raspberries and to buy you the shoes***].' (AK3.12)

> **Gchi-gzheb** *av* 'very early in morning'; **nga-maajaa** *vai ind 1s* 'I will leave'; **ji-wi-daaweyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I will go and sell Y'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **mskomnag** *na 3pProx* 'raspberries'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **ji-yaamoonaan** *vta conj 1s»2s* '(CONJ) I will get for you'; **niw** *prn 0p* 'those'; **mkiznan** *ni 0p* 'shoes.'

Often clauses are put in sequence by means of alternations between independent and conjunct order inflection of their verbs, as in sentence (232), or by inflecting the MAIN verb as conjunct, as in (233).

(232) Mii dash gii-giiwebtooyaan, [gii-wiindmawag]$_{CONJ}$ aw ngashi.

'Then I ran home and told my mother about it.' (AM3.5)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-giiwebtooyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) when I'd run home'; **gii-wiindmawag** *vta conj 1s»3sProx* '(CONJ) I told ANsg'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **ngashi** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my mother.'

In other cases, there is no explicit marker of coordination. This is especially true of verbs in construction with the verb *maajaa*, 'set off' VAI, which often functions serially, as in the following example.

(233) Mii dash gii-maajaayaang (_) gii-zhaayaang widi school.

'Then we set out and went to the school.' (AM8.12)

> **Mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-maajaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we (excl) left'; **gii-zhaayaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we (excl) went there'; **widi** *av* 'over there.'

(234) ***Gaa maamda wii-wiijiiwaad*** zaasbaakdoken'jin, aaniish naa aakzi sa (_) niinmizi, (_) skanzi.

'***He couldn't go with those*** who made sugar, as he was so sick, so weak and gaunt.' (SO4.6)

> **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **maamda** *av* 'able'; **wii-wiijiiwaad** *vta conj 3sProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANsg will accompany ANobv'; **zaasbaakdoken'jin** *vai ic conj part 3obv* '(CCNJ) those (ANobv) who were making sugar'; **aaniish** *av* 'because'; **aakzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is ill'; **niinmizi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is weak'; **skanzi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is gaunt.'

A sentence can show a relationship with a previous sentence by beginning with *gye*, typically in combination with particle *go*, or with *miinwaa*.

(235) ***Gye go*** mii gii-miin'gooyaang rooms waa-dnizyaang.

'***And*** then we were given rooms in which we were to stay.' (AM8.14)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-miin'gooyaang** *vta conj x»1p* 'we (excl) were given'; **waa-dnizyaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CCNJ) we (excl) will stay there.'

(236) ***Gye go*** mii gii-aanskonyeyaang, ***gye go*** mii gii-miingooyaang niw rooms waa-dnizyaang.

'***And*** then we changed our clothes ***and*** we were given the rooms in which we were to stay.' (AM9.14)

> **Gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gii-aanskonyeyaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CONJ) we (excl) changed clothes'; **gye** *av* 'and'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **gii-miin'gooyaang** *vta conj x»1p* 'we (excl) were given'; **niw** *prn 0p* 'those'; **waa-dnizyaang** *vai conj 1p* '(CCNJ) we (excl) will stay there.'

(237) ***Miinwaa*** wgii-giishpnadoon iw bagoowyaan ji-wzhitmaagooyaan iw wshki-goodaas.

'***And*** she bought some material so that a new dress could be made for me.' (AK3.13)

> **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **wgii-giishpnadoon** *vti ind 3sProx»0s* 'ANsg bought INsg'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bagoowyaan** *ni 0s* 'cloth'; **ji-wzhitmaagooyaan** *vta conj x»1* '(CONJ) Y will be made for me'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **wshki-goodaas** *ni 0s* 'new dress.'

When an action is the logical consequence or result of another, they may be linked by means of *dash*, 'then,' in the clause of the second action.

(238) Mtigoon ngii-biindgadoonan, niidgemaagan ***dash*** gii-boodwe.

'I brought the wood inside, (and) then my wife made a fire.' (AM39.177)

> **Mtigoon** *ni op* 'wood (PL)'; **ngii-biindgadoonan** *vti ind 1s»0p* 'I brought INpl inside'; **niidgemaagan** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my spouse'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-boodwe** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg made fire.'

(239) Ngii-bgijwebnaan, gii-baashksin ***dash*** iw waawan.

'I dropped it, ***and*** that egg broke.' (AM39.382)

> **Ngii-bgijwebnaan** *vti ind 1s»0s* 'I dropped INsg'; **gii-baashksin** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg became broken'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **waawan** *ni 0s* 'egg.'

(240) Niikaanenh ngii-gaandhog, mii ***dash*** gii-bkobiiseyaan.

'My brother gave me a push, ***and*** then I fell into the water.' (AM39.482)

> **Niikaanenh** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my brother'; **ngii-gaandhog** *vta ind 3sProx»1s* 'ANsg pushed me'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **gii-bkobiiseyaan** *vai conj 1s* '(CONJ) I fell into water.'

18.11 Disjunction

Disjunction is the juxtaposing of things in such a way as to present them as alternatives. Disjunction is typically expressed by means of the adverb *maage*, 'or.' Both noun phrases and clauses can be disjunctively related with *maage*.

(241) Biidoon waawnoon. Nga-zaasaanan. Bezhig na ***maage*** niizh?

'Bring the eggs. I'll fry them. One *or* two?' (IT)

Biidoon *vti imp 2s»0* 'bring (you SG) IN'; **waawnoon** *ni 0p* 'eggs'; **Nga-zaasaanan** *vti ind 1s»0p* 'I will fry INpl'; **Bezhig** *nm* 'one'; **na** *av* 'yes/no ques'; **maage** *av* 'or'; **niizh** *nm* 'two.'

(242) Wegnesh washme e-gzigong, maanda ***maage*** oodi wi?

'Which box is heavier, this one *or* that one?' (MC2.7)

Wegnesh *prn inter 0* 'what'; **washme** *av* 'more'; **e-gzigong** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) IN is heavy'; **maanda** *prn 0s* 'this'; **maage** *av* 'or'; **oodi** *av* 'there'; **wi** *prn 0s* 'that.'

(243) A: Gbe-dbik gii-migi aw gdayensim. Aaniin dash?
B: Ngikendziin. Gnamaa go naa wiya gii-bi-zhaadog ***maage*** gii-bkadedog.

'A: Your little dog barked all night. Why? B: I don't know. Maybe someone came *or* maybe it was hungry.'

Gbe-dbik *av* 'all night'; **gii-migi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg barked'; **aw** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **gdayensim** *nad 2s(3sProx)* 'your (SG) little dog'; **Aaniin** *av* 'how'; **dash** *av* 'then'; **Ngikendziin** *vti ind neg 1s»0s* 'I don't know INsg'; **Gnamaa** *av* 'perhaps'; **wiya** *prn indef 3* 'someone'; **gii-bi-zhaadog** *vai ind dub 3sProx* 'ANsg might have come hither'; **maage** *av* 'or'; **gii-bkadedog** *vai ind dub 3sProx* 'ANsg maybe was hungry.'

(244) Gaawiin na bdakjihgan gwii-miizhsii? ***Maage*** nninjiinsan nga-nakaaznan?

'Aren't you going to give me a fork? ***Or*** shall I use my fingers?' (IT)

Gaawiin *av* 'not'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **bdakjihgan** *ni 0s* 'fork'; **gwii-miizhsii** *vta ind neg 2s»1s* 'you (SG) will not give me'; **Maage** *av* 'or'; **nninjiinsan** *nid 1s(0p)* 'my fingers'; **nga-nakaaznan** *vaio ind 1s»0p* 'I will use INpl.'

18.12 Expressing Feelings and Attitudes

Nishnaabemwin is an extremely expressive language, replete with many expressions designed to communicate strong feelings. For example, the word *esnaa* is often used in this way.

(245) Oonh… ***esnaa*** ngwetaani-gtim nookmis, zaam gzhide.

'Oh, I am so lazy, grandma, it's too hot!' (DP)

Oonh *av* 'oh'; **esnaa** *av* 'really'; **ngwetaani-gtim** *vai ind 1s* 'I am lazy'; **nookmis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandmother'; **zaam** *av* 'too'; **gzhide** *vii ind 0s* 'it is hot weather.'

(246) ***Esnaa*** mno-giizhgad. | 'It's such a nice day.' (BP)

Esnaa *av* 'really'; **mno-giizhgad** *vii ind 0s* 'INsg is a nice day.'

(247) A: Waawan nigo gdaa-zaasgokwaadmaw? Miinwaa doodooshaaboo ngodnaagaans nigwa gdaa-ziignamaw? B: ***Esnaa maaba gwiizhenzhish***! Aaniish mnik waawnoon ge-zaasgokwaadmoonaanh?

A: 'Could you fry me an egg? And also pour me a glass of milk?'
B: 'Gee, this little boy! How many eggs do you want me to fry for you?' (IT)

Waawan *ni 0s* 'egg'; **nigo** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gdaa-zaasgokwaadmaw** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'should I fry Y for you (SG)'; **Miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **doodooshaaboo** *ni 0s* 'milk'; **ngodnaagaans** *ni meas 0* 'one cup'; **nigwa** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gdaa-ziignamaw** *vta ind 1s»2s* 'should I pour Y for you (SG)'; **Esnaa** *av* 'really'; **maaba** *prn 3sProx* 'this'; **gwiizhenzhish** *na pej 3sProx* 'bad boy'; **Aaniish** *av* 'how'; **mnik** *av* 'many'; **waawnoon** *ni 0p* 'eggs'; **ge-zaasgokwaadmoonaanh** *vta ic conj 1s»2s* '(CCNJ) I will fry Y for you (SG).'

(248) A: Aapji go nbakde. Gaawiin ndoonji-wiisnisii eko-dgoshnaanh maampii kinoomaagegamgong.
B: ***Esnaa giishaach***! Gaa na gegoo ggii-yaanziin zhoonyaans wii-wiisniyin?

A: 'I'm really hungry. I haven't eaten since I got here to school.'
B: 'That's too bad! Didn't you have money that you could eat with?' (MO)

Aapji *av* 'really'; **nbakde** *vai ind 1s* 'I am hungry'; **Gaawiin** *av* 'not'; **ndoonji-wiisnisii** *vai ind neg 1s* 'I did not eat'; **eko-dgoshnaanh** *vai ic conj 1s* '(CCNJ) since I arrived'; **maampii** *av* 'here'; **kinoomaagegamgong** *ni 0 loc* 'at school'; **Esnaa** *av* 'really'; **giishaach** *av* 'too bad'; **Gaa** *av* 'not'; **na** *av* 'yes/no question'; **gegoo** *prn indef 0* 'any'; **ggii-yaanziin** *vti ind neg 2s»0s* 'you (SG) did not have INsg'; **zhoonyaans** *ni 0s* 'money'; **wii-wiisniyin** *vai conj 2s* '(CONJ) you (SG) could eat.'

Many other expressive adverbs exist as well.

(249) Aa, ***Otaayaa***! Niibaakhom, ggii-mzhikooz.

'Oh! Nibakom! So you were wounded!' (SO6.48)

> **Aa** *av* 'well'; **Otaayaa** *av* 'oh my'; **Niibaakhom** *na 3sProx* 'Niibaakhom'; **ggii-mzhikooz** *vai ind 2s* 'you (SG) were wounded.'

(250) ***Otaahaa***, gii-nimgaashin giiwenh wa nini.

'Wow! That man had left a trail along the way.' (SO1.35)

> **Otaahaa** *av* 'oh my!'; **gii-nimgaashin** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went away leaving a trail'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that'; **nini** *na 3sProx* 'man.'

(251) ***Otaahaa***! Mii giiwenh zhaazhi go aabta-giigoonywid wa!

'Goodness! He is already half-fish!' (SO3.29)

> **Otaahaa** *av* 'oh my!'; **Mii** *av* 'then'; **giiwenh** *av* 'allegedly'; **zhaazhi** *av* 'already'; **aabta-giigoonywid** *vai conj 3sProx* '(CONJ) ANsg is half become a fish'; **wa** *prn 3sProx* 'that one.'

18.13 Baby Talk and Verbs of Compassion

When talking to babies, the suffix /-ishi/ can be added to a verb to produce a diminutive verb, as in the following example, where /-ishi/ is added to *waawnigaazi*, 'look cute.' The /z/ of the verb palatalizes to /zh/ (IPA /ʒ/).

(252) Gesnaa waawninaagzhishi biibiishens! | 'What a cute little baby!'

> **Gesnaa** *av* 'exceedingly'; **waawninaagzhishi** *vai dim ind 3sProx* 'little ANsg looks cute'; **biibiishens** *na dim 3sProx* 'little baby.'

In other cases, endearment is signalled by a weakening of /ch/ (IPA /tʃ/) to /sh/ (IPA /ʃ/) in *gaachiinyi*, 'be small,' which becomes *gaashiinyi*.

(253) Zaam gsha go naa gaashiinyi! | 'Oh my, slhe's just too little!'

> **Zaam** *av* 'too'; **gsha** *av* emphatic particle; **go naa** *av* emphatic particles; **gaashiinyi** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg is small.'

18.14 Additional Reading

The many syntactic works of Rhodes cited in the bibliography provide a good beginning to an understanding of the fundamentals of the syntax of Nishnaabemwin.

Mii iw.

Glossary

« » see ANGLE BRACKETS.

[ ] see SQUARE BRACKETS.

/ / see SLASHES.

ABSOLUTIVE See ERGATIVE.

ABSTRACT Designating an analysis that seeks to capture broad linguistic generalizations, traditionally by positing UNDERLYING FORMS and a battery of RULES to get from the underlying forms to actually pronounced forms, as opposed to an analysis that is more superficial but also more specific. For example, an abstract analysis of ANIMATE NOUN PLURAL formation posits a single form for the plural suffix, /-ag/, which interacts PHONOLOGICALLY with NOUN STEMS to create the variant forms that noun plurals show. A less abstract analysis simply asserts that the noun plural SUFFIX can have variable forms such as /-ag/, /-g/, /-wag/, /-oog/ and /-iig/. Both approaches have their value in the teaching of grammar.

ABSTRACT NOUN A NOUN referring to a concept rather than a physical object. Most abstract nouns in Nishnaabemwin are DERIVED from VERBS. Example: *naadmaagewin*, 'help,' and *goopesewin*, '[religious] confession.'

ABSTRACT STEM SHAPE A linguistically determined form of a NOUN or VERB that allows for its different INFLECTIONAL forms to be produced relatively straightforwardly by LINGUISTIC RULES. For example, the abstract stem shape of the noun *nini*, 'man,' is /ininiw/ (or /aniniw/ for some speakers). This stem has a final /w/ does not appear in the simple SINGULAR form, but is present in the PLURAL *ninwag*; its absence in the singular can be explained by a very general rule that deletes WORD-FINAL /w/ and /y/.

ACTIVE VOICE Designating a TRANSITIVE VERB form which casts the SEMANTIC AGENT or EXPERIENCER in the semantic MACROROLE of ACTOR. Example: *Gii-ni-waabmaan Nenbozh bnensan*, 'Nenabush saw some birds.' Here Nenabush has the SEMANTIC ROLE of EXPERIENCER, and is cast as the ACTOR (MACROROLE) in the verbal PREDICATION. The birds have the semantic role of PATIENT, and are cast in the MACROROLE of GOAL. Compare PASSIVE VOICE.

ACTOR In a TRANSITIVE PREDICATION, the SEMANTIC MACROROLE associated with the initiator of an action, the causer of the action, or the experiencer of a thought or sensation. For example, in the predication, *Mooz nwaabmaa*, 'I see a moose,' the actor is FIRST PERSON SINGULAR, translated as 'I.' The ACTOR MACROROLE often corresponds to the English SUBJECT of ACTIVE VOICE sentences. Compare GOAL.

ADJECTIVE In English, a word associated with a NOUN which expresses some attribute of the noun, e.g., in the phrase *red rose*, *red* is an adjective modifying the noun *rose*. In Nishnaabemwin, descriptive concepts are expressed by means of DESCRIPTIVE VERBS and PRENOUNS, for example, *mskwaa(mgad)*, 'INsg is red' (VII), and *msko-disgan*, 'red paint' (NI).

ADJUNCT CLAUSE Specifying a SUBORDINATE (DEPENDENT) CLAUSE that is not filling a basic SEMANTIC ROLE requirement of an associated verb (that is, is not a COMPLEMENT), but instead provides auxiliary information such as the time, manner, or location of the action or event of the main verb. Adjunct clauses are generally ADVERBIAL in nature. Example: *Ngizhiibii gaa-namid*, 'I am itching where ANsg bit me.' Here *gaa-namid*, 'where ANsg bit me,' specifies a location relevant to the MAIN VERB, *ngizhiibii*, 'I am itching.' Adjunct clauses almost always have verbs INFLECTED for CONJUNCT ORDER. Compare COMPLEMENT CLAUSE.

ADVERB — A word that modifies a VERB, clause, sentence, or another adverb, usually by indicating aspects of location, time, degree, or MANNER. For example, *noopming*, 'inland, in the bush,' *wiiba*, 'right away,' *jiinaago*, 'yesterday,' and *aapji*, 'really.' In the sentence *Naamkamig nji-nakii*, 'ANsg works underground,' the term *naamkamig*, 'underground' is an adverb, though it corresponds to a NOUN in English.

AFFIX — A general term to refer to a PREFIX or a SUFFIX that is attached to a STEM. For example, in *nwiisnimi*, 'we (excl.) are eating, both /ni-/, FIRST PERSON (INDEPENDENT ORDER), and /-mi/, FIRST PERSON PLURAL (INDEPENDENT ORDER), are affixes, the former a prefix and the latter a suffix. See PREFIX, SUFFIX, STEM.

AFFIXATION — The process of attaching a PREFIX or SUFFIX to a STEM.

AFFIXED — Attached as a PREFIX or SUFFIX to a STEM.

AFFRICATE — A CONSONANT sound made by momentarily stopping the flow of air somewhere in the vocal tract, and then releasing it with a short period of turbulence (producing a FRICATIVE). The affricates of Nishnaabemwin are /dʒ/ «j» and /tʃ/ «ch». Compare STOP, FRICATIVE, NASAL, GLIDE.

AGENT — The willful, conscious initiator of an action or event. Usually cast in the MACROROLE of ACTOR in a TRANSITIVE PREDICATION, and as the S-ROLE (SUBJECT) of an INTRANSITIVE. For example, in *baashkzwaad*, 'shoot AN,' the AGENT is the shooter, as it is in *baashkzige*, 'do shooting.' See SEMANTIC ROLE, FORCE.

AGE-STRATIFIED — Designating speech forms that show variation on the basis of age. For example, among Nishnaabemwin speakers, older speakers tend to have richer vocabularies and grammatical structures than younger speakers, due in part to language attrition.

AGREE — See AGREEMENT.

AGREEMENT — Cross-indexing between parts of speech for GRAMMATICAL FEATURES. For example, in the phrase *giw ninwag*, 'those men,' the DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN *giw* reflects ANIMATE PLURAL PROXIMATE (foregrounded) GRAMMATICAL features. The NOUN that this DEMONSTRATIVE is associated with, *ninwag*, is also ANIMATE PLURAL PROXIMATE. The PRONOUN thus AGREES (has the same) GRAMMATICAL FEATURES as the NOUN that it is modifying.

AI VERB — An intransitive verb having an animate subject. In this work, usually abbreviated VAI.

ALGONQUIAN — The LANGUAGE FAMILY to which Nishnaabemwin belongs. The Algonquian family includes the languages Cree, Delaware, Micmac, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Fox, Menominee, Potawatomi, Naskapi, and many others.

ALGONQUIN — A DIALECT of Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) spoken in Quebec, and the adjacent area of Eastern Ontario.

ALLOMORPHS — The variant forms that a MORPHEME has. For example, /-ag/, /-iig/, /-oog/ and /-g/ can be said to be allomorphs of the ANIMATE PLURAL SUFFIX appearing on NOUNS; and /miizh/ and /miin/ are allomorphs of the VTA VERB *miinaad*, 'give Y to AN.'

ALLOPHONES — The variant pronunciations that a given PHONEME can have in a particular language. For example, two of the allophones of /g/ in Nishnaabemwin are [g] and [k], the latter being the pronunciation of /g/ at the end of a word or before a VOICELESS CONSONANT. For example, in the word *waagosh*, 'fox,' the phoneme /g/ has the allophone [g], as opposed to its pronunciation in *waagshan*, 'fox (obv.),' where it shows the allophone [k].

ALLOPHONY — Pertaining to ALLOPHONES.

ALVEOLAR — Referring to a CONSONANT sound pronounced by putting the tongue tip on the bony ridge behind the upper front teeth. For example /s/, /n/ and /d/ as pronounced by many Nishnaabemwin speakers.

ALVEOLAR RIDGE — The bony ridge behind the upper front teeth, where the tongue tip is located for many speakers in articulating the CONSONANTS /d/, /t/, /z/, /s/, and /n/.

ALVEOPALATAL — Of CONSONANTS, referring to those made in the region between the ALVEOLAR RIDGE and the HARD PALATE. /zh/ and /sh/.

ANALYTIC — Characterizing an approach to language that proceeds by breaking down units of language into their component parts. For example, the verb form *nwaabmignaanig*, 'ANpl see us (excl.)' can be analyzed into the component MORPHEMES /ni+waabam+igw+naan+igw/. Compare SYNTHETIC.

ANGLE BRACKETS — The characters « and », used in the grammar to identify letters as opposed to sounds, for example, «b» represents the written letter that begins the words *bean* and *boodwe*.

ANIMATE — One of two GRAMMATICAL GENDERS, or CLASSES OF NOUNS, the other being INANIMATE. Membership in the animate grammatical class is largely based on meanings, in that living things, including humans, animals, spirits, trees, and most plants are included in the animate classes of nouns. See also INANIMATE.

ANISHINAABEMOWIN — The self-designation of the language group called in English Ojibwe (also Ojibwa, Ojibway).

ANTECEDENT — In grammar, usually referring to a NOUN PHRASE or other expression that is co-referenced with and precedes another. In normal conversation, things being talked about have to be identified; once they are identified, they can be referred to with general PRONOUNS and VERBAL INFLECTIONS. The term antecedent is used to identify some more explicit identifier to which a subsequent PRONOUN or INFLECTION is associated in order to have its reference properly identified. So, for example, a storyteller may identify a character at the beginning of a story as *bezhig nini*, 'a certain man,' and afterwards use only VERBAL INFLECTIONS to refer to the same individual. In order to properly identify who the verbal inflections are referring to, however, there must be recourse to the original, ANTECEDENT NOUN PHRASE, *bezhig nini*.

ANTIPASSIVE — Designating a process that reduces the number of SEMANTIC ROLES of a VERB by taking away the GOAL MACROROLE. So a TRANSITIVE VERB becomes INTRANSITIVE, since the GOAL can no longer be fully specified. Called ANTIPASSIVE because it has the opposite effect of the PASSIVE, which promotes the goal to S-ROLE (SUBJECT) status. Examples: AI suffix /-(i)ge/, as in *baashkizge*, 'do shooting.'; AI suffix /-iwe/, as in *dknowe*, 'hold (people), make an arrest.'

APPLICATIVE — A general term referring to the various SEMANTIC ROLES of a VERB that are not AGENTS, EXPERIENCERS or PATIENTS, but especially RECIPIENTS and BENEFACTIVES. While the patient is often the default SEMANTIC ROLE to be associated with the GOAL, many languages have rules which allow the "promotion" of human applicatives to the (MACROROLE) status of GOAL, as in English, *I gave Myrna a book*, where the RECIPIENT Myrna is in the position of a DIRECT OBJECT (the English equivalent of a goal). In Nishnaabemwin promotion of human APPLICATIVES is largely obligatory, so transfer verbs are almost always VTA if a RECIPIENT is mentioned.

APPLICATIVE ADVANCEMENT — To promote an APPLICATIVE to the MACROROLE of GOAL. See APPLICATIVE.

APPOSITIVE — A grammatical construction involving two nominals used together to refer to the same entity, such as *wiinwaa Nishnaabeg*, 'they, the Indians.'

ARBITRARY — A linguistic relationship between form and meaning is arbitrary if the relationship is based on convention rather than on any formal (iconic) correspondence between the objects. The relationship between the pronunciation and meaning of words is mostly arbitrary in human language. For example, the words *mik* and *beaver* bear no principled or structured relationship to the animal, so that one cannot say that one word is in some way a more "natural" way to designate it. However, the name *gaagaagi* for 'crow' or 'raven' is not arbitrary, because the name in some way actually resembles a feature of the object, namely, the sound it makes.

ARGUMENT — Designating any NOMINAL or PRONOMINAL element filling the SEMANTIC ROLES associated with a verb or relative element. For example, the expression *Wiiyaas gii- miijin Zhaabdiis,* 'John ate meat,' has two arguments, *wiiyaas,* 'meat,' and *Zhaabdiis,* 'John.' This is an especially tricky linguistic term, because it has a completely unrelated meaning in normal language use.

ASPECT — Referring to the way a verbal action, event, or state is cast— in Nishnaabemwin, especially with reference to its beginning or ending. Specific PREVERBS and VERBS exist in the language for focussing on the beginning and end of an event, such as *maajtaa* and *maajii-* 'start (to)…' There are also special MODES, the PRETERIT and PRETERIT DUBITATIVE, to make reference to completed action. See MODE.

ASSIMILATION — The process of one sound becoming like another either in whole or in part. For example, the sound /g/ in *waagosh,* 'fox,' DEVOICES to [k] in the word *waagshag,* 'foxes,' due its being adjacent to a voiceless sound, /sh/ (IPA /S/).

ASPIRATION — A puff of air accompanying the release of some VOICELESS STOP CONSONANTS, as with the /p/ in English *pit.*

BACK — Characterizing a VOWEL produced with the tongue placed relatively far back in the mouth. The back vowels of Nishnaabemwin are /a/, /aa/, /o/, and /oo/. Compare FRONT.

BACKGROUND — To make less prominent. In Nishnaabemwin, backgrounded NOMINALS are often made OBVIATIVE. An element can also be backgrounded by INCORPORATING it. See especially OBVIATIVE.

BACKNESS — A way by which vowels are classified, relating to how different vowels are pronounced, involving the degree to which the tongue body is moved forward or back in the mouth to pronounce the vowel. See FRONT, MID, BACK.

BASE — In morphology, a working term to refer to the form that a given morphological operation applies to, such as PREFIXATION or INITIAL CHANGE. For example, the plural of a noun is formed by adding a suffix to the singular, which thus serves as the base for the operation of plural suffixation. See LEXEME, MORPHOSYNTACTIC WORD, STEM.

BASE FIVE — A counting system that goes to five and then "starts over," treating six as five plus one. There are vestiges of such a system in Nishnaabemwin. Another term for this is quintenary. See BASE TEN.

BASE FORM — A form of a word in which all MORPHEMES are specified in their basic shapes. For example, the base form of *dgoshnoog,* 'they are leaving,' is /dagoshin+w+ag/, which then undergoes PHONOLOGICAL and MORPHOLOGICAL RULES to derive the pronounced form.

BASE TEN — A counting system that goes to ten and then "starts over," treating eleven as ten plus one. This is the basic system presently in effect in Nishnaabemwin and in English, though there is evidence in Nishnaabemwin that it long ago also had a BASE FIVE system.

BASIC WORD — see STEM

BENEFACTIVE — An expression or construction involving the undertaking of an action for the benefit of another, such as *zhitmaw,* 'make something for s.o.' (VTA). In Nishnaabemwin all benefactive verbs are VTA.

BENEFICIARY — A SEMANTIC ROLE, that of the person(s) benefitting from the actions of another, the one for whom something is done. Since beneficiaries are almost always human, and Nishnaabemwin grammar gives prominence to humans, beneficiaries are usually cast in the MACROROLE of GOAL.

BILABIAL — Of CONSONANT sounds, articulated by putting the lips together. In Nishnaabemwin, the bilabial consonants are /b/, /p/, /m/, and /w/.

BILINGUALISM — A situation in which individuals speak more than one language. Change to a language often comes from the influence of languages through bilingualism. Most Nishnaabemwin speakers are bilingual, speaking English and Nishnaabemwin. This results in much BORROWING from English.

BODY PART TERM — A noun used to specify a part of the body, such as *nkaad,* 'my leg,' or *nzid,* 'my foot.' Body part terms are almost all DEPENDENT NOUNS in Nishnaabemwin. They also have MEDIAL forms that appear in body part descriptive verbs, such as *mnogaade,* 'have nice legs' (VAI), with medial /-gaad-/, 'leg,' and other verbs.

BORROWING — The process in which one language takes an item of vocabulary from another language, to use as its own word. For example, English has borrowed the words *moose* and *moccasin* from some Algonquian language. Conversely, Nishnaabemwin has borrowed the word *truck* from English. Often words borrowed from English in Nishnaabemwin retain their English spelling, as with «truck». They may also become more or less adapted to the pronunciation patterns of the host language, as in *Zhaabdiis*, a name borrowed into Nishnaabemwin from French, *Jean Baptiste*. An alternative to borrowing is COINING.

CARDINAL NUMBER — A number that represents a specific amount as opposed to a ranking, such as *bezhig*, 'one,' *niizh*, 'two,' and *nswi*, 'three.' Compare ORDINAL NUMBER.

CAUSATIVE — A word or expression which indicates an ACTOR who makes a GOAL do something, or causes a goal to undergo some process or event. For example, the VTA VERB *nbeh*, 'put AN to bed,' is CAUSATIVE, and has a structure meaning, 'make AN sleep.' One productive way that causatives are formed in Nishnaabemwin is by adding TA FINAL /-h/ to a VAI verb stem.

CENTRAL ALGONQUIAN — Used to refer to the ALGONQUIAN languages which are not PLAINS, and not EASTERN, that is, those which are spoken, or were historically spoken, in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, and in the Sub-Arctic. Nishnaabemwin is a Central Algonquian language.

CHAINING — Also called DIALECT CHAINING. The process of slow language variation from one community to the next, creating close similarity between adjacent communities, but increasing divergence as communities are farther apart. A very common phenomenon in aboriginal languages.

CHANGED CONJUNCT — A VERB form showing INITIAL CHANGE (and CONJUNCT INFLECTION, but initial change only applies to conjuncts). For example, the second verb (with *gaa-*) in *Pii dash gii-bzigwiiyaan, gaa-zhi-gnabseyaang*, '(but) when I stood up, we capsized,' is in CHANGED CONJUNCT and the first, PLAIN CONJUNCT. Compare PLAIN CONJUNCT.

CHIPPEWA — 1. A dialect of ANISHINAABEMOWIN (Ojibwe) presently spoken in Minnesota and adjacent areas. 2. Referring to non-Odawa dialects of Anishinaabemowin historically spoken in Michigan. Many Chippewa people relocated to Canada in the nineteenth century, and constitute one of the sub-dialects of Nishnaabemwin.

CITATION FORM — Of all the many INFLECTIONS that a NOUN or VERB can have, the one listed as a main entry in the dictionary is called its citation form. So, for example, most NOUNS are listed in their FIRST PERSON SINGULAR PROXIMATE form, such as *kwe*, 'woman,' as opposed to a PLURAL, *kwewag*, or an OBVIATIVE, *kwewan*.

CLASSES OF NOUNS — See NOUN CLASSES.

CLASSIFICATORY MEDIAL — A MEDIAL that is a CLASSIFIER, such as /-eg-/ in *dkwegad*, 'be short (of cloth) (VII).'

CLASSIFICATORY NUMERAL — A number with a classifier attached, as in *bezhgwaabik*, 'one (metal) object,' which has classifier /aabik/ attached to *bezhig*, 'one.'

CLASSIFIER — A linguistic element that classifies NOUNS into SEMANTIC categories. In Nishnaabemwin, there are several classifiers, such as /aabiig/, 'stringlike,' as in *dkwaabiigad*, 'be short (of strings).' Other classifiers include /aabik/, 'inorganic solid,' /aatig/, 'organic solid,' /iig, eg/, 'clothlike,' and /minag/, 'round, berrylike.'

CLAUSE — A VERB with its associated ADVERBS and NOMINALS. A simple sentence may have only one clause, while a complex sentence usually has more than one.

CLITIC — A PARTICLE or other ADVERBIAL word that fuses PHONOLOGICALLY with an adjacent word. Clitics in Nishnaabemwin include *dash* and *go*, among others.

CLUSTER — A group of two or more CONSONANTS.

COALESCE — See COALESCENCE.

COALESCENCE — In PHONOLOGY and MORPHOLOGY, any process which takes two separate entities, usually sounds, and fuses them together into a single entity. For example, many linguists would analyze the /oo/ of the word *kikoog*, 'kettles, pots,' as involving a coalescence of /w/ and /a/, in a basic (UNDERLYING) form /kikw+ag/.

COGNATES — Two words in SISTER LANGUAGES that come from the same word in their parent language. For example, the Cree word *amisk* and the Nishnaabemwin word *mik*, 'beaver,' are cognates.

COINING — Making up a new word for a new concept in the language. For example, a snowmobile is called *gidaagon bembizod*, ''that (ANsg) which races along upon the snow,' by some Nishnaabemwin speakers. An alternative to coining is BORROWING.

COMITATIVE — See VERB OF ACCOMPANIMENT.

COMMUNICATIVE ACT — The act of speaking, conventionally defined as involving a speaker (FIRST PERSON), an addressee (SECOND PERSON), and topics of conversation (THIRD PERSON).

COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE — Knowledge of how to use language appropriately in different social settings and for different social purposes or ends. Compare GRAMMATICAL COMPETENCE.

COMMUNITY LANGUAGE USAGE — The pattern of language shared by the speakers of a particular community, including what LANGUAGES and DIALECTS are spoken, and the particular vocabulary, pronunction, etc.

COMPARATIVE — Referring to linguistic forms which explicitly compare things, or express one thing in comparison to another. For example, in English SUFFIX *-er* can be added to ADJECTIVES to make a comparative form, such as *bigger* and *older*. Some Nishnaabemwin speakers use *nwaj*, 'more,' in comparative constructions.

COMPARATIVE METHOD — Used to define a method of historical language study that compares related languages in order to determine their common ancestry. This method is based upon finding systematic phonological correlations in core vocabulary.

COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING — A PHONOLOGICAL PROCESS, in which a sound adjacent to one that is deleted becomes lengthened, to compensate for the loss of the deleted segment. For example, the form, *nwaabndaan*, 'I see INsg,' is often analyzed as having a basic structure /ni+waaband+am+n/, and the /m/ of the THEME SUFFIX /-am/ is deleted before the following /n/, and to compensate for the loss of this segment, the short /a/ of the theme sign lengthens to /aa/.

COMPLEMENT — Referring to something that completes another thing. In grammar, most frequently in reference to NOUN PHRASES and CLAUSES that serve as GOALS of TRANSITIVE VERBS. Example: *Gii-waabmaan Zhaabdiis moozoon*, 'John saw a moose,' has as complement of *gii-waabmaan* the NOUN (PHRASE) *moozoon*; *Maanii gii-dbaajma [Rogeran gii-ni-boontaad]*, 'Mary said that Roger had quit,' has as a SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENT of *gii-dbaajma*, the material in brackets. In Nishnaabemwin, complement clauses of verbs of speaking often do not appear as the goal of the verb, because the person addressed is made the explicit grammatical goal. See also ADJUNCT CLAUSE.

COMPLEX SENTENCE — A sentence containing more than one VERB, that is, a multi-clausal sentence. See CLAUSE.

COMPOUND — 1. A word made up of two or more independent stems, such as *bzhiki-wiiyaas*, 'beef,' which contains *bzhiki*, 'cow,' and *wiiyaas*, 'meat.' 2. Any expression that consists of two or more of the same type of elements joined together, e.g., *giw waabgan-pwaagnag miinwaa semaan*, 'those clay pipes and tobacco,' which joins together two nouns.

CONCRETE NOUN — A noun that refers to physical objects, including living beings as well as inanimate objects. Compare ABSTRACT NOUN.

CONDITION(AL) CLAUSE — A clause expressing a condition, typically, in Nishnaabemwin, with *giishpin*, 'if.' Example: *Giishpin bwaa-ndamtaayaambaanh, ndaa-gii-zhaa*, 'If I weren't busy, I'd go there.'

CONJUGATION TABLE — An orderly presentation of the INFLECTIONAL forms of a verb, usually organized according to PERSON and NUMBER categories. See PARADIGM.

CONJUNCT ORDER — One of three INFLECTIONAL SYSTEMS on VERBS for indicating the grammatical properties (PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER, and OBVIATION) of ACTORS and GOALS. The conjunct order system is used when the verb is in a question sentence asking who, what, when, where, why and how, and when the verb is part of a sentence that specifies such things as the condition, location, or time of the main verb. For example, *giishpin wiisniyaanh*..., 'if I eat...' is conjunct order. See ORDER, INDEPENDENT ORDER, IMPERATIVE ORDER.

CONJUNCTION — 1. An expression that links things together, such as *shi* in Nishnaabemwin numbers, e.g., *mdaaswi-shi-niizh*, 'twelve'; 2. A part of speech that links phrases and clauses together, such as English *and* and *when*. The equivalent Nishnaabemwin terms are usually classified as ADVERBS, which is somewhat misleading.

CONSONANT — One of the two basic classes of sounds in language, the other being VOWELS. Consonants are generally produced by obstructing the flow of air from the lungs in particular ways at particular locations. Consonants are classified on the basis of their PLACE OF ARTICULATION, MANNER OF ARTICULATION, and the STATE OF THE GLOTTIS (VOICED or UNVOICED). The basic classes of consonants in Nishnaabemwin are STOPS, FRICATIVE, AFFRICATES, NASALS, and GLIDES.

CONSONANT CLUSTER — See CLUSTER.

CONSTITUENT — Any identifiable unit within a SYNTACTIC structural complex. Constituents are different at different levels within a structure. For example, the expression *niizh kwewag*, 'two women,' can be considered a NOUN PHRASE constituent, itself consisting of two constituents, *niizh*, 'two,' a number, and *kwewag*, 'women,' a noun. In the sentence *Niizh kwewag gii-ni-giiwewag*, 'Two women went home,' *niizh kwewag* is a noun phrase (constituent) of the whole sentence, and *gii-ni-giiwewag*, (possibly) a VERB PHRASE. See also CONSTITUENCY.

CONSTITUENCY — In SYNTAX, refers to an account of the words and phrases that make up a larger syntactic unit. For example, a NOUN PHRASE in Nishnaabemwin can have as constituents (members) a DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN, a NUMBER, a HEAD NOUN, and a RELATIVE CLAUSE.

CONTEMPTIVE — A special form of a noun reflecting the speaker's attitude toward the object being referred to, communicating vaguely negative or dismissive attitudes, such as 'just an ordinary one,' 'of no great value,' or 'any old.' An example is *truckoonh*, 'just any old truck.' Contemptives should be distinguished from PEJORATIVES. Contemptives are formed by adding a SUFFIX to a NOUN base.

CONTENT QUESTION — A question that asks for information other than a simple yes (*enh*) or no (*gaawii(n)*), such as who, what, where, when, why, how, and how many questions. Such questions in Nishnaabemwin have the question word at the beginning of the sentence, and the verb has CONJUNCT ORDER INFLECTION. For example: *Wenesh gaa-bkobiised*, 'Who fell into the water?' Compare YES/NO QUESTION.

CONVERSATIONAL CONTEXT — The physical and social setting in which speech takes place, including the particular time, the particular place, and the particular participants. Compare TEXTUAL CONTEXT.

COORDINATION — Putting two (or more) related things together, such as in the expression *bkwezhgan miinwaa doodooshaaboo*, 'bread and milk.'

DAUGHTER LANGUAGE — A language that is the descendent of an earlier (mother) language. Two languages that descend from the same language are said to be SISTER LANGUAGES, for example, Ojibwe and Cree are daughter languages of Proto-Algonquian, and sisters of each other.

DEFAULT — Constituting the basic, most commonly used form of a grammatical element. For example, for many speakers of Nishnaabemwin, /doo-/ has become the default form of the THIRD PERSON PREFIX.

DEFECTIVE FOOT — A METRICAL FOOT consisting of a single syllable, usually containing a LONG VOWEL. For example, the word *emkwaan*, 'spoon,' begins with a defective foot consisting of the syllable /em/.

DEGREE ADVERB — An adverb that expresses the idea of "how much," or "to what extent." Examples: *zaam*, 'too much,' *niibwa*, 'a lot, much.'

DEICTIC — A word which relates an utterance to a particular physical context, including references to the speaker, the addressee, people and objects in the physical context, and the time and place of speaking (or writing). Common deictic forms are PERSONAL PRONOUNS and DEMONSTRATIVES.

DELAYED MODE Referring to a command that is to be carried out at a later time, such as *Baamaa waabang bi-zhaakan,* 'Come over tomorrow.' Compare IMMEDIATE MODE.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN A PRONOUN such as *maaba,* 'this (anim.),' or *giw,* 'those (anim.),' that picks out referents on the basis of their closeness (proximity) to some reference point, often the speaker's location. Demonstrative pronouns specifying closet proximity to the speaker are said to be PROXIMAL (not to be confused with PROXIMATE), those further away, DISTAL, and those furthest away, REMOTE.

DENOMINAL Referring to any morphological process that takes a noun as a base and produces a word of a different part of speech, in Nishnaabemwin, usually a verb. For example, a verb of being, such as *niniiwi,* 'be(come) a man.'

DENTAL Referring to a CONSONANT articulated roughly in the area behind the upper front teeth, for example /d/ and /t/ for some Nishnaabemwin speakers.

DEONTIC Referring to modals that express permission and obligation, as in English *you may leave now* (permission) or *you must leave now* (obligation). Compare EPISTEMIC.

DEPARTICIPIAL NOUNS Nouns formed from intransitive verbs by the application of initial change, and the addition of a contemptive suffix, e.g., *dekaashiinh,* 'tourist,' from vai *dkaashi,* 'be carefree, have fun.' These nouns are more noun-like than regular participles in lacking all verbal inflection. See PARTICIPLE.

DEPENDENT CLAUSE A CLAUSE that cannot stand alone as a fully-formed sentence by itself. For example, in the complex sentence *Miinwaa dash gaa gegoo waa-zhichged iw wii-zaagdooded,* 'There was nothing he could do to crawl out,' the dependent clause is *iw wii-zaagdooded,* 'that he crawl out,' which would not ordinarily be used by itself. Also called a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.

DEPENDENT NOUN Referring to a NOUN that requires a POSSESSOR, such as *nkaad,* 'my leg,' and *ngwis,* 'my son.' In Nishnaabemwin, most BODY PART TERMS and terms for relations (KINSHIP TERMS) are dependent nouns. Compare INDEPENDENT NOUN.

DERIVATION 1. The process of applying all applicable rules to the basic form (base form) of a word in order to move from an abstract shape stored in a person's memory to the actually pronounced form of a word. 2. Referring to the process of creating new words (stems) in the language.

DERIVE To take a STEM and add AFFIXES which produce a new stem differing significantly in either meaning, part of speech, or basic form. For example, the SUFFIX /-magad/ can be added to VAI verbs to derive corresponding VII verbs, as in *kidoomgad,* 'INsg says,' from VAI *kido,* 'say, speak.'

DESCRIPTIVE VERB A Nishnaabemwin verb which describes a person or thing, for example, *biinzi,* 'ANsg is clean,' and *ggaan'gaade,* 'ANsg has long legs,' are both descriptive verbs.

DESIDERATIVE Expressing a desire. See VOLITIONAL.

DETRANSITIVIZE To make a TRANSITIVE VERB into an INTRANSITIVE by eliminating one of its SEMANTIC ROLES. Specific DETRANSITIVIZING processes have their own names, such as PASSIVE and ANTIPASSIVE.

DEVERBAL Referring to something that has been changed from being a VERB into something else. For example, *bboon,* 'be winter, be a year,' is a verb, but *bboon* can also be used as a noun, in which case it can be called a DEVERBAL NOUN, as opposed to say, *mik,* 'beaver,' which has not been changed from a verb into a noun, and so is *not* deverbal.

DEVOICING A phonological (sound) process whereby a normally VOICED sound becomes voiceless. For example, the PHONEMES /b/, /d/, /g/, /z/, /zh/ and /j/ are all DEVOICED at the end of a word in Nishnaabemwin, and are thus pronounced as [p], [t], [k], [s], [sh], and [ch], respectively.

DIALECT A regional VARIETY of a language, often identified by name, such as Chippewa or Odawa.

DIALECT CHAINING See CHAINING.

DICTIONARY — An ordered listing of the words of a language, along with pronunciations, meanings, and various GRAMMATICAL FORMS. There is at present (in the year 2000) no real dictionary in Nishnaabemwin, as all existing wordlists are really glossaries, which define Nishnaabemwin words in terms of their English translation correspondences.

DIMINUTIVE — Designating a noun referring to a small or immature member of a group, formed by adding /-ens/ or some variant to a base noun. For example, *mikoons*, 'beaver kit,' is the diminutive of *mik*, 'beaver'; *jiimaanens*, 'little boat,' is the diminutive of *jiimaan*, 'boat.'

DIRECT SPEECH — Reported speech which quotes the very words of the speaker, without adjustment, e.g., *Mii dash gaa-naad aw mshkikiiwnini, [Gego nendangen].* 'The doctor told her, ["Do not feel that way about it."]' (AM30.21). Compare INDIRECT SPEECH.

DIRECTIONAL — Designating a small set of MORPHEMES that appear in both PREVERB and ROOT form, and specify the direction of a verbal action in some way. Some directional PREVERBS are *bi-*, 'towards speaker' (root /biid/), *ni-*, 'away from speaker' (root /anim/), *bbaa-*, 'around' (root /babaam/), and *oo-*, 'go and…'

DISJOINT REFERENCE — A requirement on the relationship between the fillers of the SEMANTIC ROLES of VERBS in Nishnaabemwin, which requires that they be GRAMMATICALLY differentiable in crucial ways. FIRST and SECOND PERSON fillers must be completely different; THIRD PERSON fillers must differ in GENDER or OBVIATION. So, for example, one cannot say the equivalent of 'I see us,' because the NOMINAL 'us' would include reference to 'I.'

DISJUNCTION — Contrasting two or more things, as in, *Bezhig na maage niizh?*, 'One, or two?'

DISTAL — Designating a demonstrative pronoun that refers to objects at a second degree of distance from the speaker. For example, in Nishnaabemwin, the PROXIMAL INANIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE is *maanda* (or *ow*), and the DISTAL is *iw* (also *wi*).

DISTINCTIVE SOUNDS — Those sounds in a language which are used crucially to distinguish words of different meaning. For example, in Nishnaabemwin, /b/ and /p/ are distinct sounds, as can be seen from the words *naapi*, 'ANsg laughs in such a way,' and *naabi*, 'ANsg looks (somewhere).'

DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS — Number terms that indicate both quantity and distribution, such as *bebezhig*, 'one by one, one each,' or *neniizh*, 'two by two; two each.'

DITRANSITIVE — Designating a verb, such as *miinaad*, 'give Y to AN,' which has two objects, a SECONDARY OBJECT (in the case of *miinaad*, what is given) and a PRIMARY OBJECT (in the case of *miinaad*, the recipient).

DUBITATIVE — 1. One of four MODES of Nishnaabemwin, endings on VERBS that indicate information either about the time of an action, or the speaker's certainty that a statement being made is true, or both. For example, in *wiisnidig*, 'ANsg must be eating,' the speaker is making an assertion, but allowing for the possibility that it isn't true, that is, is indicating some doubt about the reality of the assertion. This is dubitative. 2. Characterizing a particle that indicates doubt, such as *gnimaa*, 'maybe.'

DUBITATIVE PRETERIT — See PRETERIT DUBITATIVE.

DUBITATIVE PRONOUN — A PRONOUN such as *wegwen(h)*, 'someone or other, something or other,' which is used in contexts of doubt and/or uncertainty.

DUMMY — 1.Dummy subject. In English, all main verbs must have a GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT, even when they logically do not have one, as in weather and date expressions. In such cases, English uses the pronoun *it*, as in 'it's raining,' or 'it's Tuesday.' Nishnaabemwin uses IMPERSONAL VERBS to express many meanings similar to those in which English uses the dummy subject, *it*. In these cases Nishnaabemwin has a dummy INFLECTIONAL subject. 2. Any inherently meaningless element that occurs on the basis of structural requirements.

EASTERN ALGONQUIAN — A sub-group of the ALGONQUIAN language family, which includes Delaware, Micmac, Malecite-Passamaquoddy, Natick, and many other languages.

EMPHATIC — Designating a group of ADVERBIAL PARTICLES used to mark emphasis of particular words or phrases. The most common emphatic particles are *gwa* (also *go*), *naa*, *sa*, and *dash*.

ENCLITIC — A particle which attaches to a word preceding it, often reducing by losing some of its segments. For example, in English, the word *not* is often enclitic to *do*, producing *don't*. In Nishnaabemwin, the word *dash* is often encliticized to the word that precedes it, for example, *miish* (also spelled *mii-sh*), from *mii dash*.

ENCLITICIZE — To attach something to a preceding word as a CLITIC. See ENCLITIC.

ENDING — A SUFFIX, or more particularly, a grouping of all the suffixes on a word taken together as a unit. See SUFFIX.

EPENTHESIS — A phonological process in which a vowel is added in order to separate two vowels, or a consonant is added in order to separate two vowels. For example, /y/ is sometimes added between a vowel-final base and the conjunct suffix /-aan/, '1st person,' as in *boodweyaan(h)*, '(when) I make a fire.'

EPISTEMIC — Referring to modals that express possibilty or certainty, as in English *it might be raining* (possibility), or *it must be raining* (certainty). Compare DEONTIC.

EQUATION — Considering two things equal, as in *naasaab aapiitnigdoon nanda mkakoon*, 'these boxes weigh the same.'

ERGATIVE — Designating any structural contrast which groups the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb together (as absolutives), in distinction to the subject of a transitive (as ergative).

EXCLUSIVE — A distinction made in FIRST PERSON PLURAL. First person plural exclusive excludes the person being spoken to (the SECOND PERSON), as in *nwiisnimi(n)*, 'we (but not you) are eating,' or *ndaansinaa(n)*, 'our (which doesn't include you) daughter.' Compare INCLUSIVE.

EXCRESCENT NASAL — A nasal consonant that is inserted in certain well-defined phonological contexts, such as the [n] in *nDebid*, a common Nishnaabemwin pronunciation of English *David*.

EXISTENTIAL — Any predicate or predication that asserts the existence of an entity at a particular time or place, or generally, e.g., *Yaa gwa Gzhe-mnidoo*. 'There is a God.' (MC); *Gye go games wii-yaanoon, ggwejkandiwnan*. 'Also there will be games and races.' (AM17.5)

EXOCENTRIC — Designating compounds and other expressions that do not have internal HEADs. For example, *jiibaakwe-kik*, 'cooking pot,' is internally headed, having *kik* , 'pot,' as its head; *gchi-mookmaan*, 'American,' is not internally headed, because *mookmaan*, 'knife,' is inanimate and cannot serve as the head of an animate compound noun.

EXPERIENCER — The SEMANTIC ROLE of the perceiver or undergoer, voluntary or involuntary, of some stimulus, such as a sight, a sound, a smell, a taste, or a thought. All verbs of perception have experiencers as actors, as in *mnomaandan*, 'smell IN and like its smell' (VTI).

EXPRESSION — A very general term that is usually used to group together some language elements that share a property. For example, the term *numeric expression* could be used to specify various kinds of constructions in Nishnaabemwin that have NUMBERS in them, such as a PHRASE with an independent number WORD, together with a PRENOUN plus NOUN combination.

EXPRESSIVE PARTICLE — A PARTICLE such as *oonh* or *otaayaa* that is used to express an emotional reaction to a statement or situation.

EXTENDED (PERSON) PREFIXES — The longer forms of PERSON PREFIXES, containing /d/ and a following VOWEL, such as *ndoo-*, *gdoo-*, and *doo-*. See PERSON PREFIX.

FEMININE — Referring to any English word or expression that can have associated with it the PRONOUN *she*, that is, an expression that is grammatically treated as female. This category has little relevance to Nishnaabemwin grammar, since the GRAMMATICAL GENDER contrast is ANIMATE and INANIMATE.

FINAL — The last element in the basic structure of a word, usually defining its PART OF SPEECH. For example, in *minwenim*, 'like AN,' the final is /enim/. Finals may be CONCRETE or ABSTRACT.

FINAL SHORT VOWEL AND GLIDE DELETION — A PHONOLOGICAL RULE specifying that final SHORT VOWELS and GLIDES (/w/ and /y/) are deleted at the end of a word. For example, the basic verb /wiisini/ shows the deletion of its final short vowel in the form *nwiisin*, 'I am eating'; the noun meaning 'man' has a STEM shape /aniniw/, but its FINAL /w/ is deleted in the PROXIMATE SINGULAR form, *nini*.

FIRST PERSON — Within the grammatical system of person, refers to the speaker. For example, *niin*, 'I/me/my' is a first person pronoun, because it refers to the speaker, and the verb form *nwiisin*, 'I am eating,' has a first person subject. See PERSON.

FOCUS — With reference to syntactic constructions, referring to those that function to give explicit emphasis to a particular constituent. See, e.g., MII FOCUS.

FOOT — see METRICAL FOOT.

FORCE — A SEMANTIC ROLE specifying a notionally INANIMATE (meaning not an animal, human, manitou or other spirit being) entity which exerts effects similar to AGENCY, but without willful intent. For example, the VTA *aakshkadegshkaagod*, 'give AN a stomach ache,' has a force exerting a kind of AGENCY, which makes someone sick. See AGENT, SEMANTIC ROLE.

FORM — 1. Any identifiable element in a language. For example, *wiisnin*, *gwiisin*, and *wiisniyaanh* are all forms in Nishnaabemwin. 2. Pronunciation or structural patterning as opposed to meaning or function.

FORMAL — 1. More commonly in linguistics, concerning the form of a linguistic element, as opposed to how it is used (its function) or its meaning. 2. Designating a social act, such as speaking, that is regulated on the basis of explicit convention rather than spontaneity. See NOTIONAL.

FORTIS — Characterizing CONSONANTS that are made with relatively greater force. The VOICELESS consonants of Nishnaabemwin are sometimes said to be fortis. Compare LENIS.

FOURTH PERSON — A term often sometimes used to designate the OBVIATIVE, to distinguish it from the PROXIMATE THIRD PERSON. See OBVIATION.

FRICATIVE — A CONSONANT sound made by channeling the flow of air through a narrow passage and creating turbulence in the airstream. The fricatives of Nishnaabemwin are /z, s, ʒ, ʃ/ (standardly spelled «z s zh sh»). See STOP, AFFRICATE, NASAL, GLIDE.

FRONT — Characterizing a VOWEL produced with the tongue placed relatively forward in the mouth. The front vowels of Nishnaabemwin are /i/, /ii/, and /e/. See also CENTRAL, BACK.

FUNCTIONAL — Having to do with how a grammatical form is used, that is, what grammatical purpose it serves. Any given linguistic form has an associated function, and different forms can have the same function. For example, the SUFFIX /-wag/ found on many verbs, as in *ngamwag*, 'ANpl are singing,' functions to indicate that the SUBJECT of the verb is ANIMATE THIRD PERSON PLURAL, and that the verb is the MAIN VERB in a sentence.

GEMINATE — Usually refers to a doubled consonant, such as the *p's* in English *top priority*. In Nishnaabemwin, two lenis consonants made adjacent by SYNCOPE often sound like their fortis correspondent, e.g., the two *g's* in *gga-* (from /gi/, second person prefix and /ga-/ future tense) sound like [k] to some speakers, and this sequence is sometimes spelled «ka».

GENDER — 1. Referring to the grammatical system of NOUN CLASSES in Nishnaabemwin, ANIMATE and INANIMATE. 2. Referring to socially-defined differences between males and females in a society, which always includes patterns of language use.

GENERAL QUANTIFIER — An ADVERB that specifies an amount, but without making reference to a specific number. Examples: *kina*, 'all,' and *aanin(d)*, 'some.'

GENERALIZED ACTIVITY VERBS — Verbs that carry special INFLECTION to indicate that they refer to general activity rather than to a specific individual or individuals. For example, *Eshkam znagad wii-debnaming iw waa-boodweng*. 'It is getting harder and harder to obtain firewood.' (AM15.15) Here the reference is to the general situation, and there are special inflections to indicate the generality.

GENETIC CLASSIFICATION — Classification of languages on the basis of common ancestry. Over time a language may come to be spoken by groups isolated from each other, and each group may show different innovations in their speech, ultimately resulting in different languages. Genetic classification seeks to trace the processes of innovation in individual languages back to a common ancestor.

GERUND — In English, a verbal noun, that is an element functioning as a noun, but formed from a verb by adding suffix /-ing/, as in *Swimming is good exercise*. Nishnaabemwin makes similar constructions with NOMINALIZER /-win/, as in *bgizowin*, 'swimming.' Also, Nishnaabemwin PARTICIPLES are verbs used as nouns.

GLIDE — A type of CONSONANT sound created by gliding the tongue to an area quite close to that of a VOWEL. The glides of Nishnaabemwin are /y/ and /w/. The glide /w/ is closely related to the vowels /o, oo/; the glide /y/ is closely related to the vowels /i, ii/.

GLOSS — A brief translation of a word, phrase or sentence, representing the closest equivalent in another language. Glosses are commonly enclosed within single quotes, e.g., the gloss of *kwe* is 'woman.'

GLOTTAL — Referring to a sound made in the vicinity of the VOCAL CORDS. The Nishnaabemwin sound /ʔ/ «h», GLOTTAL STOP, is made so.

GLOTTAL STOP — A distinct sound (PHONEME) of Nishnaabemwin, made by drawing the VOCAL CORDS tightly together for a moment, and temporarily stopping the flow of air. Glottal stop is spelled with the letter «h» in the standard orthography.

GLOTTIS — The opening between the VOCAL CORDS.

GOAL — In a TRANSITIVE PREDICATION, the MACROROLE associated with the recipient of an action. For example, in *Mik ndayan wwaabmaan*, 'The beaver sees my dog,' the form *ndayan*, 'my dog,' is the goal of the transitive verb *waabmaad*.

GRAMMAR — 1.The system of forms and rules that speakers of a language make unconscious use of in speaking their language. 2. A written account of the forms and rules of a language.

GRAMMATICAL COMPETENCE — Knowledge of the grammar of a language (in the sense of 1. in the preceding entry), including the patterns of PRONUNCIATION, word-formation, INFLECTION, SYNTAX, and some aspects of meaning. Such knowledge must be distinguished from COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE.

GRAMMATICAL HIERARCHY — A system that ranks grammatical items in some way. In Algonquian languages, a prominent grammatical hierarchy is the TOPICALITY HIERARCHY.

GRAMMATICAL PATTERN — Any recognizable patterned behaviour in language. Languages are not random collections of information, but instead show immense patterning in the ways that they work. For example, in the CONJUNCT ORDER of Nishnaabemwin verb inflection, there is a limited number of PERSON, NUMBER and OBVIATION categories, with each combination indicated by a different combination of SUFFIXES occurring in specific STRUCTURAL SLOTS.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS — Designating a set of syntactic roles that can be assigned to the ARGUMENTS filling the SEMANTIC ROLES of VERBS (or any other predicator). The most common grammatical relations are those of subject, object, and indirect object. These relations are not as important in Nishnaabemwin as they are in English. In Nishnaabemwin, the SEMANTIC MACROROLES of ACTOR, GOAL, and S-ROLE are much more prominent, since these roles are explicitly marked on the VERB with INFLECTIONS.

GRAMMATICALLY RELEVANT PROPERTIES — Properties of a REFERENT that are coded in the grammar of a language. For example, in English, the property of (mostly) sexual gender is coded in PRONOUNS such as *he*, *she*, and *it*; this property of referents is not coded in Nishnaabemwin, but properties of grammatical ANIMACY are. Languages vary as to which properties are central to their grammars.

HARD PALATE — The hard portion of the roof of the mouth, where PALATAL sounds are made.

HEAD — 1. In a SYNTACTIC construction such as a PHRASE or CLAUSE, the central element around which the phrase or clause is organized. For example, in *niizh kwewag*, 'two women,' the NOUN *kwewag* is the head; in the clause *Semaan gii-miinaawag kiwenziinyag*, 'the old men were given tobacco,' the head is the VERB *gii-miinaawag*, 'they were given.' 2. The main component of a word.

HEADWORD — The form of a lexeme (word) that is used to list it in the dictionary. For example, the verb translated as 'give,' in English has many different forms in Nishnaabemwin, *including nmiinaa, nmiinig, nmiin'goo*, etc., but the form it is listed under in the dictionary is *miinaad*, the CONJUNCT THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PROXIMATE acting on THIRD PERSON OBVIATIVE. See also CITATION FORM.

HEIGHT — Characterizing the relative height of the tongue in the pronunciation of VOWELS. Vowels may be HIGH, MID, or LOW.

HIGH — Characterizing a VOWEL made with a relatively high tongue position. The high vowels of Nishnaabemwin are /i/ and /ii/, and sometimes /o/ and /oo/. High vowels often cause following ALVEOLAR sounds to PALATALIZE.

HORTATIVE — A command including the speaker (FIRST PERSON), thus indicating the notion 'let's,' as in *wiisnidaa,* 'let's eat!'

HOST — The word that a CLITIC attaches to.

IDIOLECT — The speech of a particular individual, including personal habits of vocabulary, sentence patterning and style.

II VERB — An intransitive verb having an inanimate subject. In this work, usually abbreviated VII.

IMMEDIATE MODE — Referring to commands that are to be carried out immediately, such as *wiisnin!,* 'eat!' Compare DELAYED MODE.

IMPERATIVE ORDER — One of three inflectional systems on VERBS for indicating the grammatical properties (PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER, and OBVIATION) of ACTORS and GOALS. The imperative order system is used to give commands, for example, *bi-wiisnin!,* 'come and eat,' is an imperative form. See also ORDER; CONJUNCT ORDER; IMPERATIVE ORDER.

IMPERSONAL VERB — A VII verb that does not usually have an overt SUBJECT, such as *shpaagnagaa,* 'be high snow.' Many verbs describing geographical and weather conditions are impersonal.

INANIMATE — One of two grammatical GENDERS, or NOUN CLASSES, of Nishnaabemwin, the other being ANIMATE. Membership in the inanimate grammatical class is largely based on meaning, in that non-living things, such as objects of manufacture and natural 'non-living' things are included in it.

INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE VERB — A subclass of verbs, having a single SEMANTIC ROLE (and thus being intransitive), in which the role must be filled by an INANIMATE subject.

INCEPTIVE — Focusing on the beginning of an action, event, or state, or transition into it.

INCHOATIVE — See INCEPTIVE.

INCLUSIVE — A distinction made in FIRST PERSON PLURAL. First person plural inclusive includes the person being spoken to (the second person), as in *gwiisnimi(n),* 'we (including you) are eating,' or *gdaansinaa(n),* 'our (including your) daughter.' Compare EXCLUSIVE.

INCORPORATION — The process of putting one thing inside of another, typically in Nishnaabemwin, incorporating a NOUN representing a GOAL into a VERB, as in *naadsabii,* 'fetch one's net,' which has *sab,* 'net,' incorporated within the verb. Incorporation is often a form of BACKGROUNDING.

INDEFINITE POSSESSOR — A construction in which an anonymous possessor is specified on a noun. Used only with dependent nouns when the possessor is not known or not important. For example, *kaad,* 'a leg,' as opposed to *nkaad,* 'my leg' (where the possessor is *niin,* 'me') or *gkaad,* 'your leg,' (where the possessor is *giin,* 'you'). See POSSESSION.

INDEFINITE PRONOUN — The PRONOUNS *waya* (*wiya*), 'someone, anyone,' and *gegoo(n),* 'something, anything.'

INDEPENDENT NOUN — A noun that does not require a POSSESSOR, but may optionally have one. For example, *jiimaan,* 'boat,' can be used without specification of a possessor, as in *Jiimaan nwaabndaan,* 'I see a boat,' or with a specified possessor, as in *Njiimaan nwaabndaan,* 'I see my boat.' Other than BODY PART TERMS and KINSHIP and marital relations in Nishnaabemwin, most nouns are independent. Compare DEPENDENT NOUN.

INDEPENDENT ORDER — One of three inflectional systems on VERBS for indicating the grammatical properties (PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER, and OBVIATION) of ACTORS and GOALS. The independent order system is used when the verb is the main verb of the sentence, for example, *Nongo nwiisin,* 'I'm eating now' is independent. See ORDER; CONJUNCT ORDER; IMPERATIVE ORDER.

INDEPENDENT PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT — The process of change whereby two daughter languages independently show similar innovations, on the basis of structural pressures inherited from their mother language. Thus, two widely separated daughter languages may show similar developments over time that are not necessarily due to continued close contact between the languages.

INDEX — To mark in some way as to show the presence of a property. For example, Nishnaabemwin NOUNS are INDEXED for PLURALITY, by means of a PLURAL SUFFIX, as in *jiimaanan*, 'boats.' This suffix also indexes the GENDER of the noun, as INANIMATE.

INDICATIVE MOOD — See MOOD.

INDIRECT SPEECH — Reported speech or thought which does not represent the actual words spoken or thought, but rather adjusts the quotation to some reference point other than the original, for example, *[Rogeran zaaghigod] gii-nendam Maanii.* 'Mary thought [that Roger loved her]' (MC). Here, the actual thought would be *Roger nzaaghig*, 'Roger loves me,' but the quotation has been made indirect by shifting it to third person, in which case *Roger* is made obviative.

INFLECTION — 1. Any PREFIX or SUFFIX added to a word to indicate some grammatical meaning, for example, *zhiishiibag*, 'ducks,' has an inflectional suffix *-ag*, meaning ANIMATE PLURAL. 2. The system of PREFIXES and SUFFIXES in a language which is used to signal grammatical information.

INFLECTIONAL PASSIVE — A passive that operates on a derivationally transitive verb, producing an inflectional intransitive that has a transitive THEME SIGN, e.g., *nwaabmigoo*, 'I am seen,' or *waabamaa*, 'ANsg is seen,' from VTA stem /waabam/, 'see AN.' Compare LEXICAL PASSIVE.

INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM — The inventory and configuration of PREFIXES and SUFFIXES in a language used to signal grammatical information.

INHERENT PLURAL — A noun that represents a substance or objects that are usually referred to with plural reference, such as *biiwekdamaagnan*, '(wood) shavings' (W); *bootsan*, 'boots' (from English boots, Od).

INITIAL — 1. The first structural slot in basic word structure. The initial may be simple, as in *bookgaade*, 'break a leg,' where it is /bookw/, or complex, as in *bookgaadeshin*, where it is /bookgaade/. Compare MEDIAL and FINAL. 2. Designating the first element in an ordering. For example, *Ntaa-gshkigwaaso ndaanis*, 'my daughter sews well,' has verb-initial word order.

INITIAL CHANGE — A MORPHOLOGICAL process applying to the first VOWEL in a word, changing it to a specified different vowel, for various grammatical purposes. For example, the vowel /ii/ changes to /aa/, so that when initial change applies to the preverb *wii-*, it becomes *waa-*. Initial change effects the following changes in Nishnaabemwin: /a/, /i/ » /e/; /o/ » /(w)e/; /ii/ » /aa/, /e/ » /aye/; /oo/ » /waa/; /aa/ » /ayaa/. SYNCOPE then applies to the changed forms.

INTERROGATIVE — Designating questions.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN — A PRONOUN used in asking questions of who or what, such as *wenesh*.

INTRANSITIVE — Referring to a verb that has only a single SEMANTIC ROLE associated with it, such as *wiisni*, 'ANsg is eating,' where the only role is that of an eater. Compare transitive *Wiiyaas nmiijin*, 'I am eating meat,' where there are two roles, that of an eater, in this case filled by 'I,' and that of a thing eaten, in this case filled by *wiiyaas*, 'meat.' Compare TRANSITIVE.

INVERSE-ONLY VTA — Designating a small set of TRANSITIVE ANIMATE VERBS indicating various effects on the body, which can only be used with INVERSE INFLECTION, that is, cannot have FIRST or SECOND PERSON ACTORS. An example: *aakziishkaagod*, 'make AN sick (of things ingested).'

IPA — The name of the PHONETIC ALPHABET used in this grammar, an abbreviation of International Phonetic Alphabet.

IRREGULAR — Indicating an INFLECTIONAL or DERIVATIONAL form that is not formed according to some usual or "default" pattern. For example, for some speakers, the LOCATIVE form of *oodewin*, 'town,' is irregular *oodenaang*. Standard locatives are formed by adding /-ing/ to a noun, which would produce **oodewining*.

ITERATIVE — 1. Designating a SUFFIX /-i(n)/ that occurs on VERBS, along with CHANGED CONJUNCT INFLECTION, to indicate activity that repeats over time, as in *gemwangi(n)*, 'whenever it rains.' 2. Any linguistic form that indicates action repeated multiple times.

KINSHIP TERM — A word used to designate a kinship relationship (a relative of some sort), such as *ngwis*, 'my son,' or *nookmis*, 'my grandmother.' In Nishnaabemwin, almost all kinship terms are DEPENDENT NOUNS.

LABIAL — Of CONSONANT sounds, articulated at the lips, or involving the lips. The labial sounds of Nishnaabemwin are /b/, /p/, /m/, and /w/.

LANGUAGE FAMILY — A group of languages, genetically related by virtue of sharing a common parent. The family to which Nishnaabemwin belongs is called the ALGONQUIAN language family.

LARYNX — The voicebox, containing the VOCAL CORDS.

LENGTH — Referring to the relative duration of a VOWEL pronunciation, that is, how long the vowel is pronounced relative to other kinds of vowels. Short vowels are pronounced roughly half as long as long vowels.

LENE — A linguistic term for the more softly articulated consonant of a pair of related consonants, associated with VOICING in Nishnaabemwin. The PHONEMES /b/, /d/, /g/, /z/, /zh/ and /j/ all represent lenes, as opposed to their FORTIS partners, /p/, /t/, /k/, /s/, /sh/ and /ch/, respectively. See LENIS, FORTIS.

LENIS — Characterizing CONSONANTS that are made with relatively less force. The VOICED consonants of Nishnaabemwin are sometimes said to be lenis. Compare FORTIS.

LETTER — A written symbol used to represent a distinctive sound of a language. Letters must be distinguished from sounds. For example the letter «h» is used in Nishnaabemwin to represent a glottal stop, as well as a glottal fricative in a few expressive terms, such as in *nahaaw*, 'okay.'

LEXEME — An established item of vocabulary in a language, such as *jiimaan*, 'boat, canoe.' A lexeme can have a vast number of associated WORD FORMS in Nishnaabemwin. The form of the lexeme itself is determined by removing all INFLECTIONAL elements and "undoing" the effects of any PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES such as SYNCOPE, the deletion of final short-vowels and glides, or INITIAL CHANGE. Lexemes are usually represented with a single main entry in a dictionary, but in a CITATION FORM that represents a common inflected form. See CITATION FORM, WORD FORM.

LEXICAL — 1. Referring to the vocabulary of a language, especially with reference to the mental 'dictionary' that speakers make use of in speaking. 2. Referring to any form in a language that must be memorized, either because its form or its meaning is not predictable from general principles. See LEXICALIZED.

LEXICAL CLASS — See PART OF SPEECH.

LEXICALIZED — Designating a specific inflectional form of a word that exists as an independent item of vocabulary in the language, with a meaning that is not determinable from the meanings of its component parts. For example, almost any noun can take a DIMINUTIVE suffix, such as *jiimaanens*, 'small boat,' from *jiimaan*, 'boat.' There is a word in Nishnaabemwin, *kidwin*, 'word, utterance,' and some speakers have suggested that a good word for 'morpheme' might be the diminutive of this word, *kidwinens*. If such a proposal were accepted, then *kidwinens* would be a new word in Nishnaabemwin, and thus constitute a lexicalization of the diminutive of *kidwin*, since its meaning is not 'little word,' but, rather, 'morpheme.'

LEXICAL PASSIVE — A verb having a passive meaning, but with an intransitive derivational suffix, e.g., *mnopgozi*, 'ANsg tastes good,' which has VAI final /-(i)zi/. Compare INFLECTIONAL PASSIVE.

LEXICON — The vocabulary of a language, taken collectively. Speakers of a language have mental lexicons (memorized vocabularies) which contain information about each of the words they know.

LINK VOWEL — A vowel that is inserted between two MORPHEMES in order to facilitate pronunciation and preserve as much as possible the basic forms of the morphemes in question. For example, VAI verbs that end in NASAL CONSONANTS show a link vowel between the verb STEM and SUFFIXES beginning with a nasal, as in *ndgoshnamin(n)*, 'we (excl.) are arriving.' Here the basic morphological structure is /ni+dagoshin+min/, and the /a/ that is inserted between the verb stem and the suffix has no function (i.e., no meaning) other than to make pronunciation easier.

LOANWORD — A word 'borrowed' from another language. For example, many Nishnaabemwin speakers use the English word *phone* when speaking Nishnaabemwin, making *phone* a loanword (from English) in Nishnaabemwin.

LOCAL — In the discussion of VERB INFLECTION, especially the functioning of THEME SUFFIXES, used to refer to predications that involve only FIRST and SECOND PERSONS as ACTORS and GOALS, in other words, in which the verbal predication is strictly 'local' to the conversational context of speaker and addressee. For example, *gwaabmin*, 'I see you,' is local, but *gwaabmig*, 'ANsg sees you,' is not, because there is a third person involved in the verbal action. Compare NON-LOCAL.

LOCATIVE — 1. Characterizing any grammatical element used to specify a location, for example, *maanpii*, 'here' can be described as a locative adverb. 2. Referring to a noun that is inflected with a locative SUFFIX, such as *jiimaaning*, 'in the boat.' In this usage, the locative suffix does not always specify a location, since it is also used to identify the object of relative roots, as in *Mhiingning izhnaagzi gday*, 'your (sg.) dog looks like a wolf,' in which the word *mhiingan*, 'wolf,' has a locative suffix indicating that it is the object of the RELATIVE ROOT /izh/.

LONG VOWEL — Designating the class of VOWELS in Nishnaabemwin which is pronounced with relatively long duration, and which are not subject to SYNCOPE. The long vowels of Nishnaabemwin are /ii/, /e/, /oo/, and /aa/.

LOW — Characterizing a VOWEL made with a relatively low tongue position. The low vowels of Nishnaabemwin are /a/ and /aa/. Compare HIGH, MID.

MACROROLE — Designating any of three INFLECTIONAL roles associated with VERBS, the ACTOR and GOAL of TRANSITIVE VERBS, and the S-ROLE (also often called SUBJECT) of INTRANSITIVE VERBS. The AGENT and EXPERIENCER semantic roles typically fill the actor macro-role of transitive verbs, and the RECIPIENT fills the GOAL role. If there is no recipient, the goal role is filled by the semantic PATIENT.

MAIN STRESS — Referring to the syllable receiving the greatest prominence of pronunciation in a word.

MAJOR CLASS — A primary PART OF SPEECH, in Nishnaabemwin including NOUNS, PRONOUNS, VERBS, and ADVERBS.

MANNER OF ARTICULATION — Specifying the way in which a CONSONANT sound is made. Manners of articulation in Nishnaabemwin include STOPS, FRICATIVES, AFFRICATES, NASALS, and GLIDES.

MASCULINE — Referring to any English word or expression that can have associated with it the PRONOUN *he*, that is, an expression that is grammatically treated as male. This category has very little relevance to Nishnaabemwin grammar.

MASS NOUN — A noun, such as *nbiish*, 'water,' that is perceived as a mass, and not as something that can be counted. Other mass nouns represent abstractions, such as *gaawendmowin*, 'jealousy.' Mass nouns are rarely used in the PLURAL.

MEDIAL — The middle morphological component found in some Nishnaabemwin words, always having a very nounlike meaning. For example, in *baatiinoogaade*, 'have lots of legs,' the medial is /-gaad-/, 'leg'. Compare INITIAL, FINAL.

METRICAL FOOT — A grouping of Nishnaabemwin SYLLABLES, ideally consisting of a WEAK syllable (containing a short vowel) and a STRONG syllable (containing either a short vowel or a long vowel). See also DEFECTIVE FOOT, STRESS, SYNCOPE.

METRICALLY STRONG — Within the system of STRESS, occupying a STRESSED (emphasized) position. See STRESS.

METRICALLY WEAK — Within the system of STRESS, occupying an UNSTRESSED position. See STRESS.

MID — Characterizing a VOWEL made with the tongue neither lowered nor raised. The mid vowels of Nishnaabemwin are /e/, /o/ and /oo/. Compare LOW and HIGH.

MID CENTRAL — Characterizing the location of the tongue body in the production of some vowels. Mid central vowels have the tongue body neither lowered nor raised, and neither fronted nor backed, i.e., roughly centrally located in the mouth.

MII FOCUS — A construction that uses the particle *mii* as a device to give particular emphasis to a particular syntactic constituent, such as a noun phrase. For example, in *mii gwa naa maampii gaa-ndaakwiiyaan,* 'it's here that I shot from' (AM39.574), *mii* is used to focus on a particular location.

MINIMAL PAIR — Two words, of different meaning, that are pronounced the same except for one sound difference, which occurs at the same PHONOLOGICAL position within the word. For example: *bmose* 'walk along,' and *bmise* 'fly along,' differ only by the presence of /o/ in the first and /i/ in the second.

MODAL — The term modal is problematic for Nishnaabemwin, because it is the adjective form of both MODE and MOOD. See MOOD and MODE.

MODE — A system of endings on VERBS that indicate whether the action is viewed as completed relative to some point of reference, or the speaker's casting of a statement as true, conjectural, or based on traditional knowledge.There are four modes in Nishnaabemwin, NEUTRAL (or INDICATIVE), which shows no marking on the verb, and PRETERIT, DUBITATIVE, and PRETERIT DUBITATIVE. See each of these.

MODIFIER — An element which qualifies or specifies another in some way. For example, the NOUN PHRASE *niizh kwewag,* 'two women,' has the modifier *niizh,* 'two,' specifying the number of *kwewag,* 'women.'

MOOD — Referring to the speaker's attitude towards a PREDICATION, as expressed grammatically. In Nishnaabemwin, INDICATIVE MOOD indicates a straightforward assertion of truth, as in *Wiisni Zhaabdiis,* 'John is eating.' MODAL MOOD adds some measure of possibility or obligation, as in *Daa-wiisni Zhaabdiis,* 'John should/could/would eat.' In Nishnaabemwin there is a single mood preverb, *daa-*, which covers the range of meaning of most of the English modal auxiliary verbs, such as *should, could, would, might,* and *may.*

MORPHEME — A fundamental, structurally identifiable component of a word. For example, the word *nwiisin,* 'I am eating,' has two morphemes, /ni-/, first person (independent order), and /wiisini/, 'eat' (VAI VERB). The verb *mnogaadewag,* 'ANpl have nice legs,' has five morphemes, /minw-/, 'good,' /-gaad-/, 'leg,' /-e/ VAI final 'have,' /-w/, third person, and /-ag/, 'animate plural.' The study of morpheme patterns in a language is called MORPHOLOGY.

MORPHOLOGICALLY COMPLEX — Refers to any word or portion of a word that is made up of more than one identifiable element. For example, the word *kidwin,* 'word, utterance' is morphologically complex, because it can be said to consist of the elements *kido,* 'speak,' and *-win,* which makes an ABSTRACT NOUN. Most words in Nishnaabemwin are morphologically complex.

MORPHOLOGY — The study of words and their component parts, called MORPHEMES.

MORPHOPHONEME — An element used to identify a constituent phonological unit within a morpheme, which is realized by more than one phoneme. In Nishnaabemwin, there are two morphophonemes, /N/, realized as /n/ and /zh/, and /S/, realized as /s/ and /sh/.

MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL RULE — A MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL RULE is a PHONOLOGICAL RULE whose operation is restricted to particular morphologically defined contexts, in other words, applies to a particular MORPHEME or class of morphemes in the presence of other morphemes.

MORPHOPHONOLOGY — Relating to how MORPHEMES are 'spelled,' that is, how their constituent sounds are specified with respect to the PHONEMES of the language.

MORPHOSYNTACTIC WORD — A WORD-FORM specified for its morphological and syntactic properties. For example, the word-form *gwaabmigoo* represents both the second person singular PASSIVE form, 'you (sg) are seen,' and that of a FIRST PERSON PLURAL acting on a SECOND PERSON SINGULAR, 'we (excl) see you (sg).'

MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY — The state obtaining between two forms of speech A and B, such that A can understand B and B can understand A. The forms of speech, for example, may be those of two different communities. If there is mutual intelligibility between communities, the communities are said to speak the same LANGUAGE. If there is not mutual intelligibility, they are said to speak different languages. This term is relative, however, since speakers vary in how much they can understand of another variety of speech.

/N/ — A symbol used in the representation of those MORPHEMES that show an alternation between /n/ and /zh/, for example, *gmiinin*, 'I give Y to you,' versus *miizhiyan*, '(if) you give Y to me.' The basic stem form of the word meaning 'give Y to AN' is written as /miiN/.

/ŋ/ — A velar nasal, such as the last sound in English *sing*.

NASAL (CONSONANT) — A CONSONANT sound made by stopping the flow of air in the mouth, but lowering the VELUM (soft-palate) so that air is free to flow out through the nose. The nasal consonants of Nishnaabemwin are /m/ and /n/.

NASAL ASSIMILATION — The phonological process whereby a nasal changes its PLACE OF ARTICULATION to be like that of a following consonant. For example, the final /n/ of *dgoshin*, 'ANsg arrives,' becomes VELAR before a /g/, as in *dgoshing*, '(if) ANsg arrives.'

NASAL COMPLEX — A term I use to refer to any CLUSTER of CONSONANTS containing a nasal element (/n/, /m/, or /ŋ/).

NASALIZED — Referring to ORAL sounds that are produced in some phonological contexts with the SOFT PALATE (velum) lowered, so as to allow the passage of air out through the nose. Long vowels in Nishnaabemwin are sometimes nasalized, and are spelled with a following «nh», as in *boodoonh*, 'tadpole.'

NATURAL — In PHONOLOGY and MORPHOLOGY, characterizing a rule that is found widely throughout the languages of the world, and can be explained on the basis of sound general principles. For example, the rule of devoicing in Nishnaabemwin, which changes the pronunciation of /b/, /d/, and /g/ to [p], [t], and [k], respectively, is a very natural rule. The rule which produces an alternation of /n/ and /zh/ in words such as *nmiinaa*, 'I give it to her/him,' versus *miizh*, 'give it to her/him!' is very unnatural. Many linguists would argue that this alternation is so unnatural that it should not be considered a regular phonological rule of Nishnaabemwin grammar.

NATURAL CLASS — Constituting a group of sounds which share features and behave similarly in terms of their PHONOLOGICAL behaviour. For example, the sounds /b/, /d/, /g/, /z/, /zh/, and /j/ all constitute a natural class of VOICED STOPS in Nishnaabemwin, on the basis of their shared features and their behaviour in DEVOICING at the end of a word.

NEGATIVE — Making a negative assertion, as opposed to a POSITIVE one. For example, *wiisni sa*, 'ANsg is eating,' is positive, but *gaawii go wiisnisii*, 'ANsg is not eating,' is negative. Negative verbs are said to have negativity POLARITY, and positive verbs, positive polarity. See POLARITY, POSITIVE.

NEUTER — Referring to any English word or expression that can have associated with it the PRONOUN *it*, that is, an expression that is grammatically treated as neither male nor female. This category has little relevance to Nishnaabemwin grammar, since the GRAMMATICAL GENDER contrast is ANIMATE and INANIMATE.

NIPISSING ALGONQUIN — A DIALECT of Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) spoken in the area of Maniwaki, Quebec, but historically spoken over a wider area.

NISHNAABEG — PLURAL form of Nishnaabe, the Nishnaabemwin self-designation for a member of the group of Ojibwe people. May also be used to refer to any kind of North American aboriginal person.

NISHNAABEMWIN — A term used to refer to the DIALECTS of Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) spoken in southwestern Ontario, extending north to Manitoulin Island. Nishnaabemwin dialects come historically from Odawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi, and perhaps other languages and dialects.

NOMINAL — A NOUN, PRONOUN, or PARTICIPLE functioning as an ARGUMENT of a verb in a sentence. Example, *bemaadzid*, 'a person,' lit., 'one who is living').

NON-HIGH VOWEL — Used to distinguish the VOWELS /i/ and /ii/ from /e/, the former being articulated with the tongue placed relatively high in the mouth, while the latter having the tongue placed relatively lower, and is thus NON-HIGH. High vowels often cause PALATALIZATION of adjacent consonants.

NON-LOCAL — In the discussion of VERB INFLECTION, used to refer to predications that involve at least one THIRD PERSON as ACTOR or GOAL, in other words, in which the verbal predication is not strictly 'local' to the conversational context of speaker and addressee, but includes reference to someone or something outside of the conversational context of speaker and addressee. Compare NON-LOCAL.

NON-PLURAL — The suffix /-n/ that occurs on TRANSITIVE INANIMATE (VTI) verbs having SINGULAR ACTORS in the INDEPENDENT ORDER, such as *nwaabndaan*, 'I see it,' (from /ni+waaband+am+n/), has been analyzed as having a meaning 'non-plural,' because it does not seem to occur with plural actors, for example, *nwaabndaanaan*, 'we see INsg,' (from /ni+waaband+am+naan/).

NOTIONAL CLASS — A grouping of objects on the basis of some shared feature of meaning, such as a grouping of the different kinds of berries, or of transitive verb finals that have a meaning component of transport. Often such notional classes show different alignments than structurally-defined groupings do. See FORMAL.

NOUN — A word that identifies a person, place, or thing, has a PLURAL form (unless it is a MASS NOUN), a DIMINUTIVE, and a PEJORATIVE, and may be POSSESSED, etc. Examples include *zhiishiib*, 'duck,' *jiimaan*, 'boat,' and *kidwin*, 'word.'

NOUN CLASSES — 1. The different classes, or groupings, of nouns on the basis of their shared INFLECTIONAL behaviour, for example, how they form their PLURALS and their DIMINUTIVES. There are 7 basic noun classes in Nishnaabemwin. 2. The gender system classifying nouns into animates and inanimates.

NOUN PHRASE — A SYNTACTIC group consisting of a NOUN and any associated words, usually NUMBERS or DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS in Nishnaabemwin.

NUCLEUS — The VOWEL portion of a SYLLABLE.

NUMBER — 1. A number, one of the basic PARTS OF SPEECH of Nishnaabemwin. For example, *bezhig*, 'one,' *niizh*, 'two,' etc. 2. Referring to the morphological system having the categories SINGULAR and PLURAL, the latter of which is often marked on NOUNS and VERBS.

NUMBER ROOT — A root of a LEXEME that is a number. For example, the lexeme *niizhi*, 'be two in number' (VAI), has a number root, /niizh/, 'two.'

NUMBER VERB — A VERB that specifies how many of something there is; for example, *niizhwag ngwisag*, 'my sons are two in number,' has number verb *niizhi*, 'be two in number.'

NUMBER PREVERB — A PREVERB that specifies how many of something there is; for example, *niizhi-*, 'be two.'

OBJECT — See PRIMARY OBJECT, SECONDARY OBJECT.

OBSTRUENT — The classes of CONSONANTS including STOPS, FRICATIVES, and AFFRICATES, taken as a group. Any member of this group.

OBVIATION — Referring to a system in Algonquian languages for keeping THIRD PERSONS distinct from each other. One third person in a sentence is made proximate, and other third persons are then obviative. Also called fourth person. Compare PROXIMATE, BACKGROUNDING.

OBVIATIVE — A THIRD PERSON in a sentence that is backgrounded relative to some other third person. For example, in *Gii-baashkzwaan nini moozoon*, 'the man shot the moose,' *moozoon*, 'moose' is obviative, and is so indicated by means of an obviative SUFFIX. Compare PROXIMATE.

ODAWA — A DIALECT of Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) spoken along the eastern and northern shores of Lake Huron.

OJIBWE — A CENTRAL ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGE spoken in many REGIONAL dialects, including Algonquin, Mississauga, Chippewa, Saulteaux, Northern Ojibwe and Oji-Cree. Most dialects refer to the language as Anishinaabemowin.

OJI-CREE — A DIALECT of Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) spoken in northwestern Ontario, called Anishininiimowin by its speakers.

ONOMATOPOEIA — The process of naming a thing on the basis of the way it sounds, e.g., *gookookhoo*, 'owl.' Birds are often so named in Nishnaabemwin. See also REDUPLICATION, ARBITRARY.

OPTATIVE — Any construction or form that is used to express wishes. Some speakers of Nishnaabemwin use *mbegish*, as in *Mbegish ndawaa bbaaa-giiwsed*, 'I wish he would go out and hunt.'

ORAL CAVITY — The interior region of the mouth, especially when distinguished from the NASAL CAVITY.

ORDER — Used to refer to distinct INFLECTIONAL SYSTEMS for indicating participants (ACTORS and GOALS) on verbs. There are three orders in Nishnaabemwin, INDEPENDENT, CONJUNCT, and IMPERATIVE. Each has its own way of indicating participants, for example, *gwiisin*, 'you (sg.) are eating,' is independent order, and indicates a SECOND PERSON SUBJECT by means of a prefix /g-/; *wiisniyan*, '(if/when) you (sg.) eat,' is conjunct, and indicates a second person subject by means of a suffix, /-yan/; *wiisnin*, 'eat!' is imperative, and indicates a second person subject by means of a suffix /-n/. Each way of indicating the actor (in this case, second person singular) is thus different for the different orders.

ORDINAL NUMBER — A number EXPRESSION that represents a ranking in a series as opposed to an exact amount, such as *e-ntam*, 'first,' and *eko-niizhing*, 'second.' Compare CARDINAL NUMBER.

ORTHOGRAPHY — A system for writing a language. See also STANDARD ORTHOGRAPHY.

OTTAWA — A DIALECT of Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) spoken in Michigan and perhaps represented in Wisconsin.

PALATAL — Referring to a sound made in the area of the HARD PALATE of the roof of the mouth, by raising the tongue. For example, /y/ is a palatal glide in English and Nishnaabemwin.

PALATALIZED — Referring to the pronunciation of consonants by which one of a pair has a more PALATAL pronunciation than the other. For example, in Nishnaabemwin, some morphemes show an alternation between /d/ and /j/, as in *naadsabii*, 'ANsg checks a net,' versuse *naajmiijme*, 'ANsg goes to get food.'

PARADIGM — A list of all the possible INFLECTIONAL forms of a word of a given grammatical category.

PARTICIPLE — A VERB FUNCTIONING as a NOUN in a sentence, and which carries special inflections to identify it as a nominal. For example, *bemaadzijig*, 'people,' is a participial form of the verb *bmaadzi*, 'be alive, live' (VAI). See also DEPARTICIPIAL NOUNS.

PARTICLE — Designating a small class of emphatic and expressive words that do not readily fit into any other PART OF SPEECH category. Particles include *sa, go, dash*, and *oonh*.

PARTITIVE — Referring to some part of a group or individual.

PART OF SPEECH — Representing one of the basic classes of words in the language, defined on the basis of both morphological and syntactic behaviour. The parts of speech of Nishnaabemwin are nouns, verbs, adverbs, numbers, and particles. Also called WORD CLASS or LEXICAL CLASS.

PASSIVE VOICE — 1. Designating a DERIVATIONAL TRANSITIVE VERB form which has repressed the SEMANTIC ROLE of AGENT or EXPERIENCER, shows INTRANSITIVE INFLECTION of a TRANSITIVE VERB STEM, and has its S-ROLE (SUBJECT) filled with something that is semantically the PATIENT or RECIPIENT of action. Example: *nwaabmigoo*, 'I am seen.' 2. Designating a derivational intransitive verb that has a passive derivational element and passive meaning, e.g., *mnopgozi*, 'AN tastes good.' See INFLECTIONAL PASSIVE and LEXICAL PASSIVE.

PATIENT — The semantic role of the one affected by the action of an AGENT; the object experienced by an EXPERIENCER. Example: in *baazhkzwaad*, 'shoot AN,' the person or thing shot is the patient. Patients often fill the GOAL MACROROLE of a TRANSITIVE VERB. See SEMANTIC ROLE.

PEJORATIVE — A special form of a noun that indicates the speaker regards the person or object being referred to with distaste, contempt, or displeasure. For example, *gaazhgens*, 'cat,' has a pejorative form *gaazhgenzhish*, which might be translated in English as 'darned cat,' or 'damned cat.' Compare CONTEMPTIVE.

PERSON — In grammar, indicating one of the three grammatical persons: FIRST PERSON, referring to the speaker; SECOND PERSON, referring to the addressee; and THIRD PERSON, referring to the topic of conversation.

PERSON PREFIX — A prefix appearing on a NOUN or VERB that indexes the PERSON of an associated NOUN or PRONOUN, as either FIRST PERSON (speaker), SECOND PERSON (addressee), or THIRD PERSON (spoken about). The person prefixes of Nishnaabemwin each have several forms, for example, first person may be indicated with «n», «nda-», «ndi-», or «ndoo-», as in *ngwis*, 'my son,' and *ndi-kid*, 'I say.'

PERSONAL PRONOUN — A PRONOUN which identifies an individual on the basis of their role in the communicative act. The FIRST PERSON SINGULAR pronoun, *niin*, for example, refers to the speaker.

PHONE — Any discernible unit of pronunciation in a language. For example, the phone [k] occurs at the end of most Nishnaabemwin speakers' pronunciation of *mik*, 'beaver,' and *gnebig*, 'snake.' A phone may represent a possible pronunciation of more than one PHONEME in a language. Compare PHONEME.

PHONETIC ALPHABET — A writing system designed for representing speech independently of a particular language's spelling system (orthography). Phonetic alphabets strive to have a particular symbol (usually a letter) for each sound found in language.

PHONEME — A distinctive sound in a language. Each phoneme may be realized by several pronunciations, called the ALLOPHONES of the phoneme. Phonemes are represented in writing by putting them within slashes, for example, /b/, /p/, /sh/, and /ii/.

PHONETIC — Concerned with fine details of pronunciation, typically involving how a given distinctive sound (phoneme) is pronounced in a particular context.

PHONOLOGICAL — Relating to the sound system of a language; having to do with the behaviour of phonemes.

PHONOLOGICAL INVENTORY — The set of distinctive sounds in a language, usually organized in terms of CONSONANTS and VOWELS.

PHONOLOGICAL RULE — A rule of a language that specifies how phonemes are pronounced, or which specify processes that apply to phonemes. For example, one phonological rule of Nishnaabemwin specifies that final short vowels and glides are deleted in nouns and verbs.

PHONOTACTICS — The patterns of phoneme sequences permitted in a language, usually organized in terms of what consonants are allowed at the beginning and ends of SYLLABLES, and what vowel sequences are allowed in the syllable NUCLEUS.

PHRASE — A grouping of words to form a unit, organized around a HEAD word. For example, the NOUN PHRASE *niizh kwewag*, 'two women,' consists of a NUMBER and a head noun. Phrases are named for the category of their heads, such as here, where the whole phrase is called a noun phrase because the head of the phrase is a noun.

PHRASE STRUCTURE — Designating the structural relationships of hierarchy (which dominates which) and precedence (which comes first) among the members of a PHRASE, CLAUSE, or SENTENCE.

PLACE OF ARTICULATION — Specifying where in the VOCAL TRACT a given CONSONANT sound is made. For example, /b/ and /p/ are BILABIAL, /g/ and /k/, VELAR.

PLAIN CONJUNCT — A verb form showing conjunct order inflection, but no initial change. For example, the first verb in *Pii dash gii-bzigwiiyaan, gaa-zhi-gnabseyaang*, '(but) when I stood up, we capsized,' is in plain conjunct and the second (with *gaa-*) is CHANGED CONJUNCT. Compare CHANGED CONJUNCT.

PLAINS (ALGONQUIAN) — Used to designate the Algonquian languages spoken on the central Plains of North America, including Arapaho, Blackfoot, and Cheyenne.

PLURAL — Designating more than one of a thing. For example, *zhiishiibag*, 'ducks,' is the plural of *zhiishiib*, 'duck' and *nmadbiwag*, 'they are sitting,' is the third person plural form of the verb *nmadbi*.

POLARITY — Involving the contrast POSITIVE and NEGATIVE. Positive statements are said to have positive polarity, and verbs inflected for negative are said to have negative polarity. See NEGATIVE.

POSITIVE — Making a positive assertion, as opposed to a NEGATIVE one. For example, *wiisni sa*, 'ANsg is eating,' is positive, but *gaawii wiisnisii*, 'ANsg is not eating,' is negative.

POSSESSED THEME — 1. A word that has had a possessive suffix *-im* attached to it, as in *wjiimaanim*, 'ANsg's boat.' 2. The POSSESSIVE suffix *-im*.

POSSESSIVE — Designating a nominal construction in which the owner, controller, or basis of relationship of a noun is specified by means of possessive AFFIXES. For example, *njiimaan(im)*, 'my boat,' is a possessive construction, because the owner (or controller) of *jiimaan*, 'boat,' is specified by means of the prefix /ni-/, 'my.'

POSSESSOR — The one who owns or controls a thing. For example, in *nikaad*, 'my leg,' *niin*, 'I,' am the possessor, and *-kaad*, 'leg' is the POSSESSUM.

POSSESSUM — The persons or things that are possessed in a POSSESSIVE construction. For example, in *nzhiishiibminaanig*, 'our (incl.) ducks,' the possessum is *zhiishiibag*, 'ducks.' Compare POSSESSOR.

POST-CONSONANTAL GLIDE — A /w/ or /y/ that occurs directly after a consonant. For example, the /w/ in *ndamwaa*, 'I'm eating it (anim.), is post-consonantal, since it follows an /m/. Some noun stems are commonly analyzed as having final (post-consonantal) glides that are deleted by a phonological rule of SHORT VOWEL AND GLIDE DELETION.

PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY — A writing system designed to be easily rendered with conventional equipment, such as typewriters and computers.

PRAGMATIC — Referring to interpretations that are based on the social, cultural and physical conditions and context in which language is used.

PREDICATE — Generally used in this work to refer to a VERB in a CLAUSE or SENTENCE, especially when semantic aspects of the verb are at issue, such as its SEMANTIC ROLES.

PREFINAL — A divisible, meaningful portion of a final, usually having a relatively concrete meaning, and distinguishable from the more abstract portion of the final, which defines the lexical subclass of the word.

PREFIX — A morpheme attached to the front of a stem. For example, /ni/ in *nwaabmaa*, 'I see ANsg,' is a prefix.

PREFIXAL-D INSERTION — A PHONOLOGICAL (pronunciation) rule which inserts a /d/ between a PERSON PREFIX and a STEM beginning with a VOWEL, e.g., as in *ndankii*, 'I am working,' from /ni+anokii/.

PRE-FORM — A general term for elements that can serve as pre-units (preverbs, prenouns, pre-adverbs) to more than one part of speech, e.g., *dso-*, 'so many,' occurs with verbs, such as *dso-bboon'gizi*, 'ANsg is so many years old' (VAI), and *dso-dbahaabaan*, 'so many gallons' (NI or AV).

PRE-MEDIAL — An element occurring before the explicitly nominal element of a medial, e.g., /-aa/ in /-aagonag-/, 'snow' (cf. goon, 'snow') and /-aakom-/, 'louse' (cf. /-ikom-/, possessed stem of /ikwa/, 'louse').

PRENOUN — An element which may be compounded to the front of a NOUN, to signal information such as size, colour, etc. For example, in *gchi-Nishnaabe*, 'elder,' the prenoun *gchi-*, 'great,' is added to the noun, *Nishnaabe*, 'Indian.'

PRETERIT MODE — 1. With verbs, one of the four verbal modes; the preterit refers to a set of PARADIGMS used to express verbal predications that took place in the past and are no longer taking place, or in which the predication precedes in time some reference predication that also took place in the past. Example: *Ngoding dash go naa e-naabid shkweyaang aw ngashi ngii-waabmig aazhi go [gii-bkobiisewaambaa]*. 'But at one time as my mother looked back, she saw [that I had indeed fallen into the water].' (AM5.4). 2. With nouns, indicates a form having a SUFFIX with /-ban/, usually indicating that the referent is deceased, e.g., *nmishoomsiban*, 'my late grandfather.'

PRETERIT DUBITATIVE MODE — One of four verbal MODES. The preterit dubitative is used to indicate an action, event, or state terminated in the past and for which the speaker does not have firsthand knowledge. It is especially common in narratives representing traditional knowledge, such as an aadsookaan (myth). Preterit dubitative mode inflectional forms often combine PRETERIT inflections with DUBITATIVE, and this mode does indeed represent the conjunction of these two modes. Example: *Nebozh giiwenh gii-bmosegban ddibew,* 'Nenabush was, according to tradition, walking along the shore.' Also called DUBITATIVE PRETERIT. See MODE.

PREVERB — An element which may compounded to the front of a verb, to signal information such as tense, direction, etc. For example, in *gii-ni-giiwe,* 'ANsg went back home,' *gii-* and *ni-* are both preverbs. Each preverb is set off with its own hyphen.

PRIMARY OBJECT — Designating the object of the verb that receives inflectional indexing by means of theme signs and other inflections. In Nishnaabemwin, the primary object of DITRANSITIVES is the RECIPIENT or BENEFICIARY, i.e., the typically human object, or what is commonly called the indirect object in English. Compare SECONDARY OBJECT.

PRIMARY STRESS — See MAIN STRESS.

PROCESS — Referring to a verb PREDICATION which shows change and/or development. Nishnaabemwin verbs often show a systematic ambiguity between STATIVE and PROCESS readings, e.g., *booknike* can mean both 'break one's arm' (a PROCESS) and 'have a broken arm' (a STATE). Compare STATE.

PROHIBITIVE — Designating a NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE form, such as *gego wiisnike(n),* 'don't (you sg.) eat!'

PRONOUN — A basic part of speech, consisting of many small classes of words that serve various grammatical functions associated with nouns and nominals. Pronoun sets in Nishnaabemwin include PERSONAL PRONOUNS, DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS, INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS, DUBITATIVE PRONOUNS, and PAUSAL PRONOUNS, among others.

PRONUNCIATION — The way in which a word is pronounced, to be distinguished from the way that it is spelled.

PROTO-ALGIC — The postulated parent language of PROTO-ALGONQUIAN and the Californian languages Wiyot and Yurok.

PROTO-ALGONQUIAN — The postulated parent language of the ALGONQUIAN languages.

PROTO-EASTERN ALGONQUIAN — The postulated parent language of the EASTERN ALGONQUIAN languages.

PROXIMAL — A category of DEMONSTRATIVES, referring to the closest degree of proximity, e.g., *maaba* and *maanda* in Nishnaabemwin. Compare DISTAL and REMOTE. Not to be confused with PROXIMATE.

PROXIMATE — Referring to an ANIMATE NOUN that is not marked OBVIATIVE. Proximate refers to the category of a foregrounded THIRD PERSON, as opposed to the backgrounded, which is OBVIATIVE.

PURPOSE CLAUSE — A CLAUSE that specifies the purpose for doing something. For example, the clause in square brackets in the following sentence serves to identify a purpose: *Aapji dash gii-mkadekewag naangodnong giw dash shkinweg gye go shkniikweg [iw gegoo wii-gkendmowaad iw waa-bwaadmowaad].* 'Sometimes they fasted very much, those young men and women, [in order to obtain that knowledge which they were to get in a dream].' (AM23.5)

QUANTITY — Referring to the relative duration of a vowel pronunciation. SHORT vowels are pronounced roughly half as long as LONG vowels.

QUANTIFIER — A word or expression which specifies the amount of some other entity, e.g., *niizh ninwag,* 'two men,' has the quantifier *niizh,* 'two.'

REANALYSIS — The process of reinterpreting MORPHOLOGICAL structures over time. For example, historically the word for 'ANsg's pipe' was *odoopwaaganan,* which had the morphological structure /od+opwaagan+an/. Many speakers have reanalyzed the /o/ of the stem to be part of the prefix, and now treat the person prefix as /doo-/ and the noun as /pwaagan/. The prefix /doo-/ is then used elsewhere, even with stems that historically did not begin with /o/.

REASON CLAUSE — A clause that expresses the reason for some action or event, as in *Mii niinaa gaa-nji-ninaanh gbe-zhebaa wii-maajtaayin,* 'That's why I told you all morning to get started.'

RECIPIENT A SEMANTIC ROLE specifying the receiver of something transferred. For example, in the sentence *semaa ngii-miin'goo,* 'I was given tobacco,' *I* (first person singular) is the recipient.

RECIPROCAL Designating a situation in which the ACTOR and GOAL act upon each other, as in *waabmidwag,* 'they see each other.' Reciprocals are formed by adding VAI FINAL /-idi/ to a VTA VERB.

RECONSTRUCTION The linguistic process of determining the forms of a parent language based on the traits of daughter languages. For example, one may study the verb systems of two daughter languages, in order to reconstruct the verb system of the parent language.

REDUCED Characterizing VOWELS which are pronounced with relatively less energy, with short duration and with less movement from the rest position of the tongue. A fully reduced vowel is not pronounced at all.

REDUCED NOMINAL PRONOUN Pronouns, such as INDEFINITE PRONOUNS and INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS, which fail to distinguish all of the grammatical categories relevant to nouns, such as plural versus singular NUMBER.

REDUPLICATION A MORPHOLOGICAL process that copies a part of a word and then adds the copied part onto the word as a PREFIX (in Nishnaabemwin). For example, *neniizh,* 'two by two,' has a reduplicated first SYLLABLE, consisting of a copy of the /n/ of niizh, 'two,' together with the VOWEL /e/.

REFERENT A term used to indicate the people and objects in the "real" world that are referred to by linguistic forms, especially NOUNS. A term such as *kwe,* 'woman,' without any additional specification, has as its referents all women; a more precise reference can be made by using modifiers such as *maaba kwe,* 'this woman.'

REFLEXIVE Designating a situation in which an ACTOR acts upon herself or himself. In Nishnaabemwin REFLEXIVE verbs have VAI FINAL /-idizo/, as in *waabmidzo,* 'ANsg sees self.'

RELATIVE CLAUSE A clause which identifies a referent. Example: *waa-bi-zhaajig,* 'those who will come'; *naagaanzid,* 'the one leading.'

RELATIVE PAST TENSE Time reference to something past relative to something already past. Example: *Ngoding dash go naa e-naabid shkweyaang aw ngashi ngii-waabmig [aazhi go gii-bkobiisewaambaanh],* 'Once when my mother looked back, she saw [that I had already fallen into the water].' Here the falling into the water is prior to the looking back, which is itself past tense.

RELATIVE PREVERB The PREVERB form of a RELATIVE ROOT. Relative preverbs in Nishnaabemwin are *zhi-, nji-, piichi-, ko-, dzhi-,* and *dso-.* See RELATIVE ROOT.

RELATIVE ROOT Specifying one of six ROOTS that function to relate a verb to something else. The relative roots in Nishnaabemwin are /iN/, /ond/, /apiit/, /akw/, /daN/, and /daS(w)/. Relative roots and RELATIVE PREVERBS often cause INITIAL CHANGE in associated verbs.

RELATIVIZE To make into a RELATIVE CLAUSE form.

REMOTE Referring to a demonstrative pronoun that refers to objects at a third degree of distance from the speaker. For example, in Odawa, the PROXIMAL ANIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE is *maaba,* and the DISTAL is *aw* (also *wa*); the remote is *wedi.* See PROXIMAL, DISTAL.

ROOT A core component of a word, occupying the first positional slot within a word's derivational structure. The term root is usually restricted to morphologically simple elements, as opposed to initials, which can be complex. Also called an INITIAL.

ROUNDED Characterizing a VOWEL or GLIDE made with the lips rounded. The rounded vowels of Nishnaabemwin are /o/ and /oo/. The glide /w/ is also rounded. Some CONSONANTS also have lip-rounding associated with them, notably /g/ and /k/ when they are followed by an /o/ or /oo/.

/S/ A symbol used in the representation of those MORPHEMES that show an alternation between /s/ and /sh/, for example, *gdaşin,* 'I put you…,' versus *a<u>sh</u>iyan,* '(if) you put me…' The basic stem form of the word meaning 'put AN (someplace)' is written as /aS/.

SAULTEAUX A dialect of Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe) spoken in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and extreme western Ontario.

SCHWA — A minimal vowel, involving minimal movement of the tongue from rest position. Example: the first sound in the English word *about*.

SECOND PERSON — The grammatical PERSON of the addressee, that is, the one spoken to, corresponding to English 'you.' See PERSON.

SECOND POSITION — A loose term for the position of certain CLITIC elements, such as the YES/NO QUESTION PARTICLE *na*, or the EMPHATIC element *dash*. Usually these elements come directly after the first word in their clauses, which I call SECOND POSITION. Technically, though, they are ENCLITICIZED to the first word in the clause, and so have no position of their own.

SECONDARY OBJECT — Designating the less (inflectionally) prominent object of a DITRANSITIVE verb, typically filling the semantic role of PATIENT, i.e., representing the non-human object transferred or affected in some way. Compare PRIMARY OBJECT.

SECONDARY STRESS — Characterizing a SYLLABLE that receives some STRESS (emphasis), but not as much as the syllable receiving main (PRIMARY) stress.

SEGMENT — Any individual sound, corresponding to a PHONEME, such as /b/, /ii/ or /h/.

SEMANTIC — Having to do with meaning.

SEMANTIC ROLE — One of a small set of roles that are associated with verbs, such as AGENT, the one initiating an action, and PATIENT, the one undergoing whatever action is undertaken by the agent. For example, in *nganwaabmaa*, 'I look at ANsg,' the FIRST PERSON is in the role of AGENT, the one looking, and the THIRD PERSON SINGULAR is in the role of PATIENT, or receiver of the role.

SEMANTIC ROLE CHART — A chart that shows the SEMANTIC ROLES of a VERB, along with the elements filling those roles, and how the SEMANTIC ROLES are realized as MACROROLES.

SEMI-VOWEL — A GLIDE consonant, /w/ or /y/.

SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENT — A complement that is itself a clause. E.g., *Maanii gii-dbaajma [Rogeran gii-ni-boontaad]*, 'Mary said that Roger quit.' Here the complement of *gii-dbaajma* is the entire clause within brackets. See COMPLEMENT.

SEXUAL GENDER — A system of GENDER (noun classification) based all or in part on sexual (MASCULINE and FEMININE) properties of REFERENTS.

SHORT VOWEL — One of the class of VOWELS in Nishnaabemwin which are pronounced with relatively short duration and are subject to SYNCOPE and other PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES which delete vowels. The short vowels of Nishnaabemwin are /a/, /i/, and /o/.

SIMPLIFICATION — The phonological processes of CONSONANT adjustment that take place when consonants are juxtaposed due to the SYNCOPATION of a VOWEL between them. For example, the word *giisoog*, 'months,' shows a simplification of the /z/ and /s/ of the singular, *giizis*, that have been juxtaposed by the syncopation of the short vowel /i/ between them.

SLASHES — The character /, used in writing to set off PHONEMES, e.g., /b/ represents a phoneme as opposed to a PHONE or a letter. See also PHONEME, PHONE.

SOCIOLECT — A form of language shared by members of a particular social group, such as men or women, young or old, rich or poor.

SQUARE BRACKETS — The characters "]" and "]", used to set off PHONETIC elements (PHONES), as opposed to PHONEMES or written LETTERS.

S-ROLE — Designating the single SEMANTIC MACROROLE associated with an INTRANSITIVE VERB. This term is of my own devising. Often the single role of an intransitive is called a SUBJECT.

STAGING — In reference to SUBORDINATE CLAUSES which provide background information for a MAIN verb. For example, *Debkadnig gii-dgoshnoog*, 'they arrived just at dark,' has *debkadnig*, 'when it got/was dark,' as a staging expression.

STANDARD ORTHOGRAPHY — A widely-accepted standardized way of writing a language. A standard is designed to allow a language to be written in a consistent way by different writers, whose individual pronunciations may vary.

STATIVE — Referring to an ongoing (minimally changing) state of affairs. E.g., *zhmaagnishiiwi*, 'be a soldier,' is a STATIVE VERB, attributing a relatively static (unchanging) quality to its SUBJECT. Compare PROCESS.

STEM — 1. The basic core of word, consisting of the word minus any inflectional affixes; 2. Any word to which an additional affix is added (see BASE).

STEM-INITIAL — Referring to a sound (SEGMENT) that is the first in a stem. For example /j/ is stem-initial in *jiimaan*, 'boat.'

STOP — A CONSONANT made by stopping the flow of air momentarily somewhere in the VOCAL TRACT. The stop consonants of Nishnaabemwin are /b, p, d, t, g, k, h/.

STRESSED — Within the system of syllable prominence in a language, stressed syllables are those that receive greater prominence, such as the second syllable of the word *photography* and the first syllable of the word *photograph*.

STRONG — With reference to SYLLABLES and VOWELS, designates those which receive prominence in pronunciation. Also called STRESSED. See STRESS, SYNCOPE.

STRUCTURE — Patterning based on the form or shape of things. For example, a verb in Nishnaabemwin such as *mnogaade*, 'have nice legs,' has a structure consisting of three identifiable components, an INITIAL /minw/, a MEDIAL /-gaad-/ and a FINAL /-e/. Each of these components represents a STRUCTURAL SLOT.

STRUCTURAL SLOT — An identifiable position within a pattern. For example, the word *damnosiiwag*, 'they (anim.) are not playing,' has several structural positions, the first filled by the VERB *damno*, 'play,' the second by the NEGATIVE SUFFIX, /-sii/, the third by the independent order third person suffix /-w/, and the last by the ANIMATE PLURAL SUFFIX /-ag/.

STRUCTURAL-W — Involving a spelling convention used by some writers of Nishnaabemwin, in which the third person prefix /o/, which is usually deleted by SYNCOPE, and thus not pronounced, is spelled with «w», as in *wnik*, 'ANsg's arm,' or *wzaaghaan*, 'ANsg loves ANobv'

SUB-CLASS — Designating one of the sub-categories of a basic PART OF SPEECH. For example, verbs (a basic part of speech) in Nishnaabemwin are sub-classified into VTA, VTI, VAI, and VII.

SUB-DIALECT — A recognizable sub-group of a DIALECT. For example, within the dialect complex of Nishnaabemwin, the speech of each community may be said to represent a distinct sub-dialect.

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE — See DEPENDENT CLAUSE.

SUBORDINATOR — A PREVERB that serves to mark a verb as being subordinate, or dependent on, another verb. An example is *a-* (changed form *e-*).

SUBSTANTIVE QUESTION — See CONTENT QUESTION. Compare YES/NO QUESTION.

SUBSTITUTE PRONOUNS — A PRONOUN such as *nahii*, 'watchamacallit,' that can be used to substitute for a word that one is trying to remember.

SUFFIX — A MORPHEME attached to the end of a stem. For example, /igw/ in *nwaabmig*, 'ANsg sees me,' is a suffix.

SUPERLATIVE — Designating the most extreme degree of a qualitative descriptive expression. For example, in English the superlative form of an ADJECTIVE is often made by adding SUFFIX *-est*, as in *biggest, oldest*.

SYLLABLE — A unit of sound consisting of a VOWEL and associated CONSONANTS. In Nishnaabemwin, a word always has as many syllables as it does vowels. For example, the word *jiimaan*, 'boat,' has two syllables.

SYNCOPATED — Designating a vowel that has been deleted by SYNCOPE.

SYNCOPE — The rule associated with Nishnaabemwin STRESS that deletes UNSTRESSED (WEAK) vowels. For example, in *waagosh*, 'fox,' an /o/ appears in the last SYLLABLE, but in *waagshag*, 'foxes,' this /o/ has been deleted (is not pronounced) by the operation of the rule of syncope. Syncope is one of the most important rules of Nishnaabemwin phonology.

SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE — The grammatical rules of a language involving relationships among words, phrases, clauses and sentences, and focusing especially upon the what elements make up a unit, what the main element (HEAD) of a unit is, and the order and grouping of elements within a unit.

SYNTAX — The study of how words are put together to form PHRASES, CLAUSES, and SENTENCES.

SYNTHETIC — Characterizing an approach to language research and presentation that proceeds by putting related items together and seeking to determine general principles at work in the overall system of language. For example, a synthetic approach to verb inflection might involve laying out paradigms which show all of the inflectional possibilities of the language. The system can then be analyzed to determine its component elements and the principles at work in their interaction with each other. Compare ANALYTIC.

TA VERB — A transitive verb having an animate goal. In this work, usually abbreviated VTA.

TEMPORAL — Having to do with time or the specification of time.

TEMPORAL NOUN — A noun, derived from a verb, that represents a time, a day, a month, or a season. For example, *giizhig,* 'day' NI.

TENSE — Relating to the time of the action or state specified by a VERB. The three tenses of Nishnaabemwin are PRESENT, PAST, and FUTURE.

TERM OF REFERENCE — Used to denote the form of a noun used in making REFERENCE, for example, when referring to one's grandfather, the term of reference is *nmishoomis.* This is contrasted with a vocative form, used to directly address someone, and which may be distinct from the term of reference. See VOCATIVE.

TEXTUAL CONTEXT — The location of a linguistic form, such as a NOMINAL, a CLAUSE, or a SENTENCE, within a linguistic context, that is, the context in which a given word or sentence occurs relative to other words and sentences in the discourse.

THEME — 1. A SEMANTIC ROLE specifying the thing transferred in a verb of transfer. For example, in the sentence *semaa ngii-miin'goo,* 'I was given tobacco,' *semaa,* 'tobacco,' is the theme. 2. A THEME SUFFIX.

THEME SUFFIX — 1. A SUFFIX that occurs with TRANSITIVE VERBS, indicating either a LOCAL GOAL, or a relative relationship when a THIRD PERSON is involved in a PREDICATION. 2. The suffix /-im/ occurring on many possessed nouns.

TI VERB — A transitive verb having an inanimate object. In this work, usually abbreviated VTI.

TOPICALITY HIERARCHY — A grammatical ranking of PERSON, GENDER and OBVIATION categories relevant to the choice of TRANSITIVE THEME SIGNS, PERSON PREFIXES and SUFFIXES in Nishnaabemwin NOUN and, especially, VERB INFLECTION. The topicality hierarchy specifies the ranking 2 > 1 > X > 3 > 3' > 0, in which 2 outranks 1, and so on.

TRACHEA — The windpipe. Air passes from the lungs into the trachea and from there into the oral and nasal cavities in the production of speech sounds.

TRANSFER VERB — A term used by the author to refer to transitive verbs which involve the transfer of something from a source to a RECIPIENT, e.g., *miizh* (or *miinizh*), 'give Y to AN,' and *bi-niindaah,* 'send Y t o AN.' Such verbs are always VTA, and the recipient always fills the MACROROLE of GOAL.

TRANSITIVE — 1. Referring to a verb that has more than one SEMANTIC ROLE associated with it, and in the prototypical case, there is transfer of action from actor to goal. such as *mshiimin ndamwaa* , 'I am eating the apple,' where there is a role of one eating, and of one eaten. Compare to *wiisni,* 'ANsg is eating,' where the only role is that of an eater. Compare INTRANSITIVE. 2. Referring to a verb that is *used* with an object, such as *Jiimaan ndadaawen,* 'I sold a boat.'

TRUNCATION — A morphological process which derives a form by taking material away from the BASE. In Nishnaabemwin, truncation is sometimes used to form VOCATIVES, such as *nmishoo,* 'grandfather,' formed from stem /mishoomis/.

UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIER — The word *kina,* 'all, every,' and associated phrases in Nishnaabemwin, which indicate that all member of some group fit a particular description or requirement.

UNROUNDED — Characterizing VOWELS and GLIDES that lack ROUNDING of the lips in their articulation.

UNSPECIFIED ACTOR — Designating a GRAMMATICAL ROLE in certain verbs in which the semantic role of actor is either not specified, as in PASSIVES, or very general, as in general activity statements. For example, in passive *nwaabmigoo,* 'I am seen (by some unspecified actor),' the actor is unspecified— such an actor must exist, in order for the transitive verb to be used, but the actor is not specified.

UNSTRESSED — Within the system of SYLLABLE prominence in a language, unstressed syllables are those that receive little or no prominence, such as the third syllable of the word *photography*. In Nishnaabemwin, METRICAL FEET ideally consist of a WEAK (UNSTRESSED) syllable followed by a STRONG (STRESSED) syllable.

VAI — An INTRANSITIVE VERB with an ANIMATE SUBJECT (S-ROLE).

VAIO — An INTRANSITIVE VERB which can optionally be inflected for a THIRD PERSON GOAL (either ANIMATE or INANIMATE).

VARIANT — Any distinguishable version of some linguistic element. For example, a PHONEME such as /aa/ can be pronounced with several variants, or a VERB form may have different variants among different speakers, for example *ngii-googiimin*, 'we (excl.) dove,' versus *ngii-googiimi*.

VARIETY — Any identifiable form of speech, whether that of an individual, a community, a social group, or a language.

VELAR — Of CONSONANTS, articulated in the region of the SOFT PALATE (VELUM), the back of the mouth. The velar consonants of Nishnaabemwin are /g/, /k/ and /ŋ/.

VELUM — The soft palate, that is, the soft portion at the back of the roof of the mouth.

VERBAL POLARITY — See POLARITY.

VERB MEDIAL — A construction which has a VERB in the middle, such as English clauses, e.g., *I see you*, where the verb is the middle element, flanked by the SUBJECT and the OBJECT.

VERB OF ABUNDANCE — A verb that specifies that something exists or is present, formed by adding the VII FINAL /-kaa/ to a NOUN STEM, e.g., *miishkoonskaa*, 'there is (a lot of) grass' VII.

VERB OF ACCOMPANIMENT — Designating a Nishnaabemwin VTA VERB such as *wiidbim*, 'sit with AN,' in which the ACTOR of the VERB specifies someone who accompanies, assists, or associates with the ANIMATE GOAL in some way. Sometimes called COMITATIVES.

VERB OF ADDICTION — A VAI verb having the final /-ishki/, almost always indicating a socially-dispreferred inclination or habitual behaviour. E.g., *gtimshki*, 'be a lazy person,' in which /-ishki/ is added to *gtimi*, 'be lazy.'

VERB OF BEING — 1. Referring to verbs formed by combining the FINAL element /-wi/, 'be,' (VAI) or /-wan/ (VII) with a NOUN INITIAL, as in *gwiiwzenswi*, 'be a boy,' or *oodenaawan*, 'be a town or village.' 2. In reference to the verbs *aawi* (VAI) and *aawan* (VII), 'be an X.'

VERB OF IDENTITY — A verb used to identify someone or something as being a particular thing. The verbs of identity are *aawi* VAI and *aawan* VII.

VERB OF MAKING — Referring to animate intransitive verbs (VAI) formed with the final element /-ke/, 'make, gather, get,' such as *kokbinaagnike*, 'make baskets,' or *ziizbaakdoke*, 'make (maple) sugar.' These verbs have a DERIVATIONAL structure consisting of a noun INITIAL, to which is added the VAI FINAL /-ke/. Their meanings vary between making, gathering, hunting, and other socially constructive activities.

VERB OF NUMBER — A verb that specifies a number, such as *niizhwag*, 'they are two (in number).'

VERB OF POSSESSION — Referring to ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE VERBS (VAI) formed by combining the FINAL element /-i/, 'have,' with a noun INITIAL formed from the THIRD PERSON SINGULAR POSSESSIVE, as in *wzhoonyaami*, 'ANsg has money' (with NOUN INITIAL *wzhoonyaam*, 'ANsg's money') or *wniijaansi*, 'ANsg has (a) child(ren),' (with noun initial *wniijaanis*, 'ANsg's child').

VII — An INTRANSITIVE VERB taking an INANIMATE SUBJECT (S-ROLE).

VOCAL CORDS — Also called vocal folds. Bands of muscle and tissue in the LARYNX that can be drawn closely together and made to vibrate when air is forced through them. Sounds made in this fashion are said to be VOICED; sounds made with vocal cords apart, and thus not vibrating, are said to be VOICELESS.

VOCAL TRACT — That part of human anatomy that is involved in the production of speech, including the lungs, TRACHEA (windpipe), LARYNX (voice-box), the oral cavity (and its parts) and the nasal cavity.

VOCATIVE Referring to a form of a NOUN that is used in direct address. For example, the vocative form of *nmishoomis*, 'my grandfather,' is *nmishoo*, used when directly addressing one's grandfather. See also TERM OF REFERENCE.

VOICE Designating whether the casting of a TRANSITIVE VERBAL PREDICATION is ACTIVE VOICE, that is, from the perspective of the SEMANTIC AGENT or EXPERIENCER, or PASSIVE VOICE, that is, from the perspective of the PATIENT or RECIPIENT. See ACTIVE VOICE, PASSIVE VOICE.

VOICED Referring to a sound which is produced with vibration of the VOCAL CORDS. In Nishnaabemwin, all VOWELS are voiced, as are the CONSONANTS /b/, /d/, /g/, /z/, /zh/, /j/, /w/, /y/, /m/ and /n/. OBSTRUENTS in Nishnaabemwin are represented in voiced and voiceless pairs, e.g., voiced /b/ has voiceless partner /p/, etc. Compare VOICELESS.

VOICELESS Referring to a sound which is produced with the VOCAL CORDS far enough apart that they do not vibrate. In Nishnaabemwin, /p/, /t/, /k/, /s/, /sh/, /ch/ and /h/ are all voiceless. OBSTRUENTS in Nishnaabemwin are represented in voiced and voiceless pairs, e.g., voiced /b/ has voiceless partner /p/, etc. Compare VOICED.

VOLUNTATIVE Indicating a desire. Sometimes expressed in Nishnaabemwin with the PREVERB *wii-*. Example: *Aapji nii-damin gegoo.* 'I really want to play with something.'

VOWEL One of the two basic classes of sounds in language, the other being CONSONANTS. Vowels are generally produced by putting the VOCAL CORDS together so that they vibrate (creating voicing), and putting the tongue and lips into particular configurations. The vowels of Nishnaabemwin are /a, i, e, o, ii, aa, oo/. Vowels may be SHORT or LONG.

VOWEL BACKNESS See BACKNESS.

VOWEL HEIGHT See HEIGHT.

VOWEL SYNCOPE The process of deleting (not pronouncing) UNSTRESSED vowels. See SYNCOPE.

VTA A TRANSITIVE VERB with an ANIMATE GOAL.

VTAI See INVERSE ONLY VTA.

VTI A TRANSITIVE VERB with an INANIMATE GOAL.

WEAK In reference to syllables or vowels, designates those which are not stressed. See STRESS; UNSTRESSED.

WHEN-CLAUSE A clause that specifies the time of an action or event. For example, *Niibnini maa naa odi [gii-ndomndwaa ji-wi-wzhibiihgewaad].* 'It was summer there [when they were called to go there to sign the treaty].' (AK10.20)

WORD-FINAL Designating the last unit in a word. Usually in reference to sounds, e.g., /n/ is word final in the word *jiimaan*, 'boat.'

WORD FORM Any of the possible inflectional forms of a lexeme. For example, word forms associated with the LEXEME *jiimaan*, 'boat,' include the PLURAL *jiimaanan*, the LOCATIVE *jiimaaning*, and the various possessed forms, such as *jiimaanim*, 'ANsg's boat.' See LEXEME, MORPHO-SYNTACTIC WORD.

WORDSTOCK The vocabulary of a language. See LEXICON.

X 1. Designating an UNSPECIFIED ACTOR. Since TRANSITIVE VERBS in Nishnaabemwin theoretically require two roles, an ACTOR and a GOAL, in those predications corresponding to English passives, that is, those in which only the goal can be expressed, such as *nwaabmigoo*, 'I am seen,' the actor is considered unspecified, and any grammatical elements that make reference to the actor are said to be unspecified actor forms. 2. For intransitive verbs, used to identify affixes associated with verbs naming generalized activity, such as *niimhidim*, 'there is a dance.'

YES/NO QUESTION A question that expects an answer of yes or no. In Nishnaabemwin such questions usually have *na*, e.g., *Ndaa-ni-maajaa na go?*, 'May I go?' Compare CONTENT QUESTION.

References

Baraga, Frederic. 1850. A theoretical and practical grammar of the Otchipwe language, the language spoken by the Chippewa Indians, which is also spoken by the Algonquin, Ottawa and Potawatomi Indians, with little difference. Detroit: Jabez Fox.

– 1878. A dictionary of the Otchipwe language, explained in English. A new edition, by a missionary of the Oblates [i.e., Albert Lacombe]. Part I, English-Otchipwe; Part II, Otchipwe-English. Montréal: Beauchemin & Valois.

Blackbird, Andrew. 1887. History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, a grammar of their language and personal and family history of the author. Ypsilanti, Michigan: Ypsilantian Job Printing House.

Bloomfield, Leonard, and John D. Nichols, eds. 1991. The dog's children: Anishinaabe texts told by Angeline Williams. Publications of the Algonquian Text Society. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1925. On the sound system of Central Algonquian. *Language* 1:130-156.

– 1946. Algonquian. Harry Hoijer et al., eds. Linguistics structures of native America, 85-129. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology 6. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

– 1958. Eastern Ojibwa: Grammatical sketch, texts and word list. Charles F. Hockett, ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

– 1962. The Menomini language. Charles F. Hockett, ed. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.

Clifton, James. 1978. Potawatomi. In Bruce Trigger, ed., 1978, pp. 725-742.

Corbiere, Mary Ann. 1994. Introduction to Ojibwe. Ms., University of Sudbury.

Croft, W. 1990. Typology and universals. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cuoq, Jean-André. 1891-1892. Grammaire de la langue algonquine. Société royale du Canada, *Mémoires* 9(1): 85-114; 10(1):41-119.

Dahlstrom, Amy. 1987. Plains Cree morphosyntax. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.

– 1995. Topic, focus and other word order problems in Algonquian. The Belcourt Lecture. Winnipeg: Voices of Rupertsland, University of Manitoba.

– 1996. Narrative structure of a Fox text. In Nichols and Ogg, eds., 1996, pp. 113-162.

Day, Gordon, and Bruce Trigger. 1978. Algonquin. In Bruce Trigger, ed., 1978, pp. 792-797.

Denny, Peter. 1976. What are noun classifiers good for? *Chicago Linguistic Society Papers* 12:122-132.

Feest, Johanna, and Christian F. Feest. 1978. Ottawa. In Bruce Trigger, ed., 1978, pp. 772-786.

Fox, Francis, and Nora Soney with Richard Rhodes. 1988. Chippewa-Ottawa texts. In Nichols 1988, pp. 33-68.

Goddard, Ives. 1979. Comparative Algonquian. In Lyle Campbell and Marianne Mithun, eds., The languages of native America: Historical and comparative assessment. Austin: University of Texas Press.

– 1980. Eastern Algonquian as a genetic sub-grouping. In William Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* 11, pp. 143-158. Ottawa: Carleton University.

– 1984. The obviative in Fox narrative discourse. In William Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* 15, pp. 273-286. Ottawa: Carleton University.

– 1988. Stylistic dialects in Fox linguistic change. In Jacek Fisiak, ed., *Historical Dialectology: Regional and Social*, pp 193-209. Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 37. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

– 1990a. Primary and secondary stem derivation in Algonquian. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 56:449-483.

– 1990b. Aspects of the topic structure of Fox narratives: proximate shifts and the use overt and inflectional NPs. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 56:317-340.

Johns, Alana. 1980. Relative clauses and related phenomena in Rainy River Ojibway. M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa.

Johnston, Basil. 1978. Ojibway language course outline for beginners. Ottawa: Education and Cultural Support Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs.

– 1979. Ojibway language lexicon for beginners. Ottawa: Education and Cultural Support Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs.

Jones, David. 1971. Odawa noun morphology. In Kaye, et al., eds., 1971, pp. 39-79.

Kaye, Jonathan. 1973. Odawa stress and related phenomena. In Piggott and Kaye, eds., 1973, pp. 42-50.

Kaye, Jonathan D., Glyne L. Piggott, and Kensuke Tokaichi, eds. 1971. Odawa Language Project, first report. Toronto: University of Toronto Anthropology Series 9.

Keenan, Edward. 1985. Relative clauses. In Timothy Shopen, ed., *Language typology and syntactic description: Volume II, complex constructions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

King, Alice, with Jean Rogers. 1988. Parry Island texts. In John Nichols, ed., 1988, pp. 69-106.

McGregor, Gregor, with C. F. Voegelin. 1988. Birch Island texts. In John Nichols, ed., 1988, pp. 107-194.

Nichols, John D. 1980. Ojibwe morphology. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.

Nichols, John D., ed. 1988. An Ojibwe text anthology. Text+ Series, no. 2. Studies in the Interpretation of Canadian Native Languages and Cultures. London, Ontario: Centre for Research and Teaching of Canadian Native Languages, University of Western Ontario.

Nichols, John, and Earl Nyholm. 1995. A concise dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Nichols, John D., and Arden C. Ogg, eds. 1996. Nikotwâsik iskwâhtêm, pâskihtêpayih! Studies in honour of H.C. Wolfart. Memoir 13, Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Nin.da.waab.jig. 1987. Minishenhying Anishnaabe-aki: Walpole Island: The soul of Indian territory. Windsor, Ontario: Commercial Associates/Ross Roy Ltd.

O'Grady, Michael, and John Archibald. 2000. Contemporary linguistic analysis. Toronto: Addison Wesley Longman.

Payne, Doris, ed. 1992. Pragmatics of word order flexibility. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Payne, Thomas. 1997. Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Piggott, Glyne L. 1978. Algonquin and other Ojibwa dialects: A preliminary report. William Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* 9. Ottawa: Carleton University.

– 1979. Verb classification in Ojibwa. *Recherches linguistiques à Montréal/Montreal working papers in linguistics 12*, pp. 149-186.

– 1980. Aspects of Odawa morphophonemics. In Jorge Hankamer, ed., Outstanding dissertations in linguistics. New York: Garland.

– 1989. Argument structure and the morphology of the Ojibwa verb. In Donna Gerdts and Karin Michelson, eds., Theoretical perspectives in native American languages. Albany, New New York: SUNY Press.

Piggott, Glyne L., and Ann Grafstein, eds. 1983. An Ojibwa lexicon. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 90. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Piggott, Glyne, and Jonathan D. Kaye, eds., 1973. Odawa Language Project, second report. Toronto: University of Toronto Linguistic Series.

Proulx, Paul. 1981. Yurok fieldwork report. *Algonquian and Iroquoian linguistics* 6:21-23.

Rhodes, Richard. 1976a. The morphosyntax of the Central Ojibwa verb. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

– 1976b. A preliminary report on the dialects of Eastern Ojibwa-Odawa. In William Cowan, ed., Papers of the Algonquian Conference 7, pp. 129-156. Ottawa: Carleton University.

– 1979. Some aspects of Ojibwa discourse. In William Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* 10, pp. 102-117. Ottawa: Carleton University.

– 1980. On the semantics of the instrumental finals of Ojibwa. In William Cowan, ed. *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* 11, pp. 183-197. Ottawa: Carleton University.

– 1981. On the semantics of Ojibwe verbs of breaking. In William Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* 12, pp. 47-56. Ottawa: Carleton University.

– 1985. Eastern Ojibwa-Chippewa-Ottawa dictionary. New York: Mouton.

– 1990. Relative root complements in Ojibwa. Paper presented at the 29th CAIL-AAA, New Orleans, Louisiana.

– 1991a. Ojibwa secondary objects. In K. Dziwirek, P. Farrell, and E. Mejías-Bikandi, eds. Grammatical relations: A cross-theoretical perspective, ed. by Stanford: CSLI, pp. 401-414.

– 1991b. Obviation, inversion and topic rank in Ojibwa. In David Costa, ed., Berkeley Linguistics Society Parasession to the 16th Annual Meeting. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistic Society, pp. 101-115.

– 1993. The Possessor constraint. Paper presented at the 25th Algonquian Conference, Ottawa, Canada.

– 1996. Relative clauses in Ottawa. Paper presented at 28th Algonquian Conference, Toronto, Ontario.

– 1997. The syntax and pragmatics of Ojibwe *mii*. Paper presented at the 29th Algonquian Conference, Toronto, Ontario.

– 1998a. Clause structure, core arguments, and the Algonquian relative root construction. The Belcourt Lecture, University of Manitoba.

– 1998b. On the syntax of Ottawa content questions. Paper presented at 30th Algonquian Conference, Boston, Massachusetts.

Rhodes, Richard, and Evelyn Todd. 1981. Subarctic Algonquian languages. In William C. Sturtevant, ed., Handbook of North American Indians. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Rice, Keren. 1989. Slave. New York: Mouton.

Rogers, Jean. 1975a. Non-TA verbs of Parry Island Ojibwa. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 41:21-31.

– 1975b. Prediction of transitive animate verbs in an Ojibwa dialect. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 41:114-139.

1979. Differential focusing in Ojibwa conjunct verbs: On circumstances, participants, or events. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 44:167-179.

Russell, Kevin. 1996. Does obviation mark point of view? In Nichols and Ogg, eds., 1996, pp. 367-382.

Sapir, Edward. 1913. Wiyot and Yurok, Algonkin languages of California. *American Anthropologist* 15:617-646.

Schmalz, Peter S. 1991. The Ojibwa of southern Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Smith, Theresa. 1995. The island of the Anishnaabeg: Thunderers and water monsters in the traditional Ojibwe life world. Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press.

Spielmann, Roger. 1998. "You're So Fat!": Exploring Ojibwe discourse. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Teeter, Karl. 1967. Genetic classification in Algonquian. In A. D. DeBlois, ed., Contributions to anthropology: Linguistics I (Algonquian). National Museum of Canada Bulletin 214. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada.

Todd, Evelyn. 1970. A grammar of the Ojibwa language: The Severn dialect. Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Tomlin, Russel and Richard Rhodes. 1979. An introduction to information distribution in Ojibwa. In P. Clyne et al., eds., Papers from the Fifteenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society, pp. 307-321. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society. Reprinted in Doris Payne, ed., Pragmatics of word order flexibility, 1992, pp. 117-135. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Trigger, Bruce, ed. 1978. Handbook of American Indian languages, Vol. 15. William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Truitner, Kenneth and Timothy Dunnigan. Wh-questions in Ojibwe. *Chicago Linguistic Society Papers* 8:359-367.

Valentine, J. Randolph. 1994. Ojibwe dialect relationships. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.

– 1996. Amik Anicinaabewigoban: Rhetorical structures in Albert Mowatt's telling of an Algonquin tale. In Nichols and Ogg, eds., 1996, pp. 387-428.

– ed. 1998. Weshki-Bmaadzijig Ji-Noondmowaad. 'That the young might hear': The stories of Andrew Medler as recorded by Leonard Bloomfield. London: University of Western Ontario.

Valentine, Lisa P. 1995. Making it their own: Severn Ojibwe communicative practices. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

– 1996. Metanarration in Severn Ojibwe. In Nichols and Ogg, eds., 1996, pp. 429-460.

Valentine, Randy, ed. 1991. Ojibwe dialogues & riddles. Thunder Bay, Ontario: Native Language Instructors' Program, Lakehead University.

Valentine, Randy, and Lena White, eds. 1987. Aapji go geget ngii-yekdiyebmi; Aapiji go geget nigii-ayekodiyebimin. Thunder Bay, Ontario: Native Language Instructors' Program, Lakehead University.

Index

Symbols

' (apostrophe) in writing 85

A

a-, pv complementizer 946
/-aa-/ augment on nouns 196
  in denominal verbs of being 363
  in verbs of possession 416
  with locatives 195
aabdeg, av expressing obligation 787
aabdig, av expressing obligation 787
-aabiig- 'stringlike' classifier 345
-aabik- 'stonelike' classifier 345
aabta, nm 'half' 876
-aadizi vai final, 'live' 397
-aagan, nominalizer 505
-aakw- 'sticklike' classifier 346
-aang, *see* locatives
-aanh, *see* contemptives
aanind, quantifier 572
aano- pv, and negation 855
-aans, *see* diminutives
-aash, *see* pejoratives
aawan vii 'be an X' 704–709
aawi vai 'be an X' 704–709
aazhi av, w/ relative past 768
abbreviations, *see* codes
ablative 723
abstract finals 324
abstract nouns 106
abundance, verbs of 373
actor focus detrans. verbs 403–408, 692
actor macrorole 648
actors, generalized 689
actors, unspecified actors 268
adjectival descriptive verbs 342
adjuncts
  see also clauses
  locational 748–750
  temporal 828–830
adverbs
  as part of speech 138–147
  adverbial predicators 680
  conjunctive adverbs 143, 1000
  degree adverbs 144, 871
  derivation of 522–526
  dubitative adverbs 830
  evidential adverbs 147
  grammatical features of 930
  interrogative adverbs 146
  locational adverbs 140, 733–736
  locational used as temporal 823
  manner adverbs 141
  modifier-head order in av phrases 932
  negative adverbs 145
  quantificational adverbs 144
  quasi-predicative adverbs 949
  subordinating adverbs 947
  subordinating temporal adverbs 826
  temporal adverbs 139
affective expressions 1002
age, expressing 886
agent, semantic role 648
age-stratification in language behaviour 11
ago, expressing relative date 811
agreement
  between demonstratives & nouns 546
  gender, number & obviation 940
  with coordinated noun phrases 997
ai verbs, *see* vai verbs
/akw/ relative root
  see also relative roots
  in quantity & degree expressions 870
  with expressions of linear extent 900
Algonquian language family 12–??
Algonquin, dialect of Anish. 15
allative 724
allomorphy
  in conjunct 3 vai, /d/ & /g/ 227
  noun plural suffixes, in 180

variation in root forms 427
alternative questions 978
alveolar ridge 45
alveopalatal consonants 45
ambegish, 'hope that…' 680
Anihshininiimowin, dialect of Anish. 16
animacy *see* gender
animate intransitive verbs, *see* vai verbs
animate nouns 114
Anishinaabemowin
overview of dialects 14–17
Algonquin 15
Chippewa (Southwestern Ojibwa) 15
Eastern Ojibwe 15
Nipissing Algonquin 16
Northern Ojibwe 17
Odawa (Ottawa) 16
Oji-Cree 16
relationship to Nishnaabemwin 1
Saulteaux 17
Southwestern Ojibwa (Chippewa) 15
antipassives 692
/apiit/ relative root
see also relative roots
in degree expressions 869
applicatives
applicative-advancement 699–702
secondary role vta verbs 685
vta finals 463–467
with intransitive bases 701
apposition 591
of personal pronouns and nouns 611
aspect
see also mode, preterit, preterit dubitative
aspectual preverbs 162
aspectual verbs & preverbs 793–798
habituality 790
preverb *shkwaa-* & completive 768
roots specifying aspect 424
assibilation
in vai finals 325
assimilation
obstruent voicing 76–81
of nasals 73
Associative 549
attributive verbs 342
augment *-magad*, vii 373
/-aw/ final 685
aw, *see* demonstrative pronouns

B

-ba(n)
see preterit mode
with nouns (preterits) 206
backgrounding
and subordination 948–949
Baraga, F. 27, 572
bbaa-, directional preverb 731
see directionals
being
see Chapter 14
denominal vai *-wi* | vii *-wan* 363, 709–710
equationals 706
existential verbs 402
existentials 710–719
identificational constructions 973
identity, *aawi* & *aawan* 704–709
locational verb *yaa* , vai & vii 710–714
locational verbs *bi* vai & *te* vii 716–719
locational verbs *dgo* & *dgomgad* 714
benefactives
semantic role explained 657
vta finals 463–467
bezhig, indefinite usage 538
bi-, directional preverb 729
see directionals 729
Blackbird, A. 27
Bloomfield, L. 12, 27, 118, 198, 202, 328, 329, 342, 424, 425, 431, 433, 497, 505, 522, 526
Bloomfield, L. & J. Nichols 57, 230
bmi-, directional preverb 730

see directionals 730
bodily action verbs 391
bodily instrumental causative finals 438
body part terms 106–113
and body part descriptive verbs 330
bodily action & movement verbs 389
in transitive verbs 467–470
in verbs of measurement 474
instrumental finals 438
list from Rhodes 1985 109
verbs describing body parts 385–389
body part verbs 385–389
ending in /m/ 388
body-internal instrumental causative finals 438
body-part instrumental finals
exemplified 439
body-part terms
instrumentals exemplified 439
booch, av expressing obligation 787
boontaa, aspectual verb 793
borrowing
verbs with Nish. finals added 406
borrowing of vocabulary 89
vti verbs formed with /-wit-oo/ 434
bwaa-, in conjunct negatives 850

C

cardinal numbers 873–879
causatives 698–699
action-based instrumental finals 439
external instrumental finals 439
goal-focus instrumental causatives 355
internal-site instrumental finals 438
lexical example sets 455–458
Central
sub-group of Algonquian 14
Chippewa, dialect of Anish. 15
classificatory medials 331
see also classifiers
in descriptive verbs 345
classifiers
-aabiig- 'stringlike' 345
-aabik- 'stonelike' 345
/-aak-/ as intensifier 472
-aakw- 'sticklike' 346
and numeral quantifiers 572
-eg- 'sheetlike' 346
-iig- 'sheetlike' 346
in benefactives 465
in transitive verbs 435
in verbs of motion & location 347
-minag- 'berrylike' 346
use in counting 883–885
with noun finals 499–501
with vi finals *-shin* | *-sin* 353
clause
clause types 959
clauses
see also syntax, word order
basic word order 933–936
clause defined 933
conditional clauses 861–864
coordinate clauses 998
counterfactual clauses 863
disjunction 1001
locative clauses 748–750
multi-clausal imperatives 995
purpose clauses 856
reason clauses 858
result clauses 860
subordinating temporal adverbs 826
temporal relationships between 828
clefting
clefted negatives 845
Clifton, J. 26
clitics
phonological behaviour 72
coalescence
in formation of noun plurals 95
of /aw+i/ to /aa/ in reciprocals 409
of /aw+i/ to /aa/ in reflexives 408
of /nw/ + /a/ to /noo/ 226
of /wa/ to /o/ 83

codes
person/number codes 219
sources codes 19–23
cognate, defined 12
collectives
demonstratives with 548
comitative verbs 702
comitatives
vta complex *wiid-X-m* 462
vta finals 463–467
commands 991–996
see also imperatives
commands, *see* imperatives
communicative competence 26
communicative functions 974–996
community codes used in grammar 21
community language usage patterns 3
comparatives 904–908
comparison
comparatives 904
equation 906
superlatives 907
complementizers 946–947
a- 946
demonstratives as 670
complements 665–685
adverbial predicators 680
clausal complements of intransitive verbs 667
direct and indirect quotation 668
of mental activity verbs 655, 671
of verbs of capability 678
of verbs of formal speech acts 675
of verbs of instruction 677
of verbs of intention and desire 674
of verbs of making and doing 678
of verbs of orientation and evaluation 677
of verbs of perception 673
sentential complements 665–685
subject-of-comp. copying verbs 681
tense and mode in 671
compound nominals 591
with universal quantifier 605
compounds
classified on basis of left element 518
phonological classification 517
relation to secondary derivation 335
structure of 515–522
with *nini*, 'man' 521
concrete finals 323
concrete nouns 106
conditionals 861–864
conjunct order 157, 943–945
features disting. from independent 944
main verbs inflected with 951
negation in 849
vai verbs 221
vta template 275
conjunction
demonstratives with conjoined np's 552
of noun phrases 568
conjunctive adverbs 143
consonants 41–49
alveolar 45
alveopalatal 45
classification parameters 44
dental/alveolar 45
devoicing of final obstruents 74
glottal 45
labial 45
link consonants 338, 339
loss of consonants in derivation 341
loss or weakening 81
manner of articulation 45
minimal pairs 43
non-alternating final obstruents 76
palatal 45
phonemic inventory 41
phonological processes 73–89
place of articulation 45
place of articulation diagram 45

rounding of /g/ and /k/ after /o, oo/ 83
velar 45
contemptives 185–190
lexicalized 188
noun stem class of 175
ordering relative to pejorative 192
plurals of 190
variation in locative forms 195
content questions 979–991
context
physical and linguistic context 528
contrast
with *ge* 618
with pronouns 622
coordination 996–1001
conjunctive adverbs 1000
of clauses 998
of first and third persons 997
of noun phrases 996
with *dash* 1001
with *ge*, 'also' 998
copying (of complement) verbs 681
Corbiere, M. 66, 67, 793, 973
correlatives 755
counterfactuals 863
Cowan, W. 26
Craig, C. and K. Hale 664
Croft, W. 663
Cuoq, J. 16

D

daa-
marker of mood 782–787
da-/ga-
see also future tense
as mood marker 778
future tense 776–782
ge- as changed conjunct 779
ji- as plain conjunct 778
mood w/ *ge-* + preterit 786
overlap with *wii-* 780
with force of commands 777
Dahlstrom, A. 645, 953
/daN/ relative root
see also relative roots
expressing static location 723
dash
in resultatives 861
dash, in coordination 1001
dash, in topic-shift questions 990
dash, particle 151
/daSw/ relative root
see also relative roots
in quantity expressions 867
dates
see also time
expressing the day of the month 809
expressing the year 808
relative date expressions 811
day
parts of the day 818
days
expressing day of week 805
expressing days relative 815
dbi, uncertain location 738
definiteness
relative root complements and 725
definites 545–565
degree
expressions of degree 899
degree adverbs 144
degree preverbs 163
Delaware
abstract transitive finals of 431
deletion
of final short vowels & glides 224
of inflectional /w/ by syncope 229
demonstrative pronouns 123–125
dialect variation of 18
remote forms 125
demonstratives
and locatives 547
as complementizers 670
as pro-clauses and pro-sentences 563

floating, fronting of 551
in definite expressions 545
in indefinites 541
in presentationals 570
locational adverbs 733–736
locational av's used as temporals 824
optionality 556
order with nouns 550
proximal versus distal 555
used for definite reference 554
verbless constructions with 565
with collectives 548
with conjoined noun phrases 552
with *gegoo* 597
with mass nouns 544
with names 548
with possessed nouns 554
with quantifiers 574
with relative clauses 555
Denny, P. 323, 324, 331
dependent nouns 106–112
body part terms 106–113
in derivation 482
kinship terms 107–112
other dependent nouns 108
person prefixes with V-initial stems 200
relation to body part medials 386
derivation
functional shift 483
medialization 430
of adverbs 522–526
of intransitive verbs, *Chapter 9*
of nouns 477–522
of preverbs & prenouns 526
of transitive verbs, *Chapter 10*
primary & secondary 334
primary & secondary in nouns 483
stem forms 477
structure of transitive verbs 427
derivational morphology
and parts of speech 103
and phonology 98
and transitivity 214
descriptive grammar 11
descriptive verbs 342
desiderative
wii- as 776
desire 789
destination 724
detransitives
actor focus 403–408, 692
/-iwe/ final 694
detransitivization 403, 406
and nominalization 694
deverbal final 350
deverbal finals 329
devoicing
obstruent assimilation 80
of obstruents 74–81
dgo, vai 'be in a location' 714–716
dgomgad, vii 'be in a location' 714–716
dialects
age-stratified language differences 11
Anishinaabemowin dialects 14–17
branching model of 10
chaining effects 5
dialect codes used in grammar 21
dialect defined 8
focal and peripheral dialect regions 9
gender (sexual) differences in language 11
language variety defined 10
sociolect defined 10
sub-dialects defned 7
variation in vai inflection 230
wave model of 9
within Nishnaabemwin 3, 17–19
-dig
see dubitative mode
vocative plural 206
diminutives 185–190
exceptional diminutives 188
in noun derivation 494–499
lexicalized 188

ordering rel. to pejorative 192
plurals of 190
diphthongization 82
direct
see theme suffixes 271
direct address
and personal pronouns 609
directional preverbs 161
directional roots
in impersonal verbs 365
directionals 728–733
as time markers 791–792
bi- as recent past 761
directional preverbs 161
directional roots 420
nji- as recent past 761
preverb *bbaa-*, root *bbaam* 731
preverb *bi-*, root *biid* 729
preverb *bmi-*, root *bim* 730
preverb *ni-*, root *anim* 731
preverb *wa-*, translocative 733
providing explicit motion to verbs 384
with imperatives 993
with *yaa*, 'be' 712
discourse
discourse uses of obviation 637
examination of nominal patterns in a text 643
information status & word order 951
disjoint reference
and theme suffixes 271
in reflexives & reciprocals 273
disjunction 1001
with *maage* 1001
distal demonstratives 124
distance
expressing 891
distributive numbers 880
distributive reduplication 385
ditransitive verbs 136
ditransitives 656
dnawa, pronouns of kind 127, 593
-dog
see dubitative mode
vocative plural 206
dry measure, expressions of 903
dso-, relative
with time expressions 820
dubitative
dubitative pronouns 127
uncertain location with *dbi* 738
dubitative mode 798, 832
dialect variation, *-dog* & *-dig* 230
/-digw/ form 220
-naa extension 228
vocative plurals and 206
dubitative preterit, *see* preterit dubitative
dubitatives 830–837
see also mode, dubitative, preterit dubitative
dubitative adverbs 830
manj (iidig) 844
with *endgwen(h)* 833

E

e-, preverb 156
Eastern Algonquian 13
Eastern Ojibwe, dialect of Anish. 15
echo questions 991
-eg- 'sheetlike' classifier 346
eko-, in relative date expressions 811
emphasis
and personal pronouns 612
emphatic particles with pronouns 613
with pronouns 622
emphatic particles 150
endgwen(h)
dubitative constructions 833
endso- see dso-
enh, affirmative 839
-enh, *see* contemptives
-ens, *see* diminutives
environmental medials 332
equation 906

equational verbs 706
evaluative preverbs 165
every, in time expressions 820
evidential adverbs 147
evidentials 830–837
see also mode, dubitative, preterit dubitative
exclamations 1002
exclusive first person plural 122
exhortatives 149
existential verbs 402
existentials 710–719
gaa gegoo as negative existential 849
negative existentials 599
verbless negatives 844
verbs of abundance as 719
verbs of number as 720
experiencer, semantic role 649, 655

F

Feest & Feest 26
feigning, verbs of 413
Fiero system orthography 29
final /-aw/ 685
finals
abstract and concrete finals 323
adverbs
av *-yahii*, 'location] 524
av *-yahiing*, 'location] 524
locational finals 524
causative
bodily 438
body-internal 438
derivation of transitive finals 430
deverbal finals 329
(b)aapi 399
finals introduced 318
finals without initials 329
instrumental finals and semantic roles 660
intransitive verbs
detransitivizing finals 403
irregular pairings of finals 362
motion finals 374
vai *-(aa)bagonii* | vii *-(aa)bagonii*, 'have buds' 361
vai *-(i)gi* | vii *-(i)gin*, 'grow' 360
vai *-(i)we*, 'detransitive' 406
vai *-aa* | vii *-aa*, 'be Xed' 356
vai *-aabi*, 'see, look' 394
vai *-aabono*, 'by boat' 375
vai *-aaboozo* | vii *-aaboode*, 'float' 348
vai *-aaboozo*, 'float' 375
vai *-aadgaa*, 'swim, wade' 375
vai *-aadizi*, 'live' 397
vai *-aagnagii*, 'walk on snow' 381
vai *-aagone*, 'walk on snow' 381
vai *-aajimo*, 'narrate, tell' 395
vai *-aandwe*, 'climb' 375
vai *-aangzhe*, 'work, job' 398
vai *-aanzhe* | vii *-aanzhe*, 'shine' 361
vai *-aanzo* | *vii -aande*, 'be coloured' 360
vai *-aapi*, 'laugh' 399
vai *-aapne*, 'be sick, ill' 399
vai *-aashi* | vii *-aasin*, 'by wind' 349
vai *-aashi*, 'by wind' 375
vai *-aaso* | vii *-aate*, 'by heat, by sun' 350
vai *-aaso*, 'carry a load' 413
vai *-aaso*, 'detransitive' 407
vai *aawad_-e*, 'haul X' 410
vai *-aawaso*, 'attend to children' 412
vai *-aawazo*, 'attend to group' 412
vai *-abi*, 'sit' 392
vai *-ademo*, 'cry' 399
vai *-agoojin* | vii *-agoode*, 'hang' 350
vai *-agwi(i)njin* | vii *-agwi(i)nde*, 'float' 350
vai *-aji* | vii *-adin*, 'by ice, cold' 351

vai *-akamigizi*, 'behave, engage' 399
vai *-akomii*, 'walk on ice' 380
vai *-akozhiwe*, 'paddle' 376
vai *-angizo*, 'be such date' 401
vai *-anjige*, 'eat' 400
vai *ayaa*, 'be (in a place)' 402
vai *-bagizo*, 'move quickly' 376, 383
vai *-bahidi*, 'run in a group' 376
vai *-bahigo*, 'ride on horseback' 376
vai *-bahiwe*, 'run in flight' 376
vai *-batoo*, 'run' 377
vai *-bii* | vii *-bii*, 'liquid' 351
vai *-bizo* | vii *-bide*, 'fly, drive' 348
vai *-bizo*, 'fly, drive' 378
vai *-bizo, -pizo*, 'wear, dress' 400
vai *-daabaanigo*, 'go by vehicle' 378
vai *-daabii*, 'dragging, pulling' 378
vai *-e*, 'body part is…' 386
vai *-endaagzi* | vii *-endaagod*, 'be thought, seem' 357
vai *-endam*, 'think, feel' 396
vai *-endi*, 'be absent' 400
vai *-gaa*, 'dance' 379
vai *-gaa*, 'move, act' 383
vai *-gaabawi*, 'stand' 393
vai *-gaashin*, 'leave a trail' 379
vai *-ge*, 'detransitive' 403
vai *-gidaazo*, 'be angry' 400
vai *giziibiig_-e*, 'wash X' 411
vai *-gwaaso*, 'sew' 401
vai *-ho*, 'act on oneself w/ instr.' 392
vai *-i* | vii *-i*, 'be X in number' 361
vai *-i*, 'have' 416
vai *-idi*, 'reciprocal' 409
vai *-idizo*, 'reflexive' 408
vai *-igaazo* | vii *-igaade*, 'be Xed' 359
vai *-ii*, 'move' 383
vai *-ikawe*, 'move leaving tracks' 379
vai *-imaagzi* | vii *-imaagod*, 'smell as…' 358
vai *-imaaso* | vii *-imaate*, 'smell as…' 358
vai *-inaagzi* | vii *-inaagod*, 'look, appear' 358
vai *-ine*, 'death, dying' 401
vai *-ingoshi*, 'sleep' 401
vai *-ingwaam(o)*, 'sleep' 402
vai *-ipogozi* | vii *-ipogod*, 'taste as…' 358
vai *-ise*, 'fly, move' 379
vai *-ishe*, 'hear(ing), listen' 394
vai *-ishi*, 'spend a season' 402
vai *-ishki* 415
vai *-itaagzi* | vii *-itaagod*, 'be heard' 357
vai *-izi* | vii *-aa*, 'be' 342
vai *-izi* | vii *-ad*, 'be' 344
vai *-izi* | vii *-an*, 'be' 344
vai *-izo* | vii *-ide*, 'by heat' 352
vai *-jiizo*, 'by heat' 401
vai *-jin*, 'act upon (body part)' 390
vai *-jinazo*, 'fight' 401
vai *-kaa*, 'move, act' 382
vai *-kaazo*, 'pretend to…' 413
vai *-ke*, 'make, do' 418
vai *-mo*, 'speak (X language)' 395
vai *moonah_-e*, 'dig for X' 410
vai *naad_-e*, 'fetch X' 410
vai *nanda_-e*, 'look for X' 410
vai *-ni*, 'act on body' 391
vai *-oode*, 'crawl' 379
vai *-oodegozi*, 'attend belongings' 413
vai *-oomigo*, 'on (horse)back' 380
vai *-oonzhe*, 'bear child' 413
vai *-ooshkne*, 'be a max of…' 396
vai *-ose*, 'walking' 380
vai *-se* | vii *-se*, 'fall, move' 347
vai *-shimo*, 'dance' 380
vai *-shin* | vii *-sin*, 'fall, lie' 353

vai *-shin*, 'fall and…' 390
vai *-shkaa* | vii *-shkaa*, 'move, happen to' 355
vai *-shkaa*, 'move, go' 381
vai *-taa*, 'act, do' 382
vai *-too*, 'move, act' 383
vai *-wewaan'gizi*, 'X groups…' 397
vai *-wewe* | vii *-wewe*, 'sound as…' 361
vai *-wi* | vii *-wan*, 'be' 363
vai *-zo* | vii *-de*, 'be Xed' 355
vii *-(aa)gamaa*, 'water body' 368
vii *-(i)tigweyaa*, 'rivers' 368
vii *-(y)aa*, 'body part is…' 389
vii *-aaban*, 'dawn' 372
vii *-aagami*, 'liquid' 372
vii *-aagamide*, 'heated liquid' 372
vii *-aagnagaa*, 'snow(fall)' 366
vii *-aanmad*, 'the wind' 370
vii *-aashkaa*, 'waves' 368
vii *-aate*, 'light, sunlight' 370
vii *-adinaa*, 'hills' 367
vii *-akamigaa*, 'ground, land' 366
vii *-akamigad*, 'social events' 369
vii *-akamigise* 'ground change' 367
vii *-akwaa*, 'foliage' 369
vii *-amo*, 'road, path' 367
vii *-ashk(w)aa*, 'grass' 368
vii *-bagaa*, 'leaves' 369
vii *-biboon'gad*, 'years' 372
vii *-biigami*, 'water' 368
vii *-biikod*, 'sky' 370
vii *-biisaa*, 'rain' 371
vii *-giizhgad*, 'day' 371
vii *-gonagad*, 'number of days…' 371
vii *-iindmaa*, 'water body' 368
vii *-ipo*, 'snowfall' 371
vii *-isagaa*, 'wood, floors' 369
vii *-isagad*, 'wood' 372
vii *-jiishkwigaa*, 'mud' 367
vii *-jiwan*, 'current, flow' 368
vii *-kaa*, 'abundance' 373
nouns
n *-(ey)aaby*, 'rope, string, chain' 491
n *-aabik*, 'metal, glass' 499
n *-aagan*, 'nominalizer' 504
n *-aakw*, 'wood, tree' 485, 486, 487, 491, 494, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504
n *-aatigw*, 'wood, tree' 500
n *-ashkw*, 'grass, reed' 485
n *-bagw*, 'leaf, leaves' 486
n *-by*, 'bush, tree' 486
n *-ens*, 'diminutive' 494, 496
n *-iiginw*, 'cloth, sheet' 501
n *-ishii+*, 'diminutives' 498
n *-isii+*, 'diminutives' 498
n *-isiw*, 'diminutive' 497
n *-jii+*, 'diminutives' 497
n *-min*, 'berry, grain, fruit' 486
n *-mizhy*, 'bush, tree' 487
n *-she+*, 'diminutives' 498
n *-wanzhy*, 'bush, tree' 488
-n, 'nominalizer' 502
na *-amegw*, 'fish' 489
na *-haa* | ni *-hii*, 'an X thing' 484
na *-oozw*, 'animal' 490
na *-sagw*, 'board, wood' 488
ni *-aaboo*, 'liquid' 490
ni *-gamigw*, 'building, habitation' 491
ni *-gan*, 'nominalizer' 503
ni *-ikomaan*, 'knife' 493
ni *-win*, 'nominalizer' 505
paired transitive finals explained 430
pre-finals 324
summary of final types 326
transitive
vta *?-ndaw* | vti *-?nd+am*, 'hear' 461
vta *-a(h)w* | vti *-ah+am*, 'act on w/ instr.' 447

vta *-aabam* | vti *-aaband+am*, 'see, look at' 459
vta *-aajim* | vti *-aajind+am*, 'tell about X' 441
vta *-aakzw* | vti *-aakz+am*, 'act on w/ flame' 450
vta *-aam* | vti *-aand+am*, 'taste' 474
vta *-aganaam* | vti *-aganaand+am*, 'hit, strike' 453
vta *-ah* | vti *-at+oo*, 'cause' 434
vta *-am* | vti *-and+am*, 'act on orally' 440
vta *-am, -im, -om* | vti *-ind+am*, 'act on with mouth' 441
vta *-amaw*, 'benefactive, applicative' 463
vta *-anem* | vti *-anend+am*, 'cause in mouth' 445
vta *-aw*, 'benefactive, applicative' 466
vta *-biihw* | vti *-biih+am*, 'act drawing' 450
vta *-biN* | vti *-bid+oo*, 'act on using hand, pull' 442
vta *-booN* | vti *-bood+oo*, 'use saw, drill' 451
vta *-daabaaN* | vti *-daabaad+am*, 'haul, drag' 458
vta *-enim* | vti *-end+am*, 'think about' 460
vta *-ga(h)w* | vti *-gah+am*, 'use axe' 451
vta *-gwaaN* | vti *-gwaad+am*, 'sew' 475
vta *-ih* | vti *-it+oo*, 'cause' 434
vta *-im* | vti *-ind+am*, 'act on orally' 440
vta *-iN* | vti *-in+am*, 'cause, act on X' 436
vta *-ipw* | vti *-ipid+am*, 'taste' 460
vta *-ishkaw* | vti *-ishk+am*, 'act on with foot or body' 443
vta *-ishkaw* | vti *-ishk+am*, 'cause in, on body' 445
vta *-itaw* | vti *-it+am*, 'hear' 461
vta *-izhw* | vti *-izh+am*, 'cut' 452
vta *-jiiN* | vti *-jiin+am* 476
vta *-kaw* | vti *-k+am*, 'act on with foot or body' 444
vta *-kaw*, 'cause in body' 446
vta *-koN* | vti *-kod+am*, 'use blade' 452
vta *-maam* | vti *-maand+am*, 'smell' 461
vta *-N* | vti *-d+am* 475
vta *-N* | vti *-d+oo* 476
vta *-om* | vti *-ind+am*, 'act on orally' 440
vta *-oom* | vti *-oond+am*, 'carry on back' 458
vta *-sah* | vti *-sat+oo*, 'cause, act on X' 436
vta *-shim* | vti *-sid+oo*, 'drop' 454
vta *-webiN* | vti *-webin+am*, 'act on with hand' 442
vta *-webshkaw* | vti *-webshk+am*, 'act on with foot or body' 444
vta *-wiid-X-m*, 'do X w/' 462
vta *-wiN* | vti *-wid+oo*, 'carry, transport' 459
vta *-zw* | vti *-z+am*, 'act on w/ heat' 448
vta *-zw*, 'cause in body' 446
transitive & intransitive related 431
transitive finals 426–476
vai & vii paired finals 342–364
vai finals 374–424
vai *-izi* | vii *-ad* lost in transitive derivation 434
vii finals 364–374
zero-finals 334
with body part verbs 389
first person plural with a free nominal 531
floating
of demonstratives 551

of quantifiers 573
focus
and personal pronouns 612
focus constructions with *mii* 614
identificational constructions 973
in yes/no questions 976
with *mii* 970–973
force, semantic role 654
fourth person 219 (see also obviation)
fronting
of adverb modifiers 932
future
used with imperative force 995
future tense 772–782
see also tense
da-/ga- with impersonal verbs 776
future obligatory with *aabdig* 787
future relative to future 780
future with *da-/ga-* 776–782
future with *wii-* 772–776
overlap of *da-/ga-* & *wii-* 780
relative future in past 770
relative future with *wii-* 775
w/ adverbs expressing obligation 789

G

gaawii njida 842
-gan, nominalizer 505
gchi-
prenoun 153
preverb 164
ge
ge constructions 614
in coordination 998
to express 'one's own' 617
ge-
see also da-/ga-
changed conjunct of *da-/ga-* 779
marks mood w/ preterit 786
gegoo(n), indefinite pronoun 126
gender 114–121
and topicality hierarchy 267
animate and inanimate nouns 114
C. King's comments on labels 119
dialect variation in 116
gender and proper names 120
gender shift 118
grammatical features distinguishing animate & inanimate nouns 923
grammatical tests for gender 115
in grammar 940
markers /-a/ & /-i/ 482
marking on nouns 177
morphological indexing 177
relationship to verb sub-types 130
gender (sexual) differences in language 11
general roots 328
generalized activity
discourse function 533–538
second person inflections 534
generalized actor
suffix /-m/ 220
generalized actors 689
discourse function 533
generic reference 536
genetic relationships 13
geographical medials, *see also* environmental medials
gii(n), *see* personal pronouns
gii-, *see* past tense 760
giintam, *see* personal pronouns
giintamwaa, *see* personal pronouns
giintamwi(n), *see* personal pronouns
giimwaa, *see* personal pronouns
giiwenh, evidential 830
giiwi(n), *see* personal pronouns
giizhiitaa, aspectual verb 793
giw, *see* demonstrative pronouns
giwedi, *see* demonstrative pronouns
giwi, *see* demonstrative pronouns
giwig, *see* demonstrative pronouns
glides
Cw, Cy + /a/ coalescence 179
deletion 88

final short vowel & glide deletion 224
relationship to vowels 38
variation between /y/ and /w/ in some words 88
glottal stop 45
deletion 89
deletion due to syncope 81
glottis 32
goal, macrorole 648
goal-focus verbs 349–359
instrumental causatives 349–??
lexical passives 359
object of perception verbs 356
-goba(n), *see* preterit dubitative
Goddard, I. 26, 342, 424, 645
gonda, *see* demonstrative pronouns
gow, *see* demonstrative pronouns
grammar
agreement features 940
defined 25
descriptive and prescriptive 11
intro. to principles of 23–26
proximity 940
source materials for grammar 19–23
grammatical categories
pronominal versus nominal 528
grammatical competence 26
grammatical features
of adverbs 930
of nouns 922–924
of pronouns 924–925
of verbs 925–929
grammatical relations 686
comparison of English and Nish. 663

H

/h/
deletion of /h/ (glottal stop) 89
habituality 790
hard palate 45
have *see* possession
head
grammatical head of phrases & clauses 945
syntactic concept defined 931
head-marking
in phrases & clauses 945
hierarchy, topicality 267–268
hortatives 993
hours
expressing time 801
how many questions 986
how questions 983
hypotheticality
with preterit dubitative 836

I

identity
verbs of identity 704–709
idiolect, defined 8
ii verbs, *see* vii verbs
iidig, evidential 830
-iig- 'sheetlike' classifier 346
-iing, *see* locatives
-iinh, *see* contemptives
-iins, *see* diminutives
-iish, *see* pejoratives
-ikaang, distributed locative 746
-im, *see* possessed noun theme suffix
imperative order 157
da-/ga- with force of commands 777
modes with vai 222
vai delayed mode 222
vai immediate mode 222
vai prohibitive mode 222
vai verbs 222
vta imperatives with *-n* 284
vta template 279
imperatives 991–996
delayed imperatives 993
directionals with 993
future tense as imperative 995
hortatives 993
negation in 853

negative commands (prohibitives) 992
with *mii* 995
with multi-clausal expressions 995
with *wii-* 994
impersonal verbs 254
derivational finals 365–373
and tense 764
days & units of time 371–372
landscape 366–368
social activities 369
vegetation & wood products 368–369
weather conditions 370–371
/iN/ relative root
see also relative roots
in expressions of similarity 753–757
in locational expressions 724
in manner expressions 751
inalienable possession 107
inanimate intransitive verbs, *see* vii verbs
inanimate nouns 114
inchoative
ambiguous with stative 337
inclusive
in hortatives 993
inclusive first person plural 122
incorporating verbs
vai *aawad_-e*, 'haul X' 410
vai *giziibiig_-e*, 'wash X' 411
vai *moonah_-e*, 'dig for X' 410
vai *naad_-e*, 'fetch X' 410
vai *nanda_-e*, 'look for X' 410
with medial /-aabik-/, 'money' 411
with medial /-is-/, 'wood' 411
with medial /-konay-/, 'clothes' 412
incorporation 409–413
see also incorporating verbs
see also noun incorporation
and body part dependent nouns 330
and medials 330
as backgrounding device 696–698
final /-aawaso/, 'act on child' 412
final -aawazo/, 'attend to group' 412
final /-oodegozi /, 'belongings' 413
final /-oonzhe/, 'bear child' 413
of semantic patients 653
reduplication and 328
indefinite pronouns 595
discourse function 534
gaa gegoo as negative existential 849
in negation 846
introduced 126
with constituent negation 847
indefinites 538–542
locational, *ngoji* 737
with *bezhig* 538
with demonstratives and nouns 541
with relative clauses 541
with simple nouns 540
indentificational constructions 973
independent nouns 113
independent order 157
features distinguishing from conjunct 944
in syntax 943–945
occasionally with *mii* 973
vai template 219
vta template 274
vti template 310
with direct quotation 669
indicative mode 798
indirect questions 990
inflection 90–100
see also Chapters 4-8 172
and transitivity in verbs 214
as a way of marking participants 529
generalized actors 689
noun inflectional stem classes 173–177
relation to semantic roles 648
relationship to parts of speech 104
summary table of noun inflections 210
vta independent & noun inflection 279
information status
and word order 951
-ing, *see* locatives

-ini, *see* obviation
initial change
and participles 510–515
and past tense 771
and pre-adverbs 171
introduced, with list of forms 155–156
used to indicate reasons 860
initials 327–330
see also roots
derived with /-w/ 482
introduced 318
instrument
semantic role explained 658
instrumental causatives
see causatives
instrumental finals
bodily 438
body-internal 438
relationship to instrument semantic role 660
instrumentals
intransitive finals 355
intensifiers
medial /-aak-/ 472
interjections 149, 1002
International Phonetic Association alphabet 29
interrogative adverbs 146
interrogative pronouns 129
interrogative pronouns and adverbs, dialect variation 19
interrogatives
see questions
intransitive
see transitivity
concept explained 131
intransitive verbs
actor focus 406
derivation, *see Chapter 9*
inflection, *see Chapters 5 & 6*
which take clausal complements 667
inverse 629
see theme suffixes 271
inverse-only vta verbs 137
derivation 445–447
IPA 29
-ish, *see* pejoratives
-ishki vai verbs of addiction 415
iteratives 800
vii examples 264
iw, as subordinator 947
/-iwe/, detransitivizing vai final 694

J

ji-
see also da-/ga-
plain conjunct of *da-/ga-* 778
with *wii-* 785
Johnston, B. 424, 425

K

-kaa, 'abundance' vii final 373
-kaa, vii 'abundant' as existential 719
-kaang, distributed locative 746
-kaazo, 'pretend to…' vai final 413
Kaye, J. 57
Kaye, J. & G. Piggott & K. Tokaichi 21
-ke, vai final 'make, do' 418
Keenen, E. 581
Kegg, M. 230
kina
qualification of *kina* with *gegaa* 607
qualifying medials 605
kind, pronouns of kind (*dnawa*) 127
King, C. 119
kinship terms 107–112
and denominal verbs of being 710
and verbs of possession 710
old and new systems 108
verbs of kin relations 418
with lexicalized contemptives 188
without possessors 113
ko (*kwa*) av, habitual 790

kwe, 'woman' in compounds 522

L

labial consonants 45
language
  defined 10
language family
  defined 10
larynx 32
length, *see* linear extent 900
lexeme 60
lexical passives 690
lexical structure
  summarized 332–334
lexicalization
  of contemptives 175
  of possessive suffixes 202
  of preverbs 320–323
likeness, expressing 753–757
linear extent, expressions of 900
link consonants 339
  in derivational morphology 338–341
link vowels 403
  in derivational morphology 338–341
  in transitive derivation 432
  with nasal-final vai stems 226
local
  see theme suffixes
location
  see esp. Chapter 15
  cardinal directions 742
  dbi, uncertain location 738
  demonstrative adverbs 733–736
  destination location 724
  distributed locatives with *-(i)kaang* 746
  general locational adverbs 738–739
  left & right 743
  list of locational adverbs 140
  locational roots 423, 525
  locative noun usage 743–748
  nakeyaa, general directional 736
  ngoji, indefinite location 737
  pertinent relative roots 721–725
  roots specifying physical orientation 424
  serial sequence 742
  source location 723
  specified with /-yahii/ & /-yahiing/ 739
  static location 722
  universal location 737
  upstairs & downstairs 743
  upstream & downstream 743
  where questions 983
  with clausal adjuncts 748–750
  with directionals 728–733
  with nominal placenames 746
  with verbs *bi* vai & *te* vii 716–719
  with verbs *dgo* & *dgomgad* 714
  with verbs *yaa* & *yaa(mgad)* 710
locational adverbs 140
locative
  distributed locatives with *-(i)kaang* 746
locatives
  and demonstratives 547
  irregular forms 178
  noun locative forms 193–196
  with (obviative) possessors 205
  with relative roots 664
logical relations 856–861
  purpose 856
  reason 858
  result 860
long vowels 39
loss of consonants 81

M

maaba, *see* demonstrative pronouns
maage, in disjunction 1001
maajtaa, aspectual verb 793
maamig, *see* demonstrative pronouns
maamin, *see* demonstrative pronouns
maamwi, with superlatives 907
maanda, *see* demonstrative pronouns
maanpii, 'here' 734
MacGregor, E. 425

macroroles
  introduction 648
  actor 648
  chart of macro & semantic roles 662
  goal 648
  s-role 651
-magad vii augment 373
manner 751–757
  see Chapter 15
  expressed with roots 752
  expressions of similarity 753–757
  roots specifying manner 423
  with adverbs & preverbs 752
  with relative root /iN/ 751
manner adverbs 141
manner of articulation 45
manner preverbs 163
manner questions 983
mass nouns 182, 542–545
  discourse functions 542
medials 330–332
  /-aabik-/, 'money' in incorp. verbs 411
  body medials in transitives 467–470
  body part medials 386
  classificatory 331
  classifiers in descriptive verbs 345
  environmental 332
  geographical 365
  in transitives 429
  /-is-/, 'wood' in incorp. verbs 411
  /-jii-/ as 3D shape classifier 473
  /-konay-/, 'clothes' in incorporating verbs 412
  medialization 430
  modified by external quantifiers 605
  pre-medials & post-medials 332
mental activity verbs
  complements of 671
metaphor
  and lexicalization 322, 335–337
-migad, vii augment 373
mii 963–973
  and verbs with independent order 973
  as discourse sequencer 963–970
  in focusing constructions 614, 970–973
  mii-focus & relative clauses 970
  predicative 151
  with demonstratives 563
  with imperatives 995
  with *iw*, demonstrative 969
  with yes/no questions 978
-minag- 'berrylike' classifier 346
minimal pairs
  defined 34
  consonants 43
  vowels 34
mnik, av 'so many,' in quantity expressions 871
modal preverbs 159
mode 798
  chart of modes 799
  delayed mode in imperative 993
  dubitative mode 832
  preterit dubitative mode 834
  preterit mode
  prohibitive mode in imperatives 992
  variation in vai inflection 227
  vta conjunct inflection 278
modes
  in vai verb inflection 220
money
  classifier used with 883
  expressing amounts 894
  expressions of various amounts 895
month
  expressing the day of the month 809
months
  expressing the month 806, 809
  names of months 806
mood
  da-/ga- as marker of 778
  future with *ge-* + preterit mode 786
  modal preverb *da-* 781
  modal preverb *daa-* 782–787

obligation 787–789
optative (hopes, wishes) 789
overview, with tense 759
possibility with *ji-* & preterit mode 785
morphology
see also inflection, derivation
allomorphy in noun plural 180
defined 25
derivational *see* Chapters 9-11
derivational versus inflectional 98
finals (introduced) 318
identifying word components 432
inflectional 90–100
inflectional, *see Chapters 4-8* 172
initials (introduced) 318
problems of segmentation 341
productivity 99
truncation in transitive finals 430
morphophonemics
of mode markers /-bany/ and /-digw/ 220
motion verbs 348–349, 374–380
substance of path motion verbs 380
mshi-, pn as socially sensitive term 11

N

/N/ 86
-n, nominalizer 505
na questions 975–979
naasaab, in statements of equation 906
nahii, pausal pronoun 128, 594
nakeyaa, general directional 736
names
and demonstratives 548
and grammatical gender 120
obviative forms 185
use in discourse 547
nanda, *see* demonstrative pronouns
nasalized vowels 40
nasals 33
assimilation 73
lenition of obstruents 307
nasal-final stems and /-ge/ 405
natural class, in phonology 73
nda–, as voluntative 789
ndawaa, av, expressing obligation 787
negation 837–856
affirmation with *enh* 839
and pv *aano-* 855
and verbal orders 837
clefted negatives 845
contrastive negation 840
contrastive pronouns in 619
gaa gegoo as negative existential 849
gaawii njida 842
in imperatives (prohibitives) 853
in independent vs. conjunct order 944
in subordinate clauses 849
in subordinate clauses with *bwaa-* 850
lexical negatives 856
manj (iidig) 844
negation of propositions 838
negation with independent order 839
negative adverbs 145
negative capability with *maamda* 843
negative preverbs 163
negative pronouns 598
negative questions 853
negative yes/no questions 977
negatives with *nji-* 842
of specific constituents 847
omission of *gaawii(n)* in independent 841
position of *gaawii(n)* 840
pronouns used with 126
the root /aanw/ 855
verbless neg's of existence or possession 844
with adverb *aano* 856
with indefinite pronouns 846
negative adverbs 145
negative preverbs 163
negatives
negative commands (prohibitives) 992
neutral mode, *see* indicative mode

ngoji, indefinite directional 737
ni-, directional preverb 731
see directionals
-ni, *see* obviation
Nichols J. & A. Ogg 645
Nichols, J. 21, 93, 173, 179, 210, 425, 502, 526
Nichols, J. & E. Nyholm 89, 149, 319, 407, 425
nihii, pausal pronoun 128
nii(n), *see* personal pronouns
nii-, as /ni-/ + /wii-/ 773
niibna, quantifier 572
niibwa, quantifier 572
niintam forms 123
niintam, *see* personal pronouns
niintamwi(n), *see* personal pronouns
niinwi(n), *see* personal pronouns
nini, 'man' in compounds 521
Nipissing Algonquin, dialect of Anish. 16
Nishnaabemwin
defined 1
and syncope 3–??
dialect variation in vai inflection 230
internal dialect variation 17–19
niw, *see* demonstrative pronouns
niwedi, *see* demonstrative pronouns
niwi, *see* demonstrative pronouns
nji-, relative preverb
see also relative roots
in negatives 842
in why questions 988
nominalization 694
nominalizers 502–507
nominals
compound nominals 591
defined 528
discourse function 532
grammatical categories 528
nonda, *see* demonstrative pronouns
non-local
see theme suffixes
non-specific reference 536
nooj, with *gegoo* 597
noonde-, pv 'before goal is reached' 797
Northern Ojibwe, dialect of Anish. 17
noun incorporation 409–413
see also incorporation
noun phrases
constituency 931
coordination 996
noun phrase defined 528
structure 930–932
with demonstratives 550
nouns
abstract final /-w/ 483
as part of speech 105–121
body part terms 106–113
compounds 515–522
concrete and abstract nouns 106
contemptives and diminutives 185
dependent and independent 106–114
derivation 477–522
gender, morphological indexing 177
grammatical features distinguishing animate & inanimate 923
grammatical features of nouns 922–924
grammatical gender 114
indefinite possessors 198
inflection similar to vta 279
inflectional stem classes 173–177
inflectional stem classes (chart) 174
kinship terms 107–112
locative forms 193–196
locative usage 743–748
locatives, irregular forms 178
mass nouns 182
nominalizer *-aagan* 504
nominalizer *-gan* 503
nominalizer *-n* 502
nominalizer *-win* 505
nominalizers 502–507
noun phrase structure 930–932
noun roots & general roots 477

obviative possessors 203
obviatives 183
ordering of nominal suffixes 209
outline of inflectional categories 172
overview of stem types 478–480
participial nominals 514
participles 210, 510–515
pejoratives 190–193
person prefixes, form of 199
plurals 178–182
plurals, inherent 182
possession 196–205
preterit dubitatives 209
preterits 206
reduplication in 507–510
stem classes & contemptives 175
stem types, summary chart 480
stem-final /w/ and 481
summary list of kinds 921
summary table of inflections 210
vocative plurals 206
vocatives 205
now, *see* demonstrative pronouns
ntaa- pv, habitual 790
number, singular & plural 178
in grammar 940
numbers 873–886
'first' with preverb *shki-* 880
as free word, pre-X, and root 865
cardinal numbers 873–??
classifiers 883–885
distributive numbers 880
fractions with *aabta*, 'half' 876
numeric preverbs 166
ordinal numbers 879
part of speech category 148
repetition "times" numbers 877
vai final *-ooshkne*, 'be a max of...' 396
vai final *-wewaan'gizi*, 'X groups...' 397
verbs of number 148, 361, 881
verbs of numbers as existentials 720
verbs taking number roots 885
verbs with number roots 396
nwanj, in comparatives 905

O

o-, directional preverb
see wa- 733
O'Meara, J. 133, 215, 310, 323, 325, 332, 373, 425, 431, 433
object grammatical relation 957
object of perception verbs 356
objectless vti verbs
see pseudo-intransitive verbs
obligation 787–789
obviation 623–643
and first and second persons 630
and topicality hierarchy 267
locatives with obviative possessors 205
noun forms 183
obviative forms of names 185
obviative possessors 203
of preterit nouns 208
parts of speech indexed 635
proximate shifts 641
role in grammar 940
vii verb inflection, and 251
obviative
see obviation
Odawa
see Nishnaabemwin
dialect of Nishnaabemwin 16
dialect variation in vai inflection 230
loss of final /n/ 230
Ogg, A. 26
Ojibwe, *see* Anishinaabemowin
Oji-Cree, dialect of Anish. 16
-om, *see* possessed noun theme suffix
/ond/ relative root
see also relative roots
in reason clauses 858
source location 723
-ong, *see* locatives

onomatopoeia
in nouns 510
oo-, directional preverb
see wa- 733
-oonh, *see* contemptives
-oons, *see* diminutives
optative 680, 789
order *see* verbal order
ordinal numbers 879
orthography 29–32
and standardization 31
relationship of spelling to speech 90
-osh, *see* pejoratives
Ottawa, *see* Odawa
ow, *see* demonstrative pronouns

P

palatal consonants 45
palatalization 86–88, 407
alternation between /n/ and /zh/ 86
alternation between /s/ and /sh/ 87
and link vowels 339
in transitive finals 434
in vai finals 325
of /d/ and /t/ to /j/ and /ch/ 86
of /N/ in relative root 330
PA */e/ and palatalization 88
palatalization by /y/ 88
with detransitive final *-ge* 405
with pejorative 193
participles 137, 157
and mass nouns 543
as nouns 210, 510
de-participialized nouns 514
derivation 510–515
lacking initial change 513
noun stem class VII 177
participial nominals 514
phrasal participles 513
reduplicated 513
theme-focus vta participles 302
particles 149–152
emphatic particles 150
emphatic particles with pronouns 613
interjections and exhortatives 149
phonological behaviour 72
sequencing particle *dash* 151
partitives
and mass nouns 543
partitive use of *kina* 603
relationship to mass nouns 182
parts of speech 101–171
derivational morphology and 103
guidelines for determining 103–105
inflectional morphology and 104
summary of gram. features 921–??
syntax and 105
passives 687–692
as inflectionally intransitive 272
inflectional passives 687–692
lexical passives 690
vai lexical passives 359
vta theme suffixes 271
with vai *-oomgo*, 'on (horse)back' 380
past tense 760–772
see also tense
and impersonal verbs 764
and initial change 771
bi- as recent past 761
nji- as recent past 761
relative future in past 770
relative past with *aazhi* 768
relative past with *gii-* 766
relative past with *gii-* & preterit 767
relative past with *pii* 769
sequences of *gii-* 762
patient, semantic role 648
patients
and incorporation 653
Payne, D. 645
Payne, T. 268, 706, 970
pejoratives 190–193
ordering rel. to other suffixes 192
palatalization 193

Pentland, D. 26
person
and topicality hierarchy 267
disallowed vta combinations 273
first person plural with a free nominal 531
fourth person 219
inclusive and exclusive 122
personal pronouns 122
person asymmetries
in passive 689
person prefixes 62–72
as present tense markers 760
form of 199
link consonant /d/ 340
reanalysis of person prefixes 200
selection in vta inflection 269
variation in form 220
versus derivational elements 340
with V-initial dependent nouns 200
personal pronouns 122, 609–623
and focus/emphasis 612
discourse function 609
in apposition with nouns 611
pronouns of precedence 123
perspective
and semantic roles of verb 686
phonemes 29
phones 30
phonetic alphabet 29
phonological processes 73–89
coalesc. of Cwly + /a/ in nouns 179
coalescence of /nw/ + /a/ to /noo/ 226
coalescence of /wa/ to /o/ 83
coalescence processes 179
compensatory lengthening 306
deletion of glottal stop 89
deletion of suffix vowels in noun inflection 178
final short-vowel & glide deletion 224
glide deletion 88
inflectional /-w/ deletion 229
loss of /e/ in forming benefactives 466
loss of final /n/ in Odawa 230
obstruent lenition 307
obstruent lenition after nasals 227
obstruent voice assimilations 76–81
palatalization 86
palatalization in pejorative 193
raising of the /a/ in contemptive plurals 190
vowel processes 89
word-final unrounding of /o/ 85
/y/-insertion in conjunct order 226
phonology
see esp. Chapters 2, 4, 9, & 10
see also phonological processes
defined 25
natural classes, explained 73
phonological derivation, explained 92
phonological rules, how they work 92
phonological subtypes of vai verbs 223
structure of noun stems 477
underlying forms 92
vii inflectional subclasses 252
vta stem classes 280
Piggott, G. 19, 100, 215
Piggott, G. & A. Grafstein 20, 425, 432
Piggott, G. & J. Kaye 21, 100
pii, av
acts nominal with demonstratives 825
with clauses for relative past 769
place of articulation, consonants 45
placenames
and grammatical gender 120
locatives with 746
Plains
sub-group of Algonquian 14
Plains Ojibwa (Saulteaux), dialect of Anish. 17
plural
vaip verbs 218
plurals
absence in mass nouns 182

contemptives and diminutives, of 190
inherently plural nouns 182
noun plurals 178–182
of traditional activity 535
plural possessor suffixes on nouns 204
vocative plurals 206
polar questions
see yes/no questions
possessed noun theme suffix 200
possession
inalienable possession 107
indefinite (unspecified) possessors 198
nominal constructions 565
obviative possessors 203
participial verbs of kin relation 418
plural possessor suffixes on nouns 204
possessed forms of nouns 196–205
possessed noun theme suffix 200
possessed nouns & demonstratives 554
suppletive poss. noun themes 202
vai verbs of possession 416–418
verbless possession formulas 609
with transitive verbs 417
with vai *yaa* 417, 711
possessives
nominal constructions 565
possibility
with *ji-* & preterit mode 785
post-medials 332
post-radicals 328
pragmatics
in syntactic interpretation 941–943
pre-adverbs
as part of speech 170–171
and initial change 171
predicate nominals, *see* being
predication
adverb predicator *aabdeg* 788
adverbial predicators 680
predication, *Chapter 13*
predicative particle *mii* 151
pre-finals 332
geographical 365
pre-finals 324
prefixes
extended person prefix forms 62
pre-medials 332
prenouns
as part of speech 152–154
category introduced 152
derivation of 526
discourse function 592
phonological aspects of 60
prenoun and root forms 152
prenoun *gchi-* 153
prepositions 664
prescriptive grammar 11
present tense 759–760
see also tense
person prefixes as markers of 760
presentationals 570
pretending
see feigning
preterit
obviation of preterit nouns 208
with nouns 206
preterit dubitative mode 798, 834
see also mode
in hypotheticals 836
with nouns 209
preterit mode 798
see also mode
-ban and *-pan* 227
/-bany/ as underlying form 227
/-bany/ form 220
in relative past tense 767
-naa extension 228
vai suffixes *-iig* & *-iin* 227
variant *-aambaa(nh)* 227
with *ji-* as possibility 785
preverbs
as part of speech 154–170
aspectual preverbs 162
category introduced 154

degree preverbs 871
derivation of 526
directional preverbs 161
e- preverb 156
evaluative preverbs 165
gchi- preverb 164
lexicalization of 320–323
manner and degree preverbs 163
negative preverbs 163
phonological aspects of 60
preverb & root forms 154, 424
quantitative (numeric) preverbs 166
relative frequency of preverbs 169
relative order of preverbs 168
relative preverbs 160
subordinating preverbs 166
tense and modal preverbs 159
primary derivation
introduced 334
primary object 957
primary stress 55
productivity, in morphology 99
prohibitives 992
syntax of 853
pronominal grammatical categories 528
pronouns
as part of speech 121–129
category introduced 121
contrastive use of *ge* construction 618
demonstrative pronouns 123–125
dubitative pronouns 127
ge constructions 614
ge wii as fixed expression 617
grammatical features of pronouns 924–925
in negation 619
indefinite 595
indefinite pronouns 126, 594
indefinites with *kina* and *gaa* 126
inflectional types 924
interrogative pronouns 129
negative pronouns 598
of contrastive emphasis 622
of exclusivity 621
of kind *dnawa* 593
of precedence 621
pausal (substitutive) pronouns 128
personal pronouns 122, 609–623
personal pronouns of precedence 123
pronouns of kind 127
remote demonstrative pronouns 125
substitutionary pronouns 594
summary list of kinds 921
universal pronouns 594, 600
pronunciation, *see* phonology
Proto-Algic 13
proximal demonstratives 124
proximate
see obviation
proximity
in grammar 940
pseudo-cleft
similarity of *mii* clauses to 963
pseudo-intransitive verbs 218, 248, 309
and sentential complements 667
list of 248
purpose
expression of purpose clauses 856
logical relation 856

Q

qualities
roots specifying qualities 423
quantification
expressing the number of times 821
quantificational adverbs 144
quantifier float 573
quantifiers
and demonstratives 574
and relative roots 578
general quantifiers 572, 866
in nominal constructions 571
with classifiers 572
quantitative preverbs 166

quantity
see also numbers
see Chapter 17
expressing amounts of money 894
expressing dry measure 903
expressing dry weight 888
expressing linear extent 900
expressing temperature 896
expressing temporal duration 898
expressing years of age 886
expressions of distance 891
expressions with *mnik* 871
general quantifiers 866
how many questions 986
roots specifying quantity 424
quantity, in vowels 39
questions 975–991
alternative questions 978
content questions 979–991
echo questions 991
how many questions 986
how questions 983
idiomatic expressions 990
indirect questions 990
negative questions 853
negative yes/no questions 977
questioning actions 982
questions of *kind* 980
questions of ownership 980
questions of *which* 981
substantive questions & pers. pronouns 610
topic-shift questions 990
what questions 981
when questions 985
where questions 983, 988
who questions 979
yes/no questions 975–979
yes/no questions with *mii* 978
quotation
direct and indirect 668

R

raising, *see* copying (raising) verbs
reanalysis
of person prefixes 65, 200
reason
expression of reason clauses 858
logical relation 858
why questions 988
recipient, semantic role 655
reciprocals 695
formed with final *-idi* 409
reconstruction
historical reconstruction 12
reduplication 421, 507–510, 908–915
distributed location 909
distribution in time 912
distributive 385
form 915
in incorporation 328
in nouns 507–510
in participles 513
in transitives 428
intensity 913
iteration of repetitive action 910
obscured by syncope 328
perseverance 914
phonological patterns of reduplication 913
plurality of subject 908
repetitive action 909
root reduplication in vai's 328
semantic functions 908–915
referentiality
and relative roots 755
reflexives 695
and disjoint reference 273
formed with final *-idizo* 408
relative clauses 579–591
and demonstratives 555
defined 529
grammatical roles that relativize 584
relative root complements in 725

structure and function 579–591
variation in form 589
with indefinites 541
with *kina gegoo* 608
with *mii*-focus constructions 970
word order 550
relative date, expressing 811
relative preverbs 160
see also relative roots
lexicalization of 320
relative roots 160, 421–423
see also /akw/, /apiit/, /daN/, /daSw/, /iN/, /ond/
/akw/, quantity & degree 870
and quantifiers 578
and referentiality 755
and universal quantifier 604
/apiit/, degree 869
/daN/, static location 723
/daSw/, quantity 867
/iN/ 'destination' 724
in impersonal verbs 365
/iN/ in result clauses 860
in locative expressions 749
locative case used with 664
morphological behaviour of /iN-/ 329
nji- in negatives 842
of location 721–725
of quantity & degree 866–871
/ond/ source 723
semantic relations 663
zhi- as prenoun (ex. 213) 593
relative tense, *see* tense
remote demonstratives 125
restricted roots 328
resultatives
expression of result clauses 860
with *dash* 861
reversative 423
Rhodes, R. 11, 15, 19, 27, 157, 242, 333, 384, 423, 425, 432, 433, 438, 449, 456, 543, 550, 645, 664, 755, 807, 957
Rice, K. 24
Rogers, J. 230, 915
roots 327–330, 420–424
see also initials
allomorphic variation in form 427
directional roots 420
general and restricted roots 328
locational roots 423, 525
noun roots & general roots 477
number roots with verbs 885
post-radicals 328
relationship to prenouns 152
relationship to preverbs 154
relative roots 160, 421–423
root reduplication in vai's 328
roots specifying actions 423
roots specifying aspect 424
roots specifying manners 423
roots specifying physical orientation 424
roots specifying qualities 423
roots specifying quantities 424
roots specifying states 424
to express manner 752
with intransitive verbs 420
rounding 38
Russell, K. 645

S

/S/ 87
behaviour in intransitive finals 325
Sapir, E. 13
Saulteaux, dialect of Anish. 17
Schmalz, P. 27
schwa 37
seasons
expression of 819
secondary derivation
introduced 334
secondary object 957
secondary objects
and word order 936

semantic role
summary chart of relations 662
semantic roles 647–663
agent 648
and relative roots & preverbs 663
and transitivity 130
benefactive 657
chart of default macrorole assoc. 662
experiencer 649, 655
force 654
instrument 658
miscellaneous unclassified semantic roles 661
patient 648
recipient 655
relation to inflection 648
role charts explained 651
theme 655
semantics
defined 25
sentences
see adjuncts, clauses, complements, questions, syntax
sentential complements
see clauses, complements
Severn Ojibwe, dialect of Anish. 16
shift of grammatical gender 118
-shin, vai final
with bodily actions 390
shki- 'first' 880
shkwaa-, aspectual preverb 768
short vowels 39
deletion in verb paradigms 39
similarity, expressing 753–757
slashes, used to indicate phonemes 29
Smith, T. 27
sociolect, defined 10
soft palate 33, 45
source materials for grammar 19–23
source, locational source 723
Southwestern Ojibwe, dialect of Anish. 15
speech act verbs
complements of 675
spelling
borrowings 89
use of apostrophe (') 85
Spielmann, R. 26
square brackets, used for phonetic transcriptions 30
s-role
introduced 651
*see also*macroroles
standardization *see* orthography
states, roots specifying states 424
stative, ambiguous with inchoative 337
stem
defined 319
in derivational morphology 60
stem forms 477
stress 49–57
preverbs and prenouns 60
primary word stress 55
structural /w/ 82
sub-dialects 7
subject
inflectional evidence for subjects in Nish. 960
subject grammatical relation 957
subordinating preverbs 166
subordination
obviation in subordinate clauses 639
of backgrounded verbs 948–949
with temporal adverbs 826
subordinators 946–947
adverbial 947
demonstrative *iw* 947
quasi-predicative adverbs 949
substance of path motion verbs 380
substitutionary pronouns 594
superlatives 907
suppletion
in verbs of possession 416
in vta conjunct inflection 278
with possession 202

syllabification
of nasals 73
syncopated, *see* syncope
syncope 51–55
adjustments to resulting sequences of identical consonants 76
adjustments to resulting sequences of non-identical consonants 78
and consonant devoicing 80
and lip-rounding 83
and loss of consonants 81
and possessed noun themes 202
and vai inflection 228
deletion of glottal stop, and 81
diphthongization resulting from 82
obscures reduplication patterns 328
obscuring initial change 155
relationship to Nishnaabemwin dialect 3–??
removed from underlying forms 60
syntax
see Chapter 18
see clauses, word order
and parts of speech 105
and transitivity 215
communicative functions 974–996
complementizers 946–947
conjunct inflection on main verbs 951
content questions 979–991
defined 25
functions of subordination 948–949
head defined 931
head-marking 945
independent & conjunct orders 943–945
introduction to grammatical categories 916–920
pragmatic interpretation 941–943
questions 975–991
subordinators 946–947
the role of word order 951–957
word order within clause 933–936
yes/no questions 975–979

T
ta verbs, *see* vta verbs
temperature, expressions of 896
temporal adverbs 139
tense 759–782
see also present, past, future
future relative to future 780
future tense 772–782
in clausal complements 671
overview, with mood 759
past tense 760–772
present tense 759–760
relative future in past 770
relative past tense 766, 767
relative past w/ *aazhi* 768
relative past with *pii* 769
tense preverbs 159
theme
inverse 629
theme-focus vta participles 302
theme suffixes
-aa vta theme 270
direct 270
direct & inverse 271
-i vta theme 270
-igoo vta theme 271
-igw vta theme 270
-iN vta theme 270
inverse 270
local & non-local 271
possessed noun theme 200
vta theme suffixes 267, 270–272
vti /-am/ variation 306
theme, semantic role 655
ti verbs, *see* vti verbs
time
see esp. Chapter 16
duration of specific units of time 816
expressing the day of the month 809
expressing the day of the week 805
expressing the hour 801
expressing the month of the year 806

expressing the year 808
expressions of temporal duration 898
temporal relationships between clauses 828
when questions 985
times
expressing the number of times 821
Todd, E. 15, 433
Tomlin, R. & R. Rhodes 645, 951
topicality hierarchy 267–268
and semantic roles 650
topics
topic-shift questions 990
trachea (windpipe) 32
transitive
see also transitivity
concept explained 131
transitive animate verbs, *see* vta verbs
transitive inanimate verbs, *see* vti verbs
transitive verbs
allomorphic variation in roots 427
transitivity 130, 214–217
ditransitives 656
relation to semantic roles 647
Trigger, B. 26
truncation, in nouns 483

U
underlying form 92
universal pronouns 600
universal quantification 126
universal quantifiers
and relative roots 604
unrounding of /o/ 85
unspecified actors 268
usage codes
dictionary usage codes discussed 11

V
vai final /-ige/ in borrowed verbs 406
vai verbs
see also verbs
conjunct order template 221
derivation, *Chapter 9*
imperative order template 222
independent order template 219
inflection ??–250
inflectional subclasses 218
long-vowel final stems 224
nasal-final stems 226
phonological stem-types 223
pseudo-intransitive vai 309
pseudo-intransitives 218, 248
short-vowel final stems 224
vaio 136, 242
vaip 218
vaio verbs 18, 136
list of 242
vaip verbs 218
Valentine, L. 26, 645
Valentine, R. 20, 27, 643, 645
Valentine, R. & L. White 21
variety, language variety defined 10
velar consonants 45
velum (soft palate) 33
verbal mode, *see* mode & indiv. modes
verbal order
see also conjunct, imperative & independent orders
features disting. independent & conjunct 944
introduced 157
syntactic relevance 943–945
verbless constructions
see also questions
negative existentials 844
presentationals 570
with demonstratives 565
verbs
as part of speech 129–138
bodily actions 391
body part verbs 385–389

deriving borrowed verbs 406
descriptive verbs 342
ditransitives 136
glossing verbs in the dictionary 135
grammatical features of verbs 925–929
impersonal verbs 254
inverse-only vta 137
paired transitives and intransitives 133
participles 137
pseudo-intransitive verbs 667
secondary role vta verbs 685
stative and inchoative ambiguity 337
sub-classes, main 132
summary list of kinds 922
transitivity 130
vai & vii paired finals 342–364
vai finals 342–364
vai inflection ??–250
vai inflectional subclasses 218
vai object-of-perception verbs 356
vai pseudo-intransitive 218, 248
vai verbs of possession 416–418
vaio 136, 242
vaip, inherently plural 218
verbal mode 798
verbs of accompaniment 702
verbs of addiction (*-ishki*) 415
verbs of feigning (with *-kaazo*) 413
verbs of making & gathering (with *-ke*) 418
verbs of motion 374–380
verbs of number 148, 881
verbs of thinking 396, 655
vii finals 342–364
vii inflection 251–266
vt verbs of perception & thought 459
vta inflection 267–304
vti inflection 305–317
verbs of abundance 373
as existentials 719
verbs of being
see also being
structure explained 318
verbs of intention and desire
complements of 674
verbs of motion 348–349
verbs of number 148, 361, 881
verbs of perception
complements of 673
vii verbs
impersonal 254
inflection 251–266
inflectional subclasses 252
-magad augment 373
vii finals 364–374
vocal cords 32, 45
vocal tract
components of 32
diagram of 45
vocatives 205
discourse function 530
plurals 206
voiced 32
voiceless 32
voicing 32
voluntative 789
wii- as 772
vowel backness
front, central, back 38
vowels 34–41
backness 38
classification of vowels 38
diphthongization 82
distinctive, with examples 34
final short vowel & glide deletion 224
height 38
lengthening of short vowels in derivation 340
link vowels 338
long vowels 39
long-V final stems in derivation 343
loss of short vowels in derivation 340
minimal pairs 34
nasalized vowels 40

phonological processes 89
relationship to glides 38
rounding 38
schwa 37
short vowel deletion in verb paradigms 39
short vowels 39
variation between /a/, /i/ and /o/ 89
vowel chart 36
vowel quality 36
vowel quantity 39
vowel shifts of /aa/ and /e/ in derivation 340
vowel shortening in derivation 340
vta verbs
see also verbs
alternate conjunct inflection 278
conjunct order template 275
derivation, *Chapter 10*
imperative order template 279
independent order template 274
inflection 267–304
short V-stems 283
stem classes 280
stems in /aw/ 282
stems in Cw 284
stems in /h/ 284
vti verbs
independent order template 310
inflection 305–317
pseudo-intransitive vai 309
variation in theme /-am/ 306

W

/-w/, deriving initials 482
/w/, stem-final on nouns 481
/w/, structural /w/ 82
wa-, directional preverb 733
see directionals
wa, *see* demonstrative pronouns
was-, 'beyond' 736
waya, indefinite pronoun 126
discourse function 534
webtaa, aspectual verb 793
wedi, *see* demonstrative pronouns
wediig, *see* demonstrative pronouns
wegdogwen, dubitative pronoun 127
wegnen, interrogative pronoun 129
wegwen, dubitative pronoun 127
weight, expressing 888
wenesh, interrogative pronoun 129
-wewe, 'sound' 353
what questions 981
when questions 985
where questions 983
which
questions of *which* 981
who questions 979
why questions 988
widi, *see* demonstrative pronouns
wii- 772–776
see also future tense
as marker of relative future 775
as voluntative 772, 789
in impersonal expressions 775
nii-, as /ni-/ + /wii-/ 773
overlap with *da-/ga-* 780
with commands 994
with *endgwen(h)* & *da-* 781
with *ji-* 785
with purpose clauses 773
with unrealized intentions 774
wii(n), *see* personal pronouns
wiintam, *see* personal pronouns
wiintamwaa, *see* personal pronouns
wiinwaa, *see* personal pronouns
-win, nominalizer 505
-wish, *see* pejoratives
wishes, *see* optative
wiya, indefinite pronoun 126
word order
see also clauses, syntax
order of secondary objects 936
quantifier, noun, and verb 606

role in discourse 951–957
variable in clause 933–936
verb-initial patterns 581
with relative roots & preverbs 938
within a relative clause 588
within clause 933–936
word structure, *see* lexical structure
word-stems 60
defined 319

Y

yaa (ayaa), vai & vii 'be (in a place)' 402
usage 710–714
-yahii, locational final 739
-yahiing, locational final 739
year
expressing seasons 819
expressing the year 808
yes/no questions 975–979
see also questions
/y/-insertion in conjunct order 226, 309

Z

zero-derivation 483
zero-finals
with certain body-part verbs 334

'This book makes a significant contribution to what is known of Ojibwe grammar … it will be of considerable use to native speakers and teachers of Nishnaabemwin and related dialects. Because of the comprehensiveness of its coverage it will be of great interest to scholars interested in any dialect of Ojibwe, as well as to students of other Algonquian languages.'

John O'Meara, Native Language Instructors' Program, Faculty of Education, Lakehead University

'A major contribution to the field of Algonquian linguistics … This book will be an outstanding resource for some time to come … It sets a new standard in the field of Algonquian linguistics in terms of depth, breadth, and clarity.'

Keren Rice, Department of Linguistics, University of Toronto

University of Toronto Press

ISBN 0-8020-8389-7

9 780802 083890